

# THE COMMONWEAL

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ONE PENNY.

## THE MORROW OF THE ELECTIONS.

THE results of the elections so far are curious and instructive, although apart from the Irish question, surely no voting contest has ever been held on such apparently trivial issues. In spite of which fact it must be said that the elections have gone in a way satisfactory to revolutionists. For in the first place they have been a humiliation to both the two nominal parties that govern the State; nay, they certainly tend to make parliamentary government ridiculous and impossible under those two parties. Only by intensifying the party hypocrisy to a degree which will make it obviously monstrous, can the Liberals and Tories continue the pretence of their existence as separate and opposing forces. The formation of the Moderate or Anti-revolutionary Party is going on much more quickly than one dared to hope it would a few months ago.

The Tories have been forced from one entrenchment after another of their untenable position of sham feudal reaction, and have been forced to become Whigs. The Whigs on the other hand have had, and still have, a groundwork of reality for their position, namely the resistance of Capitalistic society, at present so powerful, to any and every change which will further the emancipation of labour. Therefore they have not budged an inch, and neither will nor can do so until Revolution sweeps them away. Here are two parties then, with absolutely no difference in their policy, who have been struggling desperately for office at the poll, and striving to discover differences between them which might warrant their contention in the eyes of the electors.

It would have been quite impossible to sustain this appearance of difference but for the fiction of the Great United Liberal Party including in itself the advanced opinions of the Radicals. Mr. Chamberlain has been worth his weight—in votes—to both Tories and Whigs in the past elections; first by giving a cry to the Tories against the Liberals, which drew a great many "Liberal" voters into the Tory-Whig ranks, and next when the Whigs were in process of being soundly beaten, coming to their rescue with the field-labourers and other genuine Radicals who saw (never having been taught anything better) in the vague hints and meagre programme of the Radical leader hopes of progress or even revolution, and thought that he might at some time or other (date not given) be able to impress his opinions on his Whig colleagues.

This is a farce which is not likely to be played again; indeed Mr. Chamberlain in his speech at Leicester as good as promised that he would not be a party to it. So that we are on the eve of the declaration of a distinct Radical Party which will force the so-called Liberals into alliance with the Tories, although that coalition is not likely to come about so bluntly and frankly as the Tories seem to imagine it will; though it is natural in them, since they are now beaten into non-entity, to call on the Whigs, who really agree with them, to declare their agreement at once with no more palaver.

But the Radicals deceive themselves if they think they are likely to form a strong party in Parliament. For if they are progressive they must become revolutionary, as I believe many of them are disposed to be; and as events open before them and they declare themselves, section after section will fall off from them. When the Nonconformists find that the disestablishment of the Church will not further their form of superstition they will become Whigs; when the lower middle-class find that democracy will not keep the rates down they will become Whigs. And so the game will go on till we have Whigs on one side, and on the other those who are against privilege of all kinds, that is to say who are striving for the abolition of all classes: such people are now called *Socialists*, whatever they may be called in the future.

In short Parliament is not kept together for such a "residuum"; the powerful party in it, now that the strife for the people and against them is declaring itself, will always be the party that sees in all progress demands to be resisted or evaded as time and circumstance may serve. This party may change its name and may within the next few years even be called the Radical party, but it will not include in it a vast number of those who for want of the knowledge of a really popular creed are now proud to be called Radicals, and who will then oppose it (though I hope not in Parliament) as they have just been opposing the Tories, and in a few months it is to be hoped will be opposing the Whigs.

One word of warning meantime to such men as these: The Radical Party, at least through its leaders, has declared against the right of the Irish to govern themselves; it has now at any rate become impossible for anyone to deny that the Irish nation is determined that their government shall be Irish and not English; the Radicals, therefore, had best ask themselves what right a party has to be considered progressive that denies their right to this. The question is a serious one, for it means no less than this: Is England prepared to grant the demands of the Irish people in this matter, or to govern them by court martial? There is no third course open in the matter, even to Mr. Gladstone. The members of the Radical Party who cannot see their way straight in this question will soon find themselves Whigs and declared reactionaries.

Finally, it may seem a small matter to many Socialists that the field-labourers have generally voted Liberal; but it must be remembered what their circumstances are, and how strong the influences brought to bear upon them have necessarily been, and then I think it will be acknowledged that the fact is encouraging, although, of course, their "representatives" that were all they had to choose from, will betray them. For they have at least voted against their masters, and generally shown much spirit in so doing. It is our business now to show them what their masters are, and why they are their masters, and when we do this I cannot think that they will be slow to learn that there is something more helpful for them than Parliamentary Radicalism, to wit the combination of themselves with their other brethren of the Residuum for the doing away with the master-class altogether.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## CAPITALISM IN INDIA.

It may be interesting to English readers to be told something of the people of India.

In order to show the radical difference between Englishmen and Indians in their whole manner of life, it is necessary to point out that while with the former the individual is the unit, with the latter the unit is the community, or caste, in which the particular individual is born. The caste consists of a certain number of families, it may be fifty, it may be five thousand, though the latter number is rarely exceeded. There are tens of thousands of castes in the continent, each one exclusive of and distinct from the other.

As the population increases, the tendency manifests itself for castes to split up into still smaller communities, and so to isolate individuals from each other. The basis of the caste life is the community of families; each one is personally acquainted with the other, they marry only in the caste, they may not marry any outside person. The whole system is of course based upon religion. The priest is supreme. He regulates every detail of ceremony in marriage, birth, death, of religious observances at eclipses and astrological epochs, at anniversaries of birth-days, deaths and other family events. Every event is accompanied by a feast either to the nearly allied families or to the whole caste. Extensive premises are built and kept up by caste subscription, for the purpose of providing sufficient accommodation for the thousands of people who have to be fed at these festive gatherings, not infrequently for a week at a time.

Though the different peoples comprised under the definition of Hindoos are divided into thousands of communes or castes, each one complete in itself for every relation of life, yet there are four broad classes into which these communities are sometimes aggregated—viz., the priest or Brahmin, the soldier, the merchant or shopkeeper, and the cultivator, while outside of these are millions of so-called outcastes, i.e., people supposed to have no caste, who notwithstanding they are degraded in the social scale, are just as exclusive as the rest and as tenacious of the customs appertaining to their particular communities. The priest caste, consisting of probably twenty millions of people, arrogate to themselves the right of belonging to one indivisible community, entitled to drink, eat, and marry among themselves without restriction. No Brahmin woman dare marry one not a priest; the penalty of such a breach of dignity is lifelong exclusion from caste. But on the other hand, especially in Bengal, a priest is allowed to marry fifty wives or more, selected from lower castes, the only condition being a good dowry from each.

The penalties attached to the loss of caste are hardly conceivable. It is a system of boycotting extending to food, drink, servants, business

connections, marriage and burial. The priests and the community dependent upon the priests, will have no communication with such a person while life lasts. But fortunately an offending party may purge his offence by paying a fine to the caste and to the priests, besides having his moustache shaved and undergoing certain extremely objectionable ceremonies having for their object a deterrent effect. A Hindoo would rather lose his life than break one of the social customs appertaining to his community. These customs are not as one would suppose related to so-called morality—the law of the land looks after these—but to religion as exemplified in the ceremonial observances, and developed by three thousand years of continuous priestly rule, all exerted in one direction, along one systematised line of teaching.

It is evident that the Hindoo commune has never got beyond the first stage, that of the family, or the village community of families. The principle of evolution has not had free scope with them. The explanation is I think to be found in the power of the priestly caste, which has necessarily acted as a palsy upon any development that would adversely affect their own influence as supreme rulers of the commune.

This priestly caste formed the nucleus of that race of invaders who driven from their ancestral home in the highlands of Persia, irrupted into India 3000 years ago and conquered the aboriginal tribes. In Europe, priests as a separate community, have never been able for any length of time to dominate and permeate the political and social life of the peoples to the same complete extent as they have in India. There they began as the conquerors, assisted by the soldiers whom they formed into a separate caste, settling them as feudal lords upon the aborigines, who for many years were fearfully oppressed. These last gradually developed into the merchant and cultivator castes. Outside these again were other races conquered from time to time as the priests spread over India, who as outcastes were made to perform scavenging and other menial duties.

The priestly caste do not seem to have governed the people directly to any considerable extent, but to have attended to sacrificial duties and the ritual of religion. In this capacity they became the advisers of the feudal lords or kings, and the family priests throughout the land. All knowledge was centred in them. After a time animal sacrifices were abolished. When writing was invented, they disseminated it among their own caste. They wrote all documents for the king and signed his name. They acquired and tabulated the astronomical knowledge of the Egyptians, and it is to their writings, through the Arabians, that we are indebted for our knowledge of arithmetic and algebra. They developed a wonderful system of metaphysics, and used this to act upon the fears of the peoples and to increase their hold upon them.

So it has gone on to this day; they are one caste and indivisible, found in every nook and corner of the land, at the court of the prince and in every family of any consequence. They are a strong united body, not strong openly, but in their influence, their solidarity, their oneness of feeling, ever directed to their own aggrandisement, and against any development of the peoples in which they cannot take a part. All the thinking power having been for so many centuries centred in them, it is not to be wondered at that they have physically magnificent heads, narrow, high, with prominent foreheads and aquiline noses. They exhibit in one sense, the highest type of man, so that a Brahmin can be recognised anywhere by his face.

It can well be conceived that with such a system of communal life as obtains in India, no one is destitute, no poor law or State administration of poor relief is needed. Each commune takes care of its own. But unfortunately the urgent necessity for providing funds for the numerous feasts and ceremonies incumbent upon each family upon every important anniversary of each individual's life—a system developed and fostered by the priestly rule under which they exist—has brought matters to such a pass, that with the exception of a comparatively few wealthy families, everybody is in debt. It must be conceded that the fact of wealth being now in the hands of a few is a proof of decadence from the original type of communal life. The festival gatherings seem to be the principal means by which the community is held together, but the expenditure upon them is fast causing the ruin of the whole country.

These feasts, though instituted and rendered obligatory by the community, are paid for, not by that body, but by the individual family, who in that way are made to commemorate the birth, marriage, death, or other important event in their family life. The poor have to borrow to meet these recurring unusual items of expenditure, and from whom should they borrow but from their more favoured brethren? If a man has a house unincumbered, or jewels, he may possibly borrow at  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. per month, though the more usual rate is one per cent. The Indian money-lender has a keen appreciation of the value of monthly receipts; he does not lend upon yearly interest. If the unfortunate man wants a second mortgage, or can only offer personal security, he must pay two per cent. per month.

With domestic servants, mill-hands, and ordinary workpeople, who can only afford to borrow from £2 to £3 at a time, the usual rate is one anna per rupee per month, and as 16 annas make one rupee, this is equivalent to 75 per cent. per annum, or calculated upon monthly receipts, cent. per cent. The poor struggle on year by year paying this fearful interest, year by year becoming poorer. Where the caste brother is the lender, he will never sell up the unfortunate man. He will take what he possesses and be satisfied, ever receiving, of course, a portion of the monthly earnings; but in all large cities there is a class of money-lenders come from the north of India, veritable Shylocks. These are fast bringing such discredit upon the trade, as in the opinion of thinking people will cause the Government to interfere, go behind the bond and restrict the rate of interest claimable.

Under the present law the man goes on bleeding his victim till he can be bled no longer. The servant class attached to Europeans, are known regularly to give about one half their earnings to these people, and occasionally, when one by reason of large families and debt-complications has to stop further payment to a particular man, he puts him into court, gets judgment for the full amount or six months' imprisonment as a maximum in default. In which case a kind master, knowing how matters stand, advises the servant to pay no more, but go to jail, keeps the family going in the interval, and takes the man back after he has served his time.

The Small Cause Court in Bombay has five judges, one of whom attends to mercantile cases, the other four devoting nearly all their time to money-lending suits, and as these are rarely disputed, each judge will get through 50 to 100 suits per day. The judges are kind to the extent of their power. They give judgment for the amount claimed, but to be paid by monthly instalments proportioned to the debtor's means, so that the Shylock may in some cases have to wait ten years or more before he gets paid his claim, and he cannot claim interest upon the judgment.

Such is the aspect of capitalism in towns. In the country the matter is further complicated by famine years, and the pressing need of paying the Government rent. Taking India as a whole, there are no private landlords. The land belongs to and is held direct from the Government, subject to the paying a yearly rent varying from one to ten shillings per acre calculated upon the value of the crops obtainable. This rent is extremely moderate, for the better class land is equal in fertility to fine English soil. The Government also act in as paternal a way as possible by receiving it in two to three instalments.

But owing to the causes already detailed, the farmer, who seldom owns more than five acres, is in debt for caste feasts to the village grain-dealer, and when the revenue is due has not the wherewithal to pay it. The rent is paid by this man, who exacts a bond at two per cent. per month. He receives the whole crop in payment calculated at the cheap price of new corn, and lends the former grain to feed the family through out the season and seed-grain for the next crop, calculated at the price of dear corn, upon which he makes up in his books the monthly account at two per cent. interest. The lender thus succeeds in exacting from the farmer in interest upon his claim for feasts and rent from two to five times as much as the yearly rent due to Government, and the object the State has in asking only a moderate rent is thus defeated.

The country being miserably poor, the State has to act harshly by passing laws by which the official in charge of the district is empowered and directed, upon non-payment of the rent on the due date, to sell the land by auction to the highest bidder, giving him a state-title for his purchase. These purchasers as a rule are of the money-lending class, and one of the saddest things incidental to the English administration of India is the knowledge that under its cast-iron system, the ownership of the land is passing rapidly from the farmer to the money-lender. In ordinary years the rent is paid somehow; it is in periods of famine that the system acts with crushing severity.

Thus an apparently beneficent system, in which all the land is held direct from the State at a low rent, is rendered nugatory because the Government has to look to the money-lender for payment. Here, again, thinking people have placed their hand upon the black spot. It is known that the difficulty has arisen because the English officials insist upon payment in money; the old Indian system allowed payment in kind, that is, by a proportion of the crop. The system of payment in kind is flourishing in the native Indian States alongside our own, and succeeds in securing the prosperity of the people where ours fails. The farmer can always pay in kind when his crops are reaped, but he cannot pay in money until he has sold his crops to the capitalist. But the Indian Government must have money payments because it has to pay in money for army, police, state officials, and pensions.

The same system is in vogue and the same ruin is overwhelming the farmers in Egypt. Until the Marquis of Salisbury initiated the "Dual Control," the Government rents were paid in kind. An English official of Indian experience was then appointed, who directed that the payments should be made in money. Since that time the continental bankers have got their grip upon the farmers' land, and are rapidly bringing things to a deadlock. Year by year it has been found more difficult to get in the revenue, because the farmer has to work now, not for his own good, but for that of his banker, a man of alien race and devoid of sympathies.

D. GOSTLING.

## THE CRIMINAL COURT JUDGE.

THE occupant of the judicial bench is, as we all know, the functionary selected by the Governmental "ring," to enforce or put into action the cumbrous machinery of law which the civilised world has been compelled to invent as a feeble corrective to the results of its civilisation. We have spoken of the governmental "ring," but we might more accurately describe a modern State-bureaucracy as a system of "rings," interlacing one within the other. Each "department" has its traditions carefully kept up by its staff of permanent officialdom. The "bosses" of these departments, that is of the central or ministerial ring (and for that matter the others also), emanate, of course, from "Society" as it is termed, that is, from the aristocratic and plutocratic cliques of the West-end; but what is more, under our system of party government, a particular ministerial post is generally the exclusive appanage of two or three individuals who take it in turns and then begin again. Now the appointment and regulation of the judicial



bench rests respectively with the Lord Chancellor and the Home Secretary. It is true the powers of these worthies are practically limited by the "traditions" of the subordinate judicial "ring" itself (a brotherhood as jealous of its privileges and dignity as the Corporation of London, or any other mutual benefit society), but appointments, revision of sentences, and general supervision rest in the last resort with the dignitaries in question. The Lord Chancellor, for the most part, appoints the judge from a successful barrister with "influential" connexions.

Now, our object in thus exposing in a few words the mechanism of our constitutional government in general, and its relation to the judicial system in particular, is the better to grasp the nature of the semi-divinity which with the public at large seems to hedge a judge and all his utterances. The jurymen obediently follows his directions as to the verdict he shall return, in fact, in many instances juries would seem to regard it as the sole reason of their being, to please the presiding judge and give glory to him. The public in court, and the public out of court, hang upon the pronouncement from the bench as placing beyond question the enormity of the guilt of the luckless victim (it may be) of judicial rancour. How is this reverence for the judicial fiat to be accounted for? Doubtless, to a large extent, it has its origin like the divine right of kings and many other things in a state of society where the judicial authority was also the religious and civil head of the community—in short, that it is one of those numerous sentiments which had a meaning once, in bygone stages of Human Society and intelligence—but which have survived their meaning and hence become superstitions. It is, in fact, only one instance of that respect for law and order in the average mind on which the stability of the Bourgeois state rests, and which masks the true character of the latter as the prop of economical rottenness.

But let us consider for a moment what judgeship involves. We have every day illustrations of the fact that the judicial "ring" presumes upon the respect accorded it, so there can be no doubt that if the people could be induced to see the judge in the light merely of an overpaid servant of the modern state, who absorbs an enormous proportion of their earnings, the better would it be for the soul's welfare of the judicial bench itself, as well as for the cause of the Revolution. Paradox as it may seem it is an undoubted truth that no judge can be an honest man. The judge must necessarily be a man of inferior moral calibre. Though it is a thing I would say of no other man or body of men, yet I say unhesitatingly that a judge by the fact of his being a judge proclaims himself a creature on a lower moral level than myself—the declaration involving no assumption of moral superiority above the average on my part. And why? Because the aspiring member of the bar when he accepts a judgeship knows that in so doing he *deliberately pledges himself* to functions which may at any moment compel him to act against his conscience and wrong another man. He *deliberately pledges himself*, that is, to be false to himself. He may any day have to pass sentence on one whom he believes to be innocent. He lays himself under the obligation of administering a law which he may know to be bad on any occasion when called upon. He makes this surrender of humanity and honour for what? For filthy lucre and tawdry notoriety. Now, I ask, can we conceive a more abjectly contemptible character than that which acts thus? If we want further proof of the utter degeneracy of moral tissue in such a being, let us examine the sophistries he uses in his defence, and which he endeavors on occasion to force down the throat of the recalcitrant jurymen. He does not make the law he will tell you, he merely administers it. In the same way Bill Sykes does not make his jemmy and other burglarious implements, he merely administers them. This is the sort of oil he pours on his uneasy conscience when he has one. The jurymen disapproving of capital punishment objects to convicting a murderer. He is told he has nothing to do with the sentence but only with the evidence, in other words that the fact that the verdict he gives will have for its direct consequence a result he regards with abhorrence, is to count for nothing with him. Those who can willingly *pretend*—I say *pretend*, since it must be remembered we are dealing with men of ability and culture, capable of exposing many a subtler fallacy when it suits them—men who can *pretend* to accept such flimsy trash as cogent argument must surely be dead to all respect for honesty and truth.

But the festering mass of hypocrisy of which benchdom consists is only too evident at every turn. There is, of course, the hypocrisy which is racy of the judicial calling, just as there is the hypocrisy which is racy of the clerical calling. To this belongs the professed deep reverence for the "law of England," when no one knows better than the benchman who has studied it, that wellnigh one half of English law is based on effete superstition, of which it presents in many cases the most grotesque instances—interesting and instructive from a historical point of view, doubtless, but not in themselves calculated to awaken feelings of reverence in the modern mind—and that the other half is founded on the baldest class interest and prejudice. So that all things considered there is hardly a branch of learning the pursuit of which is more calculated to inspire the average student with a contempt for its subject-matter than English Law—hardly even excepting Divinity. But what is more offensive than this is the impudent assumption of moral superiority, which is one of the properties of the profession. Quite apart from any of the considerations just adduced, it is perfectly well known that there are among members of the English Bench men of a deb—, well, men that enjoy life on its animal side, as is, indeed, only natural, considering the amount of time and money on their hands. Yet who can orate with a richer profusion of impressively delivered platitudes of the current morality than the

*puisque* in addressing the prisoner, who has, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, brought himself within reach of the law by the desire to obtain some of those very pleasures in which the judge himself revels. Now it is scarcely to be expected, but that a man who in a "higher" grade of society so-called, is capable of accepting a judgeship (with its conditions as described above), would not in a "lower," where the temptations were of a different order and much more severe, be capable of doing a little housebreaking, forgery, or even bigamy or rape. Such being the case the elimination from judicial proceedings of the "John Jacob Jackson, you have been convicted on the clearest evidence of, etc. . . . To remonstrate with such a man as you would be useless, etc., etc.," with the epilogue, "I should be failing in my duty if I did not pass a heavy sentence," etc.—the elimination, I say, then, of this somewhat stale "gag" from judicial proceedings, might possibly have a tendency to keep alive respect for law somewhat longer than bids fair otherwise to be the case.

In France even middle-class public opinion has had to assent to the abolition of the scandal of the judge's summing-up, but respect for law and order is too great in this country to allow of this instalment of justice towards accused persons. But, surely, even in this country, a muzzle might be applied to the judge after the verdict. If Parliament were to employ itself in doing this it would at least prevent unoffending persons being sickened by the nauseous rant which on the occasion of every important trial now emanates from the whitened sepulchre in wig and gown, whose function it is to administer the law.

That society which is based on property and privilege must have a criminal code as its necessary consequence we are well aware, but we none the less protest against its "administrator" the judge being regarded in any more honourable light than its other "administrator," the hangman.

E BELFORD BAX.

## MOROCCO.

WE call the attention of our readers to the fact which some of them may have overlooked, that Morocco is at the present time the elect morsel of the capitalist harpies of Europe. All the "powers" are simultaneously negotiating treaties of commerce with the Moorish potentate, and it is rumoured that Germany has been pressing for permission for a syndicate of her capitalists to "open up" the country in approved fashion, though, it is said, as yet without success.

The most ominous sign of all, however, is the appearance in the field of the capitalist's right-hand man, the professional "philanthropist." For a long time past the press has presented us with periodical fragments of intelligence from Tangiers, all tending to impress the virtuous British public with the terrible wickedness of the Moorish authorities, and, above all, to inculcate a due sense of horror at the domestic slavery which exists there as in all Oriental civilisations.

The domestic slaves of the East, it has often been pointed out, are as a rule better off than the domestic servants of the West, while compared with that of the factory-slave, their lot is heaven upon earth. But the capitalist's aim is to replace the domestic slavery and hand production for use, which prevails in the Moorish Empire, by the "free contract" and factory system of the "great industry." For Morocco is a virgin soil, invaluable not merely as a market, but from its proximity to the sea and to Europe as a field for direct industrial exploitation. Hence the meeting recently convened in Tangiers by Messrs. Crawford and Allen, of the Anti-Slavery Society, at which a local Committee was formed for the transmission to this country of reliable (?) information on the subject of the slave-trade, is extremely significant. It shows the beginning of the end. Our readers may before long expect to hear of atrocities which compel intervention on the part of the humane capitalist governments of Europe, and to read "leaders" glowing with the hues of that emotion which commercial needs engender, even as the phosphorescent tints of blue and green in some suburban swamp are engendered by the decomposition of the defunct domestic cat. Then follow "military operations," decorations, annexations, and "occupations."

There is a grand attraction in the shape of a beautiful "Jewess," moreover, in this business; she alleges she was flogged *two years ago!* The present, if we are not mistaken, is not the first appearance of this young lady before the British public. Very nice are Morocco Jewesses—dark languishing eyes, voluptuous figures, etc., quite Arabian Nightesque. Their wrongs appeal to the man of taste so much more than those of stunted, sallow, bleary-eyed factory hands at home. Slavery and flogging, too, of beautiful Jewesses is barbarous—free contract and starvation of common-place factory-hands is civilised!

We shall keep the readers of the *Commonweal* well posted up as to the main incidents in the development of this nice little Morocco plot.

E. BELFORD BAX.

"A Parliamentary candidate is in this position," says the Bishop of Peterborough, "He is standing, wants to sit, and is compelled to lie." Not bad of the Bishop; but the amount of compulsion need not be very great, it would seem.

PARTY POLITICS.—"What is the pæan of victory?" "Three cheers for our candidate." "And what is a hideous howl from a score of drunken throats?" "Three cheers for the other candidate." "What is meant by the millions of free hearts and honest hands upon which rest the hopes and destinies of the Republic?" "Us." "And to whom does the grovelling horde of blatant demagogues that wallow in a fetid cesspool of festering corruption refer?" "Them." "Correct all around. To-morrow bring your Blue Book with you, and we'll pick out what is good for you. Remember, on the way home, the opposition members all live on the shady side of the street. The pupils will find a basketful of stones in the front area as they pass out. Now, be good boys, and don't create any disturbance. The class is dismissed."—*Albany Argus*.



All literary communications should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE following leaflets have been issued by the League:—No. 1. "Why be Transported?"; No. 2. "Down with the Socialists!"; No. 3. "To the Radicals!"; No. 4. "The Cause of Prostitution"; No. 5. "The Worker's Claims and 'Public Opinion'"; No. 6. "Tram-car Slavery: an Address to Tram-car Men and the Working Class in general." Copies sent to anyone on receipt of stamp for postage, and supplied for distribution at 2s. per 1,000.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

LIVERPOOL.—Anyone willing to form a Labour Emancipation League here is asked to communicate with Fred Willis, 49 Wood Street.

BEKANNTMACHUNG!—Genosse Theodor hält jeden Donnerstag abend einen Cursus für Elementar Unterricht in der englischen Sprache, woran alle Genossen welche derselben noch nicht mächtig sind, theil zunehmen eingeladen werden. Näheres beim Secretär, 13 Farringdon Road, E. C.

RECEIVED—England: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Der Rebell—Freethinker. Belgium: Ni Dieu ni Maître—L'Insurgé. France: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—La Bataille—Le Révolté—La Question Sociale (Paris)—Le Socialiste (Paris). Greece: Harden (Athens). Germany: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). Holland: Recht voor Allen. Hungary: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Budapest). Italy: La Question Sociale (Turin)—Il Paria (Ancona). Morocco: Almoghreb Al-aksa (Tangiers). New Zealand: Watchman. Portugal: O Campino—Voz do Operario—O Protesto Operario (Lisbon). Roumania: Drepturile Omului (daily, Bucharest). Serbia: Tches (Belgrade). Spain: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social (Barcelona)—Bandera Social (Madrid). Switzerland: Sozial Demokrat. U. S. A.: (New York): N. Y. Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal—Index. Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer—Chicago (Ill.) Alarm—Detroit (Mich.) Labor Leaf—Princeton (Mass.) Word—Cleveland (O.) Carpenter—Brattleboro (Vt.) Woman's Magazine; National Bulletin—San Francisco (Cal.) Chronicle—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Petersburg (Ill.) Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.) Die Parole—Kansas (Mo.) Sun—Pittsburg (Pa.) Labor Herald—Paterson (N. J.) Labor Standard—Baltimore (Md.) Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.) Lucifer—Atlanta (Ga.) Working World—Newfoundland (Pa.) La Torpille.

SINCE last acknowledgment books for the library have been received from Sparling.

#### Notice to Members.

Library and Reading Room.—All papers received by the Secretary have been sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members. The librarians, W. Chambers and May Morris, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m. for the purpose of exchanging books.

Choir.—The choir meets for practice every Friday evening at 8 o'clock. All members and friends who can do so are urgently requested to attend and help. No previous knowledge of music is necessary, as a class for elementary instruction is carried on in connexion with the choir.

Standing Committees.—Meet on Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m.

General Meeting.—On Monday 25th Jan. at 8.30 p.m. Council meets at 7.30.

#### NOTES.

MR. GLADSTONE has got the difficult task before him of propounding a scheme of Home Rule which the Parnellites can accept and which the Whigs will accept; but perhaps, after all it is not so difficult as it looks; for at present the Whigs seem prepared to swallow anything, absolutely anything, if they can only get into office and keep there. They have made their wry faces over the Home Rule pill; that is a thing of the past now; memory has no sorrows for them. Of course the Tories would have done the same thing if they had had the chance; nor can we hide the fact that the Radicals have cried out just as loudly against the dose. It is a good thing that they do not see where this Irish affair is leading. They think it a mere matter of party politics; fortunately it means—revolution.

There is Arab war again in Egypt, and there are plenty of signs that it will not be the fault of those whose business it is to fish in troubled waters if we do not have another Soudan affair. In spite of all disclaimers, we seem to be in danger of getting into the stream let loose by the exploiters and of drifting in it once more. In excited articles the *Pall Mall Gazette* cries out against the folly of conquering Dongola—meaning clearly Dongola only without all the rest. This has a suspicious resemblance to the "Don't drag him through the horse-pond!" of the old election candidate. Mr. Wilfrid Blunt did not get into Parliament, which is scarcely to be regretted, as he would have been an honest and intelligent man thrown away there; but it is to be hoped he will remember that there are extra-parliamentary means of agitation.

W. M.

## THE PILGRIMS OF HOPE.

### VIII.—THE HALF OF LIFE GONE.

THE days have slain the days, and the seasons have gone by  
And brought me the summer again; and here on the grass I lie  
As erst I lay and was glad ere I meddled with right and with wrong.  
Wide lies the mead as of old, and the river is creeping along  
By the side of the elm-clad bank that turns its weedy stream,  
And grey o'er its hither lip the quivering rushes gleam.  
There is work in the mead as of old; they are eager at winning the hay,  
While every sun sets bright and begets a fairer day.  
The forks shine white in the sun round the yellow red-wheeled wain,  
Where the mountain of hay grows fast; and now from out of the lane  
Comes the ox-team drawing another, comes the bailiff and the beer,  
And thump, thump, goes the farmer's nag o'er the narrow bridge of the weir.

High up and light are the clouds, and though the swallows flit  
So high o'er the sunlit earth, they are well a part of it,  
And so, though high over them, are the wings of the wandering herne;  
In measureless depths above him doth the fair sky quiver and burn;  
The dear sun floods the land as the morning falls toward noon,  
And a little wind is awake in the best of the latter June.

They are busy winning the hay, and the life and the picture they make,  
If I were as once I was, I should deem it made for my sake;  
For here if one need not work is a place for happy rest,  
While one's thought wends over the world north, south, and east and west.

There are the men and the maids, and the wives and the gaffers grey  
Of the fields I know so well, and but little changed are they  
Since I was a lad amongst them; and yet how great is the change!  
Strange are they grown unto me; yea I to myself am strange.  
Their talk and their laughter mingling with the music of the meads  
Has now no meaning to me to help or to hinder my needs,  
So far from them have I drifted. And yet amidst them goes  
A part of myself, my boy, and of pleasure and pain he knows,  
And deems it something strange when he is other than glad.  
Lo now! the woman that stoops and kisses the face of the lad,  
And puts a rake in his hand and laughs in his laughing face—  
Whose is the voice that laughs in the old familiar face?  
Whose should it be but my love's, if my love were yet on the earth?  
Could she refrain from the fields where my joy and her joy had birth,  
When I was there and her child, on the grass that knew her feet  
Mid the flowers that led her on when the summer eve was sweet?

No, no, it is she no longer; never again can she come  
And behold the hay-wains creeping o'er the meadows of her home;  
No more can she kiss her son or put the rake in his hand  
That she handled a while ago in the midst of the haymaking band.  
Her laughter is gone and her life; there is no such thing on the earth,  
No share for me then in the stir, no share in the hurry and mirth.

Nay, let me look and believe that all these will vanish away,  
At least when the night has fallen, and that she will be there 'mid the hay,  
Happy and weary with work, waiting and longing for love.  
There will she be, as of old, when the great moon hung above,  
And lightless and dead was the village, and nought but the weir was awake;  
There will she rise to meet me, and my hands will she hasten to take,  
And thence shall we wander away, and over the ancient bridge  
By many a rose-hung hedgerow, till we reach the sun-burnt ridge  
And the great trench digged by the Romans: there then awhile shall we stand,

To watch the dawn come creeping o'er the fragrant lovely land,  
Till all the world awaketh, and draws us down, we twain,  
To the deeds of the field and the fold and the merry summer's gain.

Ah thus, only thus shall I see her, in dreams of the day or the night,  
When my soul is beguiled of its sorrow to remember past delight.  
She is gone. She was and she is not; there is no such thing on the earth  
But e'en as a picture painted, and for me there is void and dearth  
That I cannot name or measure.

Yet for me and all these she died,  
E'en as she lived for awhile, that the better day might betide.  
Therefore I live, and I shall live till the last day's work shall fail.  
Have patience now but a little and I will tell you the tale  
Of how and why she died, and why I am weak and worn,  
And have wandered away to the meadows and the place where I was born;  
But here and to-day I cannot; for ever my thought will stray  
To that hope fulfilled for a little and the bliss of the earlier day.  
Of the great world's hope and anguish to-day I scarce can think;  
Like a ghost from the lives of the living and their earthly deeds I shrink.  
I will go adown by the water and over the ancient bridge,  
And wend in our footsteps of old till I come to the sun-burnt ridge,  
And the great trench digged by the Romans; and thence awhile will I gaze,  
And see three teeming counties stretch out till they fade in the haze;  
And in all the dwellings of man that thence mine eyes shall see,  
What man as hapless as I am beneath the sun shall be?

O fool, what words are these? Thou hast a sorrow to nurse,  
And thou hast been bold and happy; but these if they utter a curse,  
No sting it has and no meaning—it is empty sound on the air.  
Thy life is full of mourning, and theirs so empty and bare,  
That they have no words of complaining; nor so happy have they been  
That they may measure sorrow or tell what grief may mean.  
And thou, thou hast deeds to do, and toil to meet thee soon;  
Depart and ponder on these through the sun-worn afternoon.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

EVERY man who builds a house, or plants an orchard, or invents a machine, or discovers a law of nature, or does anything which tends to promote human comfort or happiness, is a public benefactor; but any man who stands between industry and the natural elements, to levy a tribute upon labour or to keep a foot of land out of use, is a curse to his country and a despoiler to his fellowmen.—*Francis Volney*.

## LESSONS IN SOCIALISM.

## VIII.—THE PRODUCT.—THE WORKING DAY.

EVERY product consists of three parts. (1) One that represents the human labour embodied in the raw material and in the means of labour that have been consumed in making the product. (2) Another that represents the necessary labour, *i.e.*, the labour that produces the equivalent of the labourer's means of subsistence. (3) Another that represents the surplus labour.

Let us take again the particular concrete example of the production of 20 lbs. of yarn worth 1s. 6d. a lb., out of 20 lbs. of cotton worth 1s. a lb. Of the 30s. realised by the sale of the yarn 20s. (for raw material) + 4s. (for the means of labour consumed) represent constant capital (*c. c.*). Therefore  $\frac{2}{3}$  or  $\frac{4}{6}$  of the 20 lbs. of the product, yarn, *i.e.*, 16 lbs., represent the constant capital.

Again, of the 30s. realised by the sale of the yarn, 3s. (for wages) represent the necessary labour of the labourer in producing the equivalent of his means of subsistence. Therefore,  $\frac{3}{30}$  or  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the 20 lbs. of the product, yarn, *i.e.*, 2 lbs. represent the variable capital (*v. c.*).

Finally of the 30s. that are realised by the sale of the yarn, 3s. (margin for profit) represent the surplus labour of the labourer after he has produced the equivalent of his means of subsistence. Therefore  $\frac{3}{30}$  or  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the 20 lbs. of the product, yarn, *i.e.*, 2 lbs. represent the surplus value (*s. v.*)

In a similar way any commodity can be analysed into three parts, corresponding respectively to *c. c.*, *v. c.*, *s. v.* The part of the product corresponding with surplus-value is the surplus product.

The time taken in the day of 24 hours to produce the equivalent of the variable capital + the time taken to produce the surplus-value, or in other words the necessary labour time + the surplus labour time in the 24 hours is the working day. To the consideration of that working day we now pass.

Notice, first, that the working day is not, under the capitalistic system, equal to the necessary working time. If it were, no production of surplus-value could result, and there could be no such thing as capital, and therefore no capitalistic system. Again, the necessary working time does not determine the length of the working day. To know how long a man takes to produce the equivalent of his means of subsistence is to know nothing of the length of the working day beyond the fact that it will exceed this necessary working time. This will come out the more clearly if following Marx in this as in all else we make three diagrams to represent three cases of working days :

a—b—c    a—b—c    a—b—c

Here the line a b represents the necessary working time, say 6 hours, and the line b c, represents the surplus working time, say 3, 6, 9 hours. a b in a given case of a particular industry and a particular labourer under constant conditions, is of the same length. But b c may vary. Hence we see that the actual length of a c, *i.e.*, of the working day, depends not on a b, *i.e.*, not on the necessary working time, but on b c, *i.e.*, on the surplus working time.

We saw that the rate of surplus-value was determined by dividing the surplus working time by the necessary working time. This ratio  $\frac{s.v.t.}{n.w.t.}$  may now be written  $\frac{b.c.}{a.b.}$ . The minimum limit of the working day might be a b. A man might only work so long as to produce the equivalent of his means of subsistence. But this cannot be under the capitalistic system. Nor would a b be the limit necessarily under a socialistic régime. Capital in the sense of the results of human labour that are to be used for further production will exist then. But such capital will not become the property of any private individual, and will not be used to exploit the many for the benefit of the few.

The maximum limit of the working day—the length of a c—depends upon two things. The working day is limited by certain physical things and by certain moral or social considerations. One of the physical limitations is imposed on it by the revolution of the earth on its own axis and is without doubt regarded by the capitalist as an imposition. a c cannot represent more than 24 hours. Actually, of course, it represents considerably less than 24 hours, for the nature of labour-power itself again limits the time during which the labourer can work. Of the limitations to the length of the working day dependent on morality, *i.e.*, on social conventions, the history of our factory legislation gives us some account as far as one particular time and one particular country are concerned. Upon certain phases of the contest in respect to these moral or conventional limitations to the working day the next article or two will touch. Let us end this one by reminding ourselves that a contest on this point has been and is.

The one end of the capitalist is surplus-value. For this, and for this alone he produces commodities. Hence his interest is to lengthen b c. No matter what happens to a b (necessary working time)—whether this be shorter or longer—the one thing needful is the lengthening of b c (surplus working time). This must be effected at all costs, except the loss of the source of surplus-value. b c must be stretched out, literally to the crack of doom.

This also the capitalist claims as a right. He has bought the labour-power for the 24 hours. May a man not do what he likes with his own? Is not this his moral, *i.e.*, his conventional right?

On the other hand, the very nature of the commodity, labour-power, that he has bought, puts a limit to its consumption, and the labourer, in whom it is embodied, not whose it is, has a moral right to a limit to the working day. In this case the moral or conventional is of necessity. It *must* be.

Here, then, is right (of capitalist) *versus* right (of labourer). Hence a struggle—force on the one hand, force on the other. The issue force has decided hitherto and force (whether of muscle or brain or numbers or all of these) will decide the ultimate issue.

Let us hear, as a contribution to the struggle and to its end, the voice of the labourer crying in the wilderness of capitalism. I take from Marx a passage that has been translated into most European tongues and is here once again translated. Even this Englishing of it may give some idea of that dramatic intensity of Marx which these dry notes of mine cannot in any sense put before those that read them :

"The commodity that I have sold to you differs from the crowd of other commodities in that its use creates value, and a value greater than, its own. That is why you bought it. That which on your side appears a spontaneous accretion to capital, is on mine extra expenditure of labour-power. You and I know on the market only one law ; that of the exchange of commodities. And the consumption of the commodity belongs not to the seller who parts with it, but to the buyer who acquires it. To you therefore belongs the use of my daily labour-power. But by means of the price that you pay for it each day, I must be able to reproduce it daily and to sell it again. Apart from the natural exhaustion through age, etc., I must be able on the morrow to work with the same normal amount of force, health and freshness as to day. You preach to me constantly the gospel of "saving" and "abstinence." Good ! I will, like a sensible, saving owner, husband my sole wealth, labour-power, and abstain from all foolish waste of it. I will each day expend, set in motion, put into action only so much of it as is compatible with its normal duration and healthy development. By an unlimited extension of the working day, you may in one day use up a quantity of labour-power greater than I can restore in three. What you gain in labour I lose in substance. The use of my labour-power and the spoliation of it are quite different things. If the average time that an average labourer doing a reasonable amount of work can live is 30 years, the value of my labour-power which you pay me from day to day is  $\frac{1}{365 \times 30}$  or  $\frac{1}{10,950}$  of its total value. But if you consume it in 10 years you pay me daily  $\frac{1}{10 \times 365}$  instead of  $\frac{1}{365 \times 30}$  of its total value, *i.e.*, only  $\frac{1}{3}$  of its daily value, and you therefore rob me every day of  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the value of my commodity. You pay me for one day's labour-power while you use that of three days. That is against the contract and the law of exchanges. I demand therefore a working-day of normal length, and I demand it without any appeal to your heart, for in money matters sentiment is out of place. You may be a model citizen, perhaps a member of the Society for the prevention of cruelty to animals, and in the odour of sanctity to boot, but the thing that you represent face to face with me has no heart in its breast. That which seems to throb there is my own heart-beating. I demand the normal working day, because I, like every other seller, demand the value of my commodity."

Three parts of product... (1) Corresponding with *c. c.* (2) Corresponding with *v. c.* (3) Corresponding with *s. v.*  
Working day ... Part of the 24 hours necessary to produce equivalent of *v. c.* and *s. v.*

$\frac{b.c.}{a.b.}$  ... Another expression for rate of surplus-value, where b c represents surplus working time, a b necessary working time.

Limitations to length of working day } Minimum length determined by time necessary to produce equivalent of labourer's means of subsistence. Maximum determined by certain physical and moral (*i.e.*, conventional) conditions.

EDWARD AVELING.

## "THE LABOURER AS MAN MADE HIM."

FROM MORE'S "UTOPIA."

FROM the Continent something less than 400 years ago the New Learning had just crossed over to Oxford with Colet and Erasmus, and the spirit of Hellenism was readily transferred by these great teachers to Thomas More. Liberty, equality, just laws, and a general diffusion of happiness which appeared in one or other of the early Greek States, filled him with a vigorous sense of the enormous injustice done to the producers of his own land by the tyranny, asserted superiority, injustice and luxury of the idlers. By the light of the new learning he attempted to dissipate the darkness enveloping our social and political customs, and in the "Utopia" he aims at neutralising those continuously disturbing forces, produced by the attraction and repulsion of the alternate poles of civilisation—of fashion and famine, idlers and workers, tyranny and slavery, church and jail.

The "Utopia" was written 370 years ago, and John Richard Green speaking of it, says : "From a world where fifteen hundred years of Christian teaching had produced social injustice, religious intolerance, and political tyranny, the humourist philosopher turned to a "No-where" in which the mere efforts of natural human virtue realised those ends of security, equality, brotherhood and freedom, for which the very institutions of society seemed to have been framed."

As a social reformer, More was even in advance of our own times. The Statute Book has embodied many of his suggestions, and our strongest political thinkers are bringing into the region of practical politics some of his long-neglected views. Sympathetically and vigorously More exposed the sorrow and misery of the labourers. He saw



that no legislative tinkering would materially alter their condition, and he was led to point out the true remedy—the *socialisation of wealth*. For the people to be truly happy, money and property must be abolished and then poverty would cease. The heart would no longer ache with its burden of depressing care and sickening anxiety, and those terrible crimes which startle us by their hideousness would for ever vanish.

The "Utopia" furnishes us with two pictures—the opposites of each other by their vivid contrast of light and shade—the one "The Labourer as Man made him," the other "The Labourer as Nature designed him." Let us look at the first. We see the labourer wronged, suffering, and oppressed, pinched by poverty, his whole existence rendered miserable, so that even "the beast's condition is much better than his." Justice, blind to the exploiting of the poor, was by "a conspiracy of the richer sort" (called the government) employed to shamefully rob him. He was harassed by laws regulating his wages, food, sleep, clothing, and hours of work. If at leisure, he could be compelled to work for any who desired his services, under the penalty of imprisonment until he could find security for good behaviour, in the event of refusal.

From five in the morning till eight at night, he was ceaselessly to toil, excepting the intervals of half an hour for breakfast and one hour and a half for dinner. If during these times he was idle or slept, woe betide him, for he was fined at pay-day. And his remuneration was to be one half the year 2d. with food or 4d. without, and the other half 1½d. with food or 3d. without; and this with the price of wheat varying from 3s. 4d. to £1 per quarter, according to the season and time of year.

No wonder that More could say: "The richer sort are often endeavouring to bring the hire of the labourer lower not only by their fraudulent practices but by the laws which they procure to be made to that effect, so that it is a thing most unjust in itself to give such small rewards to those that deserve so well of the public, yet they have given these hardships the name and colour of justice, by procuring laws to be made for regulating it."

As at the present time, so then, the nobles lived idle lives, "existing on other men's labours, who are their tenants, and whom they pare to the quick, and thereby raise their revenues." We are brought face to face also with the land question. Houses are pulled down, towns depopulated, commons enclosed, agriculture stopped, owners robbed, tenants evicted and the land turned into vast sheep-farms. The attendant consequences we can readily guess. Provisions are dear, for a cattle monopoly is now possessed by the rich, "who as they are not pressed to sell them sooner than they have a mind to it, so they never do till they have raised the price as high as possible." Wool is so dear that it does not pay to manufacture it into cloth, and the workmen are turned out of employment. And as the land is now gone down to grass, there is a scarcity of corn, the price of which is so high that all the helpers that can be at all spared, are dismissed from the families. And "there is no more occasion for country labour, to which the labourers have been bred, when there is no arable ground left."

These unfortunate people are obliged to sell for almost nothing their few things, and with their families to tramp in search of work, that it is almost impossible to get. And when their little all is gone, what is left but to steal and be hanged, or beg and be imprisoned as idle vagabonds? Where lies the justice of the present social condition? More cries, under which the idlers are allowed to roll in luxury, while the producers are compelled to struggle on with a bare subsistence, hopeless as to the future for which they are unable to provide, and knowing that when smitten by want, all "the good they have done will be forgotten, and all the recompense given them be that they are left to die in great misery." All the poor have left after their long toil, is to be allowed "to die in great misery," with the ecclesiastical consolation mocking their misery, that they shall enjoy a happy hereafter. Carlyle in sarcastic irony may well exclaim: "Liberty is a divine thing, but liberty to die by starvation is not so divine."

T. TONKIN.

## OUR EXCHANGES.

### II.—FRENCH.

THE French revolutionary press has been active at all times, but more than ever our friends are most remarkably energetic and productive at the present moment. The papers in the French language which are regularly received by the Socialist League are the best proof thereof, and we will now consider them one by one.

*Le Cri du peuple*, grand format, in folio, a daily paper, often with illustrations representing revolutionary scenes, etc. (Paris, 10 centimes the number) has existed several years. Founded by the late member of the Commune, Jules Vallès, it is carried on since the lamented death of Vallès by citoyenne Séverine. Principal contributor and political and economical chief of the journal is Jules Guesde, author of numerous Socialistic works. With him are citizens Lucien Victor, Meunier, and Paul Alexis, the most active and energetic co-workers.

*L'Intransigeant*, same size and price as the former, was founded by Henri Rochefort. It is a revolutionary paper which at one time exercised tremendous influence over the spirits of the French proletariat. Citizen B. Malon edits the economical part of the paper.

*La Justice* is the official organ of the Radical or Left wing of the French advanced parties, and M. Clémenceau, leader of the Radical or Left party in the French Parliament, is the political director and head

of the paper. Its editors are M. Camille Pelletan and M. Charles Longuet, formerly a member of the Paris Commune, a man among the best informed of Frenchmen with regard to social, political, and economical matters. He is besides one of the most distinguished disciples of Proudhon.

Next comes *La Bataille*, a revolutionary daily paper, small size, sold at a halfpenny per number. M. Lissagaray is the editor thereof, but he leaves to his contributors wide margins. By these means Citizens Jean Valjean and Crié are enabled to defend anarchistical doctrines in its columns. Citizen Valjean is a writer of great ability. During the last elections some of the revolutionary bodies who believed parliamentary action might benefit the Socialists, founded especially for the purpose of parliamentary agitation a paper called *L'Union Socialiste Révolutionnaire*, which of course has disappeared again since the circumstances which called it into life have passed away.

We arrive now at the journals which distinctly represent special shades and creeds of the Social Revolutionary Party.

*Le Socialiste* (a weekly paper at 10 c. the number) is the organ of the French Collectivists. Its editorial staff or committee is composed of the citizens Deville, Fréjac, Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, and A. Le Tailleur. Besides *Le Socialiste*, which appears at Paris, there are the following provincial periodicals representing the same shade of Socialistic opinion, namely, *La Défense des Travailleurs*, appearing at Rheims; *Le Socialiste de Lyon*, published at that city; *La Défense des Ouvriers*, which appears at Montluçon; and *Le Réveil du Forçat*, printed at Lille. All these papers propagate the ideas of the French Collectivist Socialists.

There has appeared also for some months at Paris the *Révolté*, formerly published at Geneva, and there during the last prosecutions in Switzerland seized and the office closed by the police. It is the principal organ of the French-speaking Communist-Anarchists. Its principal editors are Jean le Vagre and Elisée Reclus. Citizen Kropotkine is also a regular and important contributor to its columns.

As fortnightly papers there appear further in French *La Voix de l'Ouvrier*, edited by L. Bertrand, but inspired by Dr. César de Paepe, leader of the Belgian Reform Socialists. Next comes *L'Insurgé*, which some time ago made room for *Ni Dieu ni Maître*, and again this latter has recently been superseded by *La Guerre Sociale*, dedicating its columns to the propagation of Anarchistic-Communitic ideas.

Last, not least, we receive two monthly publications, both printed in Paris. One styled *La Question Sociale*, founded by P. Argyriades and having Gaillard, Lefrançais and others, for its contributors; and *La Revue Socialiste*, dedicated to Scientific Socialism, with Benoit Malon as its editor. It appears every month 150 pages strong and costs 1 franc the number.

In addition to the above enumerated Socialistic publications, there exist several other French papers advocating the cause of Socialism, but as the League does not receive copies of them, we are unable to judge as to their particular line of propaganda.

C. T.

## THE PEOPLE'S PRESS.

[Under this heading will be found a collection of pithy paragraphs collated from various journals published in the interest of the workers. Comrades and friends are invited to forward cuttings from English and translations from foreign labour journals.]

THE poor do not really possess the ballot. The poor give their votes to those who give them bread. The man without bread is therefore without a vote.—*Alarm*.

"Will the coming man work?" "He will, if I get him!" says a wise girl.—*Wilmington Star*.

The *Chicago Tribune*, in summing up the business of Chicago, for the year 1884, shows that the average value of the product of each wage-worker in Chicago was 2764 dollars, while the average wages paid were 457 dollars.

A system which is starving and freezing tens of thousands of little children right in the midst of a world of plenty, cannot be defended against dynamiters on the ground of humanity!—*Chicago (Ill.) Alarm*.

When labour employs capital it can dictate the rate of wages for that capital, but while the capitalist employs labour he will dictate wages every time.—*Detroit (Mich.) Labour-Leaf*.

If the wage-workers will but sink religious and national differences, and combine for their own benefit, they can solve the questions which affect them without bloodshed.—*Labor Leaf*.

When a man is compelled to work from morning till night all the year round for a bare subsistence, is he not a slave? And when almost upon bended knee he begs his employer to give him work to keep body and soul together, is he not worse than a slave?—*Express*.

When it takes seventy-five bushels of a Western man's corn to buy a ton of coal mined in Ohio, and the miner has to dig out twelve tons of coal to buy one bushel of corn, we may well stand aghast at our boasted system of developing the country.—*Labour Enquirer* (Denver, U.S.A.).

Any system that requires a stoppage of production in order to prosper, is so clearly wrong, that it ought not to need a second thought to see the wickedness of continuing such a system. Away with the barbaric old scheme!—*Chicago (Ill.) Alarm*.

The man who attempts to reduce wages, or lengthen the hours of labour, is an enemy to humanity, to his country, and to his God. To humanity, for he would debase it; to his country, for he would degrade its citizens; to his God, for he would cause man to curse his creator and hate his own existence.—*Los Angeles (Cal.) Union*.

Workingmen, with you the laws of competition are reversed. Instead of the purchaser competing for the article, it is the article that competes for a purchaser. When the capitalist sells an estate, it is the purchaser who competes for it, and the estate goes up; when the workingman sells himself, it is he who competes for the purchaser, and the man goes down.—*Capital and Labour*.

It is a strange sight, sad and pitiable, to see a man so poor he can't set up and so helpless that he can't protect his wife and children from the squalls of poverty, defending the rights, powers and privileges of the capitalistic class as outlined by present laws and systems. No word for himself, wife or children, a hopeless, helpless victim, a fawning, cringing slave.—*Kansas Workman*.

## Correspondence.

## SOCIALISM AND REMUNERATION.

Whilst agreeing in the main with comrade Smith's remarks upon the payment of labour in a Socialist State, I should like to suggest, what I am inclined to believe would be an easier method of dealing with the difficulty, so far as production is concerned, and it is: to measure the individual's labour by product, or "piece," as usually understood, instead of measuring it by time.

My reasons I will state as briefly as I can. In the first place, taking men as we find them, the generality would object to bear one another's burdens. To tell the average man that it is his duty to do more work than his fellow for the same remuneration is not the way to attract him towards Socialism or impress him favourably respecting your sanity. The plague of it is because he does not believe himself to be merely an "average man." In his own opinion the only thing he lacks in order to shine, as a dazzling luminary in some particular walk, is the opportunity. It is a commendable feeling essential to progress, but it has been brutalised under existing conditions into that sordid selfishness which resents all effort unfringed with pecuniary gain.

The next reason is that in taking men as we find them, some of the faint-to-be loafers of society would find their way into the Brotherhood. These might be readily apt to fall, from set purpose, into the class of "inferior calibre," and so become a burden for their more generous brethren to bear. Whereas if a quality and quantity standard were fixed to be reached by every capable and accredited citizen in his, or her, special calling, it would serve to stimulate the activities of all in the performance of their necessary duties; since when the accepted standard was complied with, leisure and recreation for the individual would follow. Of course this method is mainly applicable to productive labour. It cannot be applied in distribution, transit and other forms of labour. Happily the time method can be brought into operation in these forms, with much greater surety and facility than in production.

I believe that the idle and selfishly disposed would soon die off in a Socialist atmosphere. Only the generous and fraternal would find the conditions genial to their growth. In the beginning would be the only difficulty; but given Society on a Socialist basis and a generation's trial, the salutary influences of fraternal, communal principles, as opposed to the brute competition obtaining, would so effectually regenerate men as to leave society able to dispense afterwards with the lightest of her man-made laws.

T. M.

## "THE HUSKS THAT THE SWINE DO EAT."

"At the Aldershot police court, on Thursday, Henry Smith, labourer, was charged with stealing refuse food, value 3d., the property of William Newland. George Squires, provost corporal of the Medical Staff Corps, stated that he saw the prisoner taking food off the men's dishes as they were taking it to swill tubs for the contractor. In cross-examination the witness said that no soldier had any right to give any portion of his food away, whether he paid for it or not, as all broken food was sold to the contractor. Smith, for his defence, stated that he was hungry, and that a soldier asked him to take a little food off his dish. The accused was sentenced to a month's hard labour."—*Daily Telegraph*, Dec. 12th, 1885.

The Prodigal Son is starved out, then; "the husks that the swine do eat" are to have their full share in the apotheosis of property; they are become holy things, which no unprivileged person must touch. Ghost of William Cobbett, here is another "vast improvement" for you on the Scandinavian law that decreed a thousand years ago that he who stole from necessity of hunger was to go scot free. The whole case seems like a cruel practical joke, and it may be hoped that the Home Secretary will at least carry the jest on by pardoning Henry Smith for the crime of eating when he was hungry.

But when Henry Smith comes out with his prospects brightened by his having been in jail, if he has any leisure to think amidst the pangs of hunger, he might ponder on the meaning of the words *free, freedom, enfranchisement*, as they are used in political language to-day. He may have the leisure, if it be true that at one period in the process of death by starvation it is possible to think, or at least to dream.

Apart from the question of what punishment was given to a Roman slave at the worst period, or a plantation nigger for "stealing" 3d. worth of hogswash, I feel a curiosity on the following questions: How much hogswash Henry Smith ate? How it agreed with his digestion? What is in scientific accuracy the amount of nourishment (to a man, not a hog) in 3d. worth of hogswash? What weight of hogswash one can buy for 3d.?

It seems, though, this matter of hogswash for men is becoming a burning question; for I have noticed in the papers charitable suggestions that collections of that article shall be made and sold to our "poorer brethren"; sold, if you please, not given, lest pauperisation should result.

Two more questions yet: How much worse—or better—is Aldershot hogswash than the ordinary food of Henry Smith and of the many thousands that he represents? And lastly, How long is it to be borne?

W. M.

## RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

HOLLAND.—A week or two ago our friend and indefatigable co-worker, F. Donela Nieuwenhuis spent a few days in London, and the account he gave of our movement in Holland was most encouraging. He has promised to send us a letter on the subject. Meantime I may mention one or two of the facts he told me. Of course it was easy to see even from the bourgeois press that Socialism is the question of the day in Holland as elsewhere; but few of us realise—I certainly did not—what immense strides have been made by our friends within the last three or four years. "There is not a town, barely a village," said Comrade Nieuwenhuis, "where we have not a considerable following. One reason of our success is that there has never been anything like the misery there now is in Holland. Not only the thousands of town-labourers out of work, but the peasants, till recently comparatively well off, are now everywhere on the point of starvation, and when we come and tell the people why this is they flock to hear us and soon become eager to work with us. In country places the people—men and women—often tramp ten, twelve, and in some cases as much as twenty miles to hear our 'gospel.' We

often sell as much as 60,000 copies of our paper. When the movement begins—and naturally it must begin in one of the large countries, our little Holland would soon be crushed if it rose alone—you will find us ready." Our friend also asked me to state that the so-called Socialist deputy Heldt is no Socialist at all, and has no more to do with the movement in Holland than, say Mr. Howell, has with ours.

BELGIUM.—From Belgium, too, comes good news. The correspondent of a Socialist contemporary, giving an account of a demonstration when 3000 workmen marched beneath the red flag from Gand to Ledeberg, says: "We marched silently, thinking of the past, dreaming of the future. . . . Flemish tenacity had surmounted all obstacles, was moving on in spite of everything. The tens of yesterday had become the hundreds of to-day, and will become thousands to-morrow. On the Socialist map the two Flanders hardly a year ago formed one enormous black stain only illumined by one great red mark at Gand, and two or three small ones near the French frontier. And now the map of these provinces is like a beautiful starry sky. The inert masses that had seemed hopelessly brutalised by centuries of bigotry and misery have awakened at the voice of their brothers. Their apparent indifference was only ignorance. The daily paper *Vooruit* (Forwards) and the *Tokomst* (the Future) were sold by volunteers in all the towns and all the villages of Flanders. As many as 20,000 copies were bought in one day, and eagerly read by the people, who there found set forth in clear words what they had only vaguely felt. . . . The new evangel of happiness and of deliverance roused sleeping hearts, gave new courage. . . . And associations were founded. Already hundreds of workers have come to strengthen the army of the proletariat. The weak to-day will, by uniting, be the strong of to-morrow. . . . Placed resolutely on the ground of the struggle of classes, they recognise only friends and enemies, and refuse every equivocal alliance. All soldiers of the same cause, with no other rivalry than that of devotion, they can trust all who follow their banner. . . . Full of confidence in the future of their cause, they have the courage to await the propitious hour. . . . The war (between Socialism and Capitalism) must break out one day; the atrocious consequences of the present system make this inevitable. The Flemish Socialists know this, and determined to conquer then, use the time left them to augment their forces and improve their organisation."

SPAIN.—While the bourgeois press is eagerly discussing whether a little baby of five is to "rule" over several millions of Spaniards, or whether she will be replaced a few months hence by a still younger baby or by a republic, the terrible economic crisis through which Spain is passing is completely overlooked, either intentionally or from sheer ignorance. This crisis has lasted for months, and is daily growing more intense. A Spanish friend writing to the *Socialiste* (Paris) says: "Thousands of arms are idle in Arragon in the ancient kingdom of Valentia, in Galicia, in Castille and Estramadura. In Andalusia the want of work and misery of the inhabitants have reached proportions unknown to this day. . . . The public powers, who only care for these questions when they threaten to endanger the interests of the bourgeois class, are rather uneasy—and they are right. For the misery of the workers of this vast region of Andalusia—celebrated for its fertility and its richness, this paradise of which the capitalist régime has made a hell—grows menacing. . . . In Catalonia, the chief industrial centre of Spain, the situation is the same. "Most of the factories are closed, others open for a short time, only to close again . . . so that thousands are without bread in this province. At Barcelona in the single industry of printed stuffs, that employs about 2000 hands, 1700 are out of work. 4000 engineers are idle. It is the same with thousands of weavers, spinners, bricklayers, tailors and shoemakers. The printing trade is in an almost more precarious condition. . . . Half the printers in Madrid are out of work. . . ." A bourgeois journal, *El Día*, says: "The pawnshops and loan offices have not premises large enough to store the things brought thither by vice, but most often by misery. We must have no illusions: the precarious state of the population the hunger and the misery cannot wait." And our friend rightly adds "think what the situation must be when a bourgeois organ paints it in such black colours."

FRANCE.—A new weekly journal, *La terre aux Paysans* (The Land for the Peasants), gives some interesting facts drawn from the official agricultural report of 1873. According to this report, of 49 million hectares (about one million acres), peasants cultivating their own land possess only four millions, house property and gardens occupy 1 million, and the remaining forty-four millions are in the hands of idlers and exploiters, "old and new nobles, and bourgeois of all sorts." The idlers, therefore, have eleven times more land than the workers. And this within about 100 years of the "great revolution" that was to give the land to the peasant!

While there has been such a decided reaction of the bourgeoisie against not only free, but even against education of any sort in England, it is curious to note that the French bourgeoisie is equally anxious to prevent the "risks that social order will run from the spread of education." Some of the bourgeois are quite pathetic on the subject, while others, as our friend the *Socialiste* points out, are driven to plead for good education because the uneducated workman cannot compete with the educated. "Thus while the bourgeois on the one hand exclaim against the dangers and the cost of education, others proclaim its necessity in the interests of national industry." A pretty state of affairs!

AMERICA.—The papers announce a curious "new departure" at Harvard University. A "professor of Socialism", in the person of the Rev. John Graham Brooks, has been appointed. Of course we know the kind of thing the Rev. Mr. Brooks is likely to lecture about, and that he is not likely to preach revolutionary Socialism to the gilded youth of Harvard—but still the appointment is an interesting "sign of the times."

A labour journal published in North Carolina (*The Workman*) states that in the factories at Durham (N.C.), children for the least neglect of work or carelessness are whipped by the overseers. After all this is not so surprising in an old slave-state. The Knights of Labour are to look into the matter.

From New York comes a pleasant piece of news—another sign of the time, too—i.e., that artists are beginning to see that they must make common cause with the workers. The director of the Thalia Theatre, a German called Auberg, has lately employed a "scab" orchestra, specially imported by him to undersell the already ill-paid American musicians. These, through the Mutual Musical Protective Union, have appealed to the Central Labour Union, with the result that the latter has called upon the workers to "boycott" this theatre (which is a popular one), and to prevent so far as they can others from going there.

One thinks of South America as the land of constant "revolutions"—o

the upsetting of one "President" by another, and of internecine warfare. But, apparently, even here Socialism is beginning to spread. From Buenos Ayres a correspondent writes to the New York *Socialist*, that though weak in its infancy the movement is growing steadily. "In those towns that have larger industrial centres, like Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Ayres, Montevideo, etc., the immigrant, Socialistically-minded workmen are beginning to organise. In Buenos Ayres the Italians have formed a group, that publishes an organ, the *Questione Sociale*." The Club *Vorwartz* is also doing good work, and "now counts over a hundred members. . . . The other nationalities, Frenchmen, Spaniards, English, have not yet any Socialist associations, but, naturally, there are among them individual Socialists and Communists." This is, at any rate, a beginning.

ELEANOR MARX-AVELING.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

### SUMMARY OF MONTHLY REPORTS.

**Farringdon Hall.**—Since last report about 25,000 leaflets and 5,000 copies of "For whom shall we vote?" have been distributed. An elementary singing-class has been some time started for the purpose of instruction in the rudiments of music those desirous of forming a choir. The choir committee would now be glad if some friends more advanced in the study of music would help by joining the choir. Sopranis and alti particularly wanted. Choir meets for practice on Jan. 8th and every subsequent Friday at 8 p.m. The election fever and other causes have caused a slight falling off in the attendance at our lectures. It is to be hoped, however, that with the new year, our propaganda will be carried on with renewed activity and vigour. At the general meeting on Dec. 7, the following resolution was passed:—"That this meeting of London members of the Socialist League views with indignation the action of certain members of the Social Democratic Federation in trafficking with the honour of the Socialist party, and desires to express its sympathies with that section of the body which repudiates the tactics of the disreputable clique concerned in the recent nefarious proceedings." On Saturday Dec. 5, a very successful concert and dramatic entertainment was given by Edward Aveling and other friends.

**London Branches.**—*Bloomsbury* has had very successful lectures and has gained five new members. It is about to engage a larger hall. Finances good, and fair sale of literature. *Hammersmith.*—Membership stationary, slight falling off in attendance at lectures, but discussions fairly good. A general meeting of members will be held at 5 o'clock on Sunday afternoon, Jan. 10, to improve organisation. *Hoxton* has been working hard as usual in all possible ways. The Sunday morning Readings have proved an attractive auxiliary, and those who can spare an hour or two on Sunday mornings, can there utilise their time very pleasantly and profitably. *Marylebone.*—Open-air meetings have been held during the month both morning and evening and have been fairly successful. The sale of literature has been very good. This Branch is in want of a hall; any one who knows of one in the neighbourhood would oblige by giving particulars to the secretary either of the Branch or the League. *Merton* has increased membership and strengthened finances to report. Still carrying on two lectures a week, enlivened by an occasional concert, it cannot be reproached with inactivity. *Mile-end* carries on a very successful series of lectures and readings and is slowly gathering strength and influence. *North London* has been working well, financial position satisfactory, and membership increasing. *South London* has not reported. *Stratford* hopes soon to have an abiding-place in the club-house of the West Ham Radical Alliance, to whose members Sparling delivered a lecture by invitation on Sunday 20th Dec., on "Three Acres and a Cow," which was well received.

**Provincial.**—*Bradford* reports a meeting at the Newmarket Hotel, on Nov. 29, addressed by Maguire, Sclitt, and other comrades from Leeds, and a lecture on "Competition," by comrade Bland at Trinity Baptist Schools. *Dublin* sends most cheering report. Speakers from the Branch have addressed the Saturday Club on various questions. On Thursday, 17th Dec., Coulon gave an address on "The Revolution," Kavanagh, Gabriel and Fitzpatrick taking part in discussion which followed. *Edinburgh.*—Detailed report not to hand; position described as satisfactory; five meetings held during the month. *Leicester* sends interesting report of lectures by Eleanor Marx-Aveling and G. B. Shaw. The Branch is about to form a class for the study of Economics on the basis of Karl Marx, with Aveling's "Lessons" as text-book. *Leeds* reports hopefully. During the month an address has been given to a Branch of the Engineers' Union, and a debate held at the Secularist meeting-place upon Socialism v. Individualism. Our Leeds comrades claim to have made a satisfactory impression on both occasions, and intend to follow up vigorously the advantage they have gained. They welcome the arrival of our comrade Mahon to help in the good work and look hopefully forward. *Manchester* has had to suspend outdoor work owing to severe weather, but the indoor meetings have been successfully carried on. Aveling's visit stirred up a great deal of interest in our cause. He lectured to a large audience in the Forum on the "Curse of Capital." Lectures with good results have been delivered at *Royton* and good work has been done by some comrades in lecturing at the Hulme Radical Club. A connexion has been formed with Liverpool which is likely to prove beneficial. Large sale of literature. *Oxford* has held its meetings weekly and has given two public lectures which have been fairly well attended and discussed, viz., on Nov. 30, "Socialist Experiments in America," on Dec. 9, "The Theory of Population in regard to Socialism."

### "THE COMMONWEAL"

✓ The title-page, index, and covers for binding the volume of the *Commonweal* for 1885, can be obtained of the manager, 13 Farringdon Road, for 2s.

#### THE GUARANTEE FUND.

In September last an appeal was published asking for subscriptions to a fund to enable the *Commonweal* to be issued weekly. It was hoped that we might have been able to have commenced the year in this way, but the response to our appeal has not been sufficient to warrant such a risk at present. It has, however, been definitely resolved by the Council that when the Guarantee Fund reaches £100, the *Commonweal* shall at once be issued as a weekly. We are convinced that there are many outside our own ranks who would willingly subscribe to such an object who find it impossible in other ways to take part in our work, and we urge upon all members, friends, and sympathisers, to work strenuously for the bringing-about of this much needed extension of our educative power.

E. BELFORD BAX. WILLIAM MORRIS.  
H. H. SPARLING. CARL THEODOR.

#### LECTURE DIARY: January, 1886.

**FARRINGTON HALL** (Offices of the League), 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.—  
*Lectures.*—Every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. Admission free; discussion invited.  
Jan. 6. E. Carpenter, "Private Property." 13. Ed. Aveling, "The Struggle for the Working Day." 20. G. B. Shaw, "Laissez Faire." 27. W. Morris, "The Political Outlook."  
*Concerts, etc.*—On Saturday 26th Dec. at 3.30 p.m., Children's Party, with Christmas Tree, etc. On Saturday 9th Jan. and Saturday 23d Jan. at 8 p.m. there will be Music, Readings, etc. All are welcome to these Saturday Sociables. Admission free.

**CLEVELAND HALL**, Cleveland Street, W. (near Portland Road Station).—A grand concert and ball will be held at the above hall on January 1st 1886. Doors open at 7.30 p.m., commence at 8 p.m. Admission by programme, 6d. and 1s. It is hoped that all members and their friends will attend. The proceeds, after payment of necessary expenses, will be devoted to the propaganda of the Socialist League. Programmes can be obtained at the following places:—T. E. Wardle, 9 Charlotte Street, Bedford Square; H. H. Sparling, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.; C. W. Mowbray, 36 Boundary Street, Shoreditch; and at Cleveland Hall, before and on the night of the concert.—T. E. WARDLE.

#### BRANCH MEETING ROOMS.

##### LONDON.

**Hoxton** (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pittfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sundays, 11.30 a.m., Readings, etc.; 8 p.m., Lectures. Jan. 3. 11.30 a.m.; T. Westwood, "Food and Physic"; 8 p.m., H. Sparling, "The Münster Commune." 10. Morning, Readings, etc.; Evening, W. A. Chambers, "Gospel of Discontent." 17. Morning, C. Mowbray, "Political Aspect"; Evening, T. Binning, "Citizen and Subject." 24. Morning, Readings, etc.; Evening, G. Brocher, "The Familistere." 31. Morning, H. Sparling, "History and Associations of Tobacco"; Evening, W. C. Wade, "The Story of Ireland's Wrong."  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m. Jan. 3. Edward Carpenter, "Private Property." 10. William Morris, "The Political Outlook." 17. H. H. Sparling, "The Blind Samson." 24. A. K. Donald, a lecture. 31. George Bernard Shaw, a lecture.  
**Marylebone.**—Corner of Bell Street, Edgware Road. Sundays at 11.30 a.m.  
**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Every Sunday, 8 p.m. Jan. 3. D. Nicoll, "Charms of Civilisation." 10. G. Brocher, "The Familistere." 17. W. A. Chambers, "The Agony Column." 24. H. H. Sparling, "The Blind Samson." 31. J. Lane, "Poverty, its Cause, Result, and Cure."  
**Mile-end.**—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. Jan. 5. H. Davis, "Are Wages drawn from Capital?" 12. R. A. Beckett, "Happiness." 19. W. A. Chambers, "The Gospel of Discontent." 26. W. C. Wade, "The Story of Ireland's Wrong."  
**North London.**—Camden Hall, King Street, Camden Town, N. Wednesdays at 8.30 p.m.  
**South London.**—Camberwell Radical Club, Gloucester Road, Peckham. Every Thursday at 8 p.m. Jan. 7. William Morris, "How we live and how we might live." 14. W. C. Wade, "Free Trade and Socialism." 21. R. A. Beckett, "Equality." 28. E. J. Baxter.

##### PROVINCIAL.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Kirkgate. Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Sympathisers invited.  
**Dublin.**—Oddfellow's Hall, 10 Upper Abbey Street. Thursdays at 7.30.  
**Edinburgh** (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30.  
**Glasgow.**—Albion Halls, College Street. Sundays at 7 p.m.  
**Leeds.**—54, Myrtle Street. Meets every Wednesday.  
**Leicester.**—Secular Hall, Humberstone Gate. Sundays at 3 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—City Café, Swan Street. Meets each Tuesday at 8 p.m. Jan. 5. Parkinson, "The Gospel of Discontent." 12. Harry, "Capitalism a Curse; a plea for Socialism." 19. Morley, "The County Elections and what they teach Socialists." 26. Peach, "Liberty Equality and Fraternity." General business meeting on Monday Jan. 4, at the County Forum, at 8 o'clock.  
**Royton.**—"Greyhound Inn." Every Sunday evening at 7.30.  
**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Meets every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m. The Secretary will be happy to give lectures on Socialism to any of the Liberal and Radical Clubs in the town and neighbourhood; address 57 Landsdowne Road, Chadderton, Oldham. Comrade Tod, 73 Book Street, off Ashton Road, will be glad to see or hear from *bond fide* inquirers.  
**Oxford.**—"Elm Tree Tavern," Cowley Road. Every Monday at 8.30 p.m.

#### OPEN AIR PROPAGANDA.

**Hyde Park.**—Sundays, 3.30 p.m., near Marble Arch.  
**Regent's Park.**—Sundays, 11.30 a.m.  
**Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, 7 p.m.  
**Leeds.**—Vicar's Croft. Sundays, afternoon.  
**Manchester.**—New Cross, Oldham Road. Sundays, 2.30 p.m.  
**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

#### MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

**SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB**, Goldsmith Row, Hackney Road.—Lectures on Sundays at 7.45 p.m. Jan. 3. J. G. Fitzgerald, "Emigration." 10. No meeting. 17. H. M. Hyndman, "First Morning under Socialism." 24. William Morris, "Socialism." 31. A. K. Donald, "The Prophecy of Socialism."

**PECKHAM AND DULWICH RADICAL CLUB**, 144 Rye Lane, Peckham.—Lectures on Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m. Jan. 5. Edward Carpenter, "Spoliation of Labour." 12. William Morris, "Socialism." 19. H. H. Sparling, "The Meaning of the Revolution." 26. C. W. Mowbray, "Development of Revolutionary Ideas."

#### A SOCIALIST PICTURE.

"Fiat Justitia, Pereat Mundus," designed and drawn by Comrades Daubenspeck and Walter, and sold by the former at 42 Sun Street, Finsbury, E. C. at 2s. 6d., is a pictorial presentment of the contrast between the Chaos of To-day and the coming Order of Socialism. To right and left of the lower portion are shewn with mediaeval directness the preaching and practice of Church and State, while in the centre the murderous march of Commercial War slays those who foster it; behind grows the Social Revolution. Rolling forward to cover the ruin below, a bank of clouds stretches across the middle. Above it stands an emblematic figure of Humanity supported by Justice and Armed Freedom, while Peace and Plenty look out upon land and sea, teeming under their beneficent influence with the products of nature and of industry. H. H. S.

Now ready, by Edward Carpenter.

"TOWARDS DEMOCRACY," new edition, with numerous added poems, crown 8vo. cloth, pp. 260, price 2s. 6d. "MODERN SCIENCE; a Criticism," crown 8vo. stiff paper, pp. 75, price 1s. Also, pamphlets; ENGLAND'S IDEAL, 2d., and "MODERN MONEY LENDING, or the meaning of Dividends," 2d.—Published by J. Heywood, Deansgate, Manchester, and 11 Paternoster Buildings, London.

**REVOLUTIONARY RHYMES AND SONGS FOR SOCIALISTS.** Fifteen selections from various International Revolutionary poets, printed on good paper. 1d. Published by T. Binning, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

*Note.*—Our regular and our occasional readers are often anxious to know where they can obtain Socialist literature. We are glad to tell them that William Blundell, 14 Camden Passage, Islington, not only sells works of the type they require, but issues a printed list that will be found of use to those desirous of consulting Socialist works.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE, at 13 Farringdon Road, London.



# THE COMMONWEAL

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ONE PENNY.

## PSEUDO-SOCIALISM.

It is somewhere recorded that certain monkeys are addicted to nibbling the extremities of their tails, deriving a dreadful pleasure from the uncertainty of the limit to which they can carry the operation without incurring pain or discomfort, and many there are among men and women who approach Socialism in a like shrinking, tentative fashion. This spirit was manifested very plainly at the Fabian meeting at South Place on December 18th, and found concrete expression in Mrs. Besant's paper then given upon "How to nationalise accumulated wealth," since printed in the *Practical Socialist*.

A brief while ago some courage was required upon the part of anyone who admitted a leaning towards Socialism, or even the slightest knowledge thereof, but now, everyone who feels the misery of the masses, either by sympathy or in reality, and desires to palliate or remove it, hastens to proclaim his or her "socialistic" proclivities. But the British are a "practical" folk—and hence it arises that "practicableness," "moderation," "law" and "order," are the tender portion of the popular tail towards which the dilettanti Socialists gradually nibble with an awful sense of impending danger. From Mrs. Besant's previous record, it might have been inferred that she would treat her subject in a bold, unhesitating manner; instead of this she indulged in a truistic harangue which of course delighted the "moderate and peaceable," and might have been delivered in the House of Commons with applause.

To consider and treat of this half-hearted, purblind preachment with equanimity is barely possible. The monstrous power of devoting their wealth to the exploitation and enslavement of the workers which the present system confers upon individuals, is euphemistically termed a "great blot" upon the system, and to remove the "blot," Mrs. Besant proposes; "1st. To so legislate as to endeavour to prevent further accumulation, trusting to existing agencies to slowly disperse that already accumulated. 2nd. To disperse at death that which was accumulated during life." This is moderation and diplomacy with a vengeance! Truly a sublime ideal toward which we can all work with enthusiasm! Does Mrs. Besant mean that the utmost possible attainment for the present generation or the next is a point at which it may "endeavour to prevent," since a little further on she warns those of us who believe it within the power of an awakened people to not only *endeavour* but *achieve*, that we should "put off Socialism for two hundred years" by telling them so; or was she—I ask it with bated breath—only "talking round" a no-meaning, an utter vacuity?

In her denunciation of so-called "confiscation," and her advice to "make it more difficult to leave it to those who are thereby furnished with an incentive to idleness," Mrs. Besant, in common with her class of "practical people," has either forgotten, or omitted to mention several things worthy to be borne in mind in this connexion.

The community even now crudely recognises, and puts in force, the principle of "confiscation" in regard to those things which it knows to be inimical to its welfare. Restrictions are placed upon the storage and use of explosives, the carrying of firearms, the "individual enterprise" of adulteration, etc. When the community deems the possession or use of aught by one of its members to be hurtful or even threatening to itself, it promptly resorts to "confiscation," and does not content itself with "endeavouring to prevent further accumulation." Why, therefore, shall we "injure the socialistic cause" by teaching the people to extend the application of this principle to its logical conclusion—the destruction of individual monopoly in the means of production, transport, etc.—it being admitted that the said monopoly is injurious to the common weal? It is quite within their right that some who regard such an action of the community as undue interference with personal liberty, should strenuously object thereto, but it is futile and illogical for one who admits the principle to resist its application. Perhaps, however, Mrs. Besant reasons of the "morality" of such procedure in the ratio of its "practicability"—and its "justice" in proportion to the force, moral and material, arrayed upon its side?

"There is only one *right* to possession—the right a man has to all that he can produce; any other so-called *right* in possession is simply made by the law, that is to say, by social consent. What makes property? Labour." Just so; and what we Revolutionary Socialists are striving to do, is to get this recognised by the people. When that is done, the *revolution is accomplished*, and only waits realisation.

To attempt to mislead the folk from the prompt recognition of that central truth on the plea that Expediency pays; that it is "dangerous" to appeal to Justice and to Right; that we must wait—always wait—

and take thankfully just what concessions our spineless "practical" friends judge from time to time our owners are frightened enough to give, irresistibly reminds one of the lady who ordered that her dog's tail should be cut off by degrees—it would hurt so much more if done at a blow! Let but the people be once conscious that they are robbed, understand how, and identify the robbers, they will assuredly "make a sharp distinction between income which is the result of the . . . person's own work, and income which is the result of . . . other persons' work," but hardly, I think, for the purpose of debating upon a progressive or upon a cumulative income tax, as Mrs. Besant would apparently have them do, or even of discussing the enthralling problem, "when a person is living upon money which he has done nothing to earn, may he not reasonably be expected to contribute to the state some considerable portion of his income?"

It is a very comfortable doctrine for the possessing classes, and one that will aid them in tranquilising their "consciences," now somewhat disturbed by the shadows of coming events, that they may hold on to all they have the power to retain without incurring anything more severe than the "contempt of all honest men." Some of them already have experienced this and very "practically" shown their disregard of it! They may even command the cordial approval of the pseudo-socialist by so doing; for is it not *requisite* that reform shall be "gradual," and that the "slow process of evolution" shall never be unduly hurried by a revolution—of thought even?

Mrs. Besant was incorrect—and *knew* it—when she charged Revolutionary Socialists with a thirst for blood. In speaking of the "immediate use of armed force," she consciously made a rhetorical point at the expense of truth—and she further was fully aware when she taunted us with the "fifty votes, bought and paid for with Tory gold," that the action of the candidates who secured them was not only without the support of their own section of the party, but in open hostility to the principles held by all other Socialists.

As Mrs. Besant's strong point is the "consideration of practical questions," I may suggest that if she is really on the side of "palliatives," the "endeavouring to prevent," admirable as it may seem in its philosophic calm and dignified restraint, is hardly "practical" enough to do much good—to the unemployed, for instance—and that she would be much more "useful" in supporting the Radical programme than in striving to keep back the tide of revolution with her ineffectual besom. To her and to others I would commend the caustic words of Carlyle anent some kindred spirits who manifested themselves during the French Revolution: "One thing strikes us in these poor Girondins, their fatal shortness of sight; nay, fatal poorness of character, for that is the root of it. They are as strangers to the people they would govern, to the thing they have come to work in. Formulas, Philosophic Respectabilities, what has been written in Books, and admitted by the Cultivated Classes; *this* inadequate *scheme* of nature's working is all that nature, work as she will, can reveal to these men. So they perorate and speculate, and call on the Friends of Law, when the question is not Law or No-Law, but Life or No Life. Pedants of the Revolution, if not Jesuits of it! . . . A Republic founded on what they call the Virtues, on what we call the Decencies and Respectabilities, this they will have and nothing but this. Whatsoever other Republic Nature and Reality send shall be considered as not sent, as a kind of Nightmare Vision and thing non-existent, disowned by the Laws of Nature and of Formula. Alas! dim for the best eyes is this Reality; and as for these men they will not look at it with eyes at all, but only through 'facetted spectacles' of Pedantry, wounded Vanity, which yield the most portentous fallacious spectrum. Carping and complaining for ever of Plots and Anarchy, they will do one thing; prove to demonstration that the Reality will not translate into their Formula; that they and their Formula are incompatible with the Reality; and in its dark wrath, the Reality will extinguish it and them!"

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

## THE TWO ENTHUSIASMS.

AN ANSWER TO MR. KARL PEARSON.

In a pamphlet recently issued, Mr. Karl Pearson has undertaken to assault the fortress of Revolutionary Socialism from the academic side. We are commonly enough bombarded by the professional economist, by the theologian, by the politician, by the "sentimentalist," but the "man of culture" has hitherto confined himself to the drizzling infantry fire of casual criticism. In Mr. Pearson, however, we are bound to

recognise an opponent not to be despised, and in his pamphlet a well-planned attack. To drop metaphor, Mr. Pearson whether he intended it or not, has stated a specious case for the nice young man fresh from the university, who shudders at the "coarseness" inseparable from a really popular Socialist movement, and prefers the attitude of missionary of culture to the benighted proletarian heathen to that of his co-worker in the cause of social emancipation and in the hurrying on of that class-struggle which is its necessary condition. His argument may also to some extent be considered an elaborate justification of another individual, namely of him who really feels that he is essentially unfit for the work of agitation and that his most useful sphere is in purely intellectual labour, which may quite possibly be Mr. Pearson's own case. We may say at once that so far as we can see, the last-named individual requires no justification at all, since Socialists should be the first to recognise diversity of capacity—diversity albeit largely intensified by current conditions—and that the "nice young man" deserves none, save that like the "coarse" proletarian to whom he condescends to direct his missionary efforts, he may plead that he is but the unfortunate result of a vicious system.

With the opening paragraphs of the pamphlet in question, which deal with the distinction between natural and supernatural morality, I heartily agree. Strange to say, on page 3 Mr. Pearson argues for a kind of neo-Puritanism; he would apparently give an introspective turn to social ethics, whereby the attention would still be directed primarily to the formation of individual character rather than to the clear and broad issues of social life and progress. We may have mistaken the author's meaning, but we must confess the prospect strikes us as rather appalling if the "trivial doings" of each day, let us say for instance, taking a walk round the room, are previously to performance, to pass the scrutiny of an internal examination as to whether they or the motives prompting them, are "dictated by those general laws, which have been deduced," etc. Certain broad lines of conduct clearly hostile to the existence of social life are to be shunned, other broad lines are to be followed—what more does an ethic founded on social necessity mean than this? Surely the hair-splitting casuistry of a theological morality—based upon the notion that every action has an "absolute value," and is certain to be rigidly assayed by a heavenly pawnbroker—is out of place here. The resuscitation too, of that ancient fallacy, that the test of the value or the truth of a doctrine is to be found not in itself, but in its advocate, I must confess surprises me in a man of Mr. Pearson's ability. His remarks on this head recall to my mind the would-be crushing argument of the Christian advocate of a generation ago, that Voltaire was a "bad man," and that hence his attack on Christianity is discredited at the outset. Also, that the authors of the gospels were good men and therefore they were to be believed. Hegel, we are quite aware, was by no means a man of heroic moral calibre, but this does not prevent his reading of the riddle of Life and Knowledge being, not even excepting Spinoza's, take it all in all, the least unsatisfactory up to date. As a matter of fact, as history proves, over and over again, there is seldom an equal balance between the intellectual and moral sides of a gifted man's character, so that in general we should naturally expect a man of exceptional power in the one direction to be deficient in the other.

Turning to the main theme of the pamphlet under consideration, we find the baneful influence of the individualistic and absolute ethics which the outset of the paper led us to hope Mr. Pearson had outgrown, again at work. To the Revolutionary Socialist Mr. Pearson says, "Abandon agitation, go and create a new morality." Now from the point of view of a Scientific Socialism, he might as well tell the engineer, "Abandon your borings and your blastings, say to yonder mountain, depart thou hence and be thou cast into the sea—for until the ground is level you will never make your highway." Mr. Pearson is evidently still more than half a Christian, leastways in his ethics. He thinks that all social change must proceed from the individual—that all reform must come from within, in accordance with Christian doctrine, but in striking defiance of the teaching of history and what I may term a *concrete view* of the nature of things. Morality is with Mr. Pearson an abstract entity to be brought to perfection by a culture of the individual breathed out, in some mysterious manner from the study, and operating by a magic charm of its own on squalid masses huddled in reeking courts, on the outcast in the recesses of London Bridge, on the factory slave or the shop-assistant without leisure and resources, on the out-of-work labourer with starvation at his door, no less than on the struggling shopkeeper whose being's end and aim is to hold out against the big capitalist competitor, and last of all on the giant capitalist himself—on the Vanderbilt or the Jay Gould. It is to operate, in short, irrespective of such insignificant obstacles as economic conditions and social surroundings. The factory-slave and the Vanderbilt are alike to feel the renovating influence touch their hearts, to hear the voice of "Culture" and live—a pleasant dream forsooth. Unfortunately, according to Mr. Pearson's own estimate it may take some hundreds of years, and "while the grass grows—" The proverb is something musty." Mr. Pearson in his study may be content to wait, but will social evolution wait?

"Human society cannot be changed in a year," says our critic. True, answers the Socialist, but its economic conditions can be radically modified in a very few years, through the concentration of the means of production and distribution in the hands of a Socialist administration. Thus although one generation may not indeed suffice to complete the transformation of Civilisation into Socialism, yet even one generation may dig the foundation of the fabric; nay, the time being ripe, may even rough-hew its more prominent outlines. We readily admit that the old heaven of civilisation must require many a long decade before it is

eliminated, but the generation which for the first time turned the helm of progress in the one direction by which its goal can be reached, would be worthy of none the less honour because it was not itself destined to see the promised land in its fulness. Thenceforward we shall be consciously steering for the goal which hitherto we have been at best only unconsciously and vaguely drifting towards; the whole political and administrative system, once the great crisis of the revolution is passed, instead of, as now, having for its sole aim the perpetuation of itself and of the class-antagonisms it represents, will have for its end the abolition of civilisation, that is of a class-society, and therewith its own abolition, since with the transformation of Civilisation into Socialism it will be a superfluous and meaningless survival.

In the pamphlet before us we have once more the hackneyed argument that the French Revolution left no enduring creation behind it, that it was abortive in short. Has Mr. Pearson ever read Arthur Young? Has he forgotten the state of France before and after the Revolution? Nay, not of France only but of entire western Europe? What was there of human creation in the French Revolution? asks Mr. Pearson. There was the creation, at all events, of the supremacy of the commercial middle-class (though that there is not much that is "human" in that I readily admit). The French Revolution meant the final realisation of Bourgeoisdom,—this was its central idea and purpose,—notwithstanding that it contained episodes which pointed to something beyond this. Into Mr. Pearson's special preserve of the Reformation I will not enter particularly, except to say that as I read history, the same remark holds good there also.

The "enthusiasm of the study" is by no means a new thing. It is as old at least as Periklean Greece. In the "garden," the "grove," and the "porch," we have the enthusiasts of the study; and in the later grammarians, enthusiasts who despised the market-place possibly even more than Mr. Pearson himself. Yet cannot we date the decline of ancient culture precisely from the moment when it became the exclusive appanage of the study? This high-toned ancient enthusiasm of the study, did it make a good end? Or did it not rather ignominiously "peter out" in the persons of the seven melancholy and neglected sages or pedants, who wandered in dry places seeking rest and finding none till the worthy Chosroes obtained them a respite for the term of their natural lives wherein to reflect on the vanity of that empyrean "enthusiasm of the study" which had become so rarified that no mortal besides themselves could breathe its atmosphere? Need I remind Mr. Pearson of other enthusiasms of the study? Setting aside the German humanists whose work, Mr. Pearson would say, was rendered abortive by the wicked men of the market-place, let us turn to the Italian renaissance, the court of the Medicis. Here the "enthusiasm of the study" was disturbed by no red-herring of the market-place. Yet what did it effect for mankind at large? What of the French salon-culture of the eighteenth century? For even Mr. Pearson, we suppose, will hardly contend that had it not been for the market-place Revolution which ensued, the "philosophers" and *littérateurs* of the study would have regenerated mankind by the influence of their conversation on the wits, *bons vivants*, and fascinating women of 18th century France. "Sweetness and light," again—the refined, æsthetic, middle-class culture of to-day—what has this gospel of "sweet reasonableness" done, what does it bid fair to do? Brought together interesting young men from the universities to study the habits of the East-end "poor," perhaps; provided a temporary stimulus in the direction of soup-kitchens and "literary institutes." Is Mr. Karl Pearson content with this?

But the root-fallacy of Mr. Pearson's pamphlet lies to our thinking deeper than this. It lies, namely, in his attempt to accentuate the distinction which civilisation has in great part created between the "study" and "the market-place," the man of learning and the man of labour, and to treat it as permanent. To the Socialist this is merely one of the abstractions created by a society based on classes, and therefore is essentially false and unreal, and as such destined to pass away with the other abstractions—*e.g.*, ruler and ruled, master and servant, capital and labour, rich and poor, religious and secular, etc.—which find their expression in modern civilisation. The enthusiasm of the market-place and the enthusiasm of the study are not properly two things but one. They form part of one whole. The enthusiasm of the market-place is the direct expression of the particular phase at which evolution has arrived, the enthusiasm of the study is its indirect expression. The present enthusiasm of the study with the large place modern science plays in it, differs from the old humanist enthusiasm of the 15th century, as that differed from the enthusiasm of the mediæval schoolmen, and so on, and we may add it differs from the enthusiasm of the future, when mathematics shall have been relegated to their due place in the economy of human culture. But the enthusiasm of the study *per se* is no substantial body; though fair in semblance, it is after all but a bloodless wraith. As little can you require the "enthusiasm of the study" to supplant the "enthusiasm of the market-place" in human society, as St. Thomas could have expected his decapitated head to urge St. Thomas on irrespective of the trunk to which it belonged. That the first condition of the healthy animal is a good digestion is a trite observation. The first condition of a healthy society, as certainly, is that it should have something to digest—something besides Pearsonian morality, wholesome as that may be in its proper place. In other words, the intellectual and moral revolution of society rests primarily upon the conditions in which its wealth is produced and distributed. When this is done in the interest of all, and when all take an equal share in it, then that embodied abstraction the "man of the study" will disappear along with that other embodied abstraction "the man of the market-

place." In a society in which culture is for all and work is for all, the antagonism of the workman and the scholar will be resolved in the concrete reality of the complete human being. Meanwhile so long as the antagonism exists, it is the market-place that must create the revolution, since the enthusiasm of the market-place, unreasoning, emotive though it be, is clearly the motive-power of society.

E. BELFORT BAX.

## The Claims of the Commons v. The Rights of the People.

Now that we have a new House of Commons with a few labour representatives, and, as many of our Socialist friends are disposed to take part in Parliamentary action, it may be well to consider the nature of representative government, and its relation to the rights of the people.

The grand revolutionary ideal of the age is the Direct Sovereignty of the People. This excludes the very idea of government by representation. These principles are thoroughly antagonistic to each other. The one is the negation of the other. The two can never co-exist. Either the one or the other. The two together are impossible. Nor can the one ever be grafted on the other; the traditions of Parliament and the claims of the Commons to-day would prevent even the attempt by any one as a revolutionary Socialist. It is quite true there are men to-day, as there have been in the past, quite willing to attempt the impossible, but for any one or any body of men to try to reconcile the claims of the Commons with the sovereignty of the people would be the last degree of folly.

It may be asked, what are those claims of the Commons to which we refer and which are so antagonistic to the sovereignty of the people? This may be answered in one word—its claim to supremacy. It claims to represent the people and in the name of the people to speak and act with supreme authority. It claims the right to make what laws it pleases without consulting the wishes of the people, and to impose what taxes it thinks proper without any regard to the people's ability to pay them. The only right left to the people is the right to petition, to humbly pray their so-called representatives—the servants of the people as they are ironically termed—not to do this or to be gracious enough to do that. But the Commons claim even more than this—they claim the right to coerce the people should they become discontented, and to use against them the bludgeon and the bayonet. And the people are powerless.

We are told, it is true, that the powers of the Commons are limited by the Constitution, but what is the Constitution? Where is it? Has anyone seen it? Can anyone produce it? Can anyone say what it is, or where or when and by what authority it originated? The only possible answer to these interrogatories is a negative one. England has no Constitution. It is true, as we are sometimes told, she has her twenty-five thousand Acts of Parliament in addition to the Common Law, and that these are all that is meant by the so-called Constitution. But if the glorious constitution of England is a myth, the claims of the Commons are realities. And what are these claims? We are told by Sir Edward Coke and by Blackstone that the "power and jurisdiction of the House of Commons is so transcendent and absolute that it cannot be confined for persons or causes within any limits. It hath sovereign authority in the making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repealing, revising, and the expounding of laws, concerning matters of all denominations, ecclesiastical or temporal, civil, military, maritime, or criminal, this being the place where that absolute despotic power, which in governments must reside somewhere, is entrusted by the constitution of the kingdom. All mischiefs, grievances, operations and remedies that transcend the ordinary courts of law are within the reach of this extraordinary tribunal." Here, then, we find the Commons a kind of Hydra-headed usurpation, supreme, absolute, and despotic; supreme above the people, absolute in its decisions, and despotic in its powers. And these powers have been claimed by the Commons since the revolution of 1688, and have been exercised on numberless occasions. The House of Commons, like the crown, is above the law. It forms an irresponsible body over which the people have no control after the ballot-boxes are closed. Such is government by representation.

It may be asked, How came the Commons to be possessed of such unlimited powers? The answer is very simple. For centuries the Crown claimed the right to determine who should be returned to sit in Parliament. Hallam tells us that Richard II. sent for some of his sheriffs and ordered them to let no knight or burgess be returned without the approbation of the king and his council. The Parliament of 1397 was chosen by intimidation and court influence. We also read that Henry IV. (1410) ordered the sheriffs to have no regard to the number of voices at elections, but to return such as were subservient to the Court. The good Queen Bess and her council (1559) sent a list of the candidates who were to be returned, and they were returned. Now after the revolution of 1688 the Commons claimed the powers hitherto exercised by the Crown, and they claim them to-day.

In 1704 a burgess of Aylesbury brought an action against the Returning Officer for not allowing him to record his vote at the election. The burgess (Ashley by name) obtained the verdict. The Queen's Bench reversed the decision, but the House of Lords confirmed the original verdict. In the meantime five other burgesses had commenced actions on the same ground against the same Returning Officer. On the House of Lords confirming the original verdict, the Commons issued the following declaration: "The determination of members to serve in Parliament is the proper business of the House of Commons which they will always be very jealous of, and this jurisdiction of this House is uncon-

tested; that it exercises a great power in that matter, for it obliges the Returning Officer to alter his return according to its judgment, and it cannot judge of an election without determining the right of the electors; and if electors are at liberty to prosecute actions touching their right of giving votes, in other courts, this would make one fusion, and be dishonourable to the House of Commons, and therefore such an action is a breach of privilege." The House also passed the following resolution: "That whoever shall presume to commence an action, and all attorneys, solicitors, counsellors and sergeants at law, soliciting, prosecuting, or pleading in any case, are guilty of a high breach of privilege of this House." On this resolution the six burgesses of Aylesbury and their solicitors were sent to prison, and were only released by the queen proroguing Parliament. The House of Lords issued a declaration in which it defended the rights of the electors. Look at the action of the Commons in the case of John Wilks; and to-day in the case of Charles Bradlaugh. We see its despotic powers, too, in the numerous coercion acts passed at various times. Then, again, each Minister of the Crown can by warrant order the private correspondence of all suspected of being hostile to the Government to be seized as it passes through the post. Is not this despotism?

Can any revolutionary Socialist recognise these claims of the Commons—these claims to be sovereign and supreme? If he believes in the principle of the sovereignty of the people, can he accept the claim to supremacy of the so-called people's representatives. And if he does not accept such principle, on what ground does he rest his claim to be a revolutionary Socialist? If he accepts the declaration that there is no authority higher than the people, then he must reject the claims of the Commons as being based on usurpation and as altogether incompatible with the principle of the sovereignty of the people.

It may be asked, Ought then a revolutionary Socialist to take no part whatever in any Parliamentary action? Ought he to abstain from taking part in any Parliamentary proceedings? The answer is a very simple one. If he take any such part he recognises the claims of the Commons to be supreme, the claim to sovereignty of those who are foolishly supposed to be the servants of the people. It may be asked, Cannot a Socialist vote for a candidate for the House of Commons? Above all things a Socialist should be self-possessed. He should retain his freedom as a citizen, his dignity as a man. But in voting for a candidate for Parliament, the ballot-box is the tomb of his freedom; he there surrenders his dignity and ignores the revolutionary, the glorious principle of the sovereignty of the people. He virtually accepts the claims of the Commons—its claims to sovereignty, to supremacy—and thus recognises the legitimacy of its despotic authority.

But it is argued that not only may a revolutionary Socialist vote for a candidate for Parliament; he may himself become a candidate for the House of Commons. Let us examine the question a little further. The claims of the Commons rest on usurpation. Its claim to supremacy rests on usurpation, and the exercise of despotic authority is an act of war against the people. To become a candidate is to accept the principle of usurpation, and to become a member is to join in the exercise of despotic power. The members of the House are jointly and severally an assembly whose claims are based on usurpation. Can any one become a member and take part in the proceedings of such assembly without himself becoming a usurper? Again, before he can take his seat as a member he must take the oath of allegiance, and thus recognise the supremacy of the principle of hereditary privilege over the principle of the sovereignty of the people. Would not taking the oath of allegiance be an act of treason on the part of a revolutionary Socialist, treason against the principle of the sovereignty of the people, and treason against the principle of eternal justice?

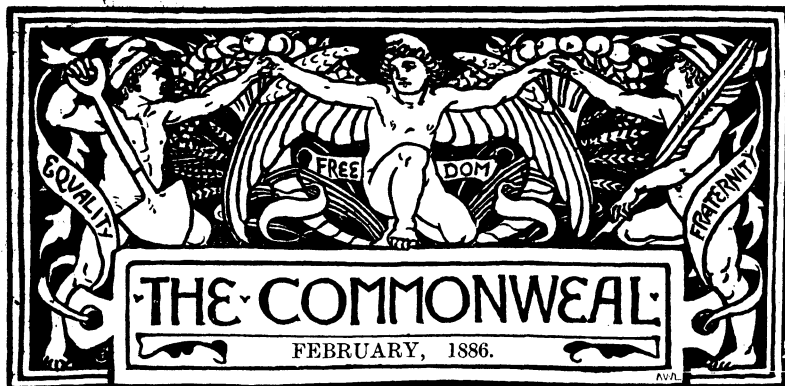
We are told to look at the position of Parnell to-day, master of the situation. But Parnell is a man of expediency, not of principle. Above all he is not a revolutionary Socialist, nor is the Nationalist movement socialistic either in principle or in tendency. But a revolutionary Socialist is a man of principle, devoted to principle and incapable of compromise or expediency. To the revolutionary Socialist government by representation is impossible. Will cannot be represented. Rights can neither be abdicated, alienated nor transferred. The revolutionary Socialist takes his stand on the moral law of our being and not on the decrees of tyrants or the acts of usurping assemblies. He will echo the words of the late Thomas Carlyle when he said, speaking of mere Statute laws and the claims of the Commons, "I tell you and them it is a miserable blunder this self-styled law of theirs, and I for one will study either to have no concern with it, or else by all judicious methods to disobey said blundering, impious, pretended law." Nor did Carlyle stand alone.

Take the following from Lysander Spooner on "Natural Law," sec. 3, p. 12, "If there be in nature such a principle as justice, nothing can be added to, or taken from, its supreme authority by all the legislation of which the entire human race is capable. And all the attempts of the human race, or any portion of it, to add to, or take from, the supreme authority of justice, in any case whatever, are of no more obligation upon any single human being than the idle wind." The true Socialist accepts the moral law, and he accepts no other. He takes his stand on principle and never recognises privilege. He will be consistent, and will never take the oath of allegiance. He will never take part in any proceedings of a despotic character; and will never be a member of any assembly whose claims rest on usurpation.

Let us take our stand on principle alone, never on expediency. Let us accept with all its consequences the principle of the sovereignty of the people, based on the sovereignty of the individual, and let us clasp hands and work with each and all of every clime whose aim is the social revolution, the social and economical reconstruction of society and the brotherhood of the human race.

J. SKETCHLEY.





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IRISH SOCIALIST.—Thanks for suggestion. A leaflet dealing with the Irish question has been prepared, and will shortly be ready for distribution.

JESSIE CRAIGEN.—We are not in a position at present to do as you ask. See notice of pamphlet in another column.

BEKANNTMACHUNG!—Genosse Theodor hält jeden Donnerstag abend einen Coursus für Elementar Unterricht in der englischen Sprache, woran alle Genossen welche derselben noch nicht mächtig sind, theil zunehmen eingeladen werden. Näheres beim Secretär, 13 Farringdon Road, E. C.

RECEIVED—England: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Der Rebell—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record. Belgium: Ni Dieu ni Maître—L'Insurgé. France: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—La Bataille—Le Révolté—La Question Sociale (Paris)—Le Socialiste (Paris). Greece: Harden (Athens). Germany: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). Holland: Recht voor Allen. Hungary: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Budapest). Italy: La Question Sociale (Turin)—Il Paria (Ancona)—Il Fascio Operaio (Milan). Morocco: Almoghreb Al-aksa (Tangiers). New Zealand: Watchman. Portugal: O Campino—Voz do Operario—O Protesto Operario (Lisbon). Roumania: Drepturile Omului (daily, Bucharest). Serbia: Tches (Belgrade). Spain: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social (Barcelona)—Bandera Social (Madrid). Switzerland: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich)—Morgenröthe (Bern). U. S. A.: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal—Index. Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer—Chicago (Ill.) Alarm—Detroit (Mich.) Labor Leaf—Muskegon (Mich.) Social Drift—Princeton (Mass.) Word—Cleveland (O.) Carpenter—Chronicle. Cincinnati (O.) Unionist—San Francisco (Cal.) Chronicle—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Petersburg (Ill.) Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Die Parole—Altruist. Kansas (Mo.) Sun—Pittsburg (Pa.) Labor Herald—Paterson (N. J.) Labor Standard—Baltimore (Md.) Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.) Lucifer—Atlanta (Ga.) Working World—Newfoundland (Pa.) La Torpille.

SINCE last acknowledgment books for the library have been received from Sparling, Lawie, Frearson, Grünlund, Morris, Lazarus.

### NOTES.

SINCE our last issue politics have practically come to a dead stand before the Irish question. On that point there has been some talk and boundless speculation, but nothing else, till quite lately a man with eyes in his head could at last begin to see whither it was all tending. Mr. Gladstone has apparently let a Home-Rule scheme be put forward in his name, which was officially repudiated after it had played its part of drawing out various opinion, some of it, the reactionary part, emphatic enough. Lord Salisbury's scheme of ignoring the Irish question by means of a Local Government Bill for both the islands, including Scotland and Wales, has also been given us in hints obviously official. Mr. Labouchere has propounded a definite Home Rule constitution, very pretty—on paper; Fitzjames Stephens has dealt with the subject in his usual coldly truculent manner; and at last comes the scheme from "Economist" in the *Statist*—a very pretty scheme indeed—for the Irish landowner; for it arranges to buy his land out and out and to give him a bonus in reward for his past oppression on the one hand, and on the other burdens the taxpayers both English and Irish in the long run, for the sake of sustaining rent and eviction in Ireland. If this scheme could be well and thoroughly carried out, speculation in eviction would become a special and lucrative profession—if the game could only last.

The shouts of delight with which this notable suggestion has been received by the capitalist press, point to the real intentions of our legislators, in which they will be backed by the whole of the Bourgeoisie, little and big. They mean to yield, as far as they are forced, in the direction of giving "such a measure of Home Rule" as will muzzle the Parnellite party in Parliament by its appearance of liberality to the Radicals; while at the same time they will so cumber the gift as to safeguard the sacred rights of rack-rent and eviction. If they can do this they do not care much about names: County-boards or Irish Parliament, either will do so long as the landlords are the masters of the situation. It is not to be supposed that Irishmen will be amused into inaction by this disgusting farce; but English advanced Radicals may be; and that is the reason why I call attention to it, and beg leave to point out to them that if they share in the plot they will be giving themselves up a prey to the Whigs. They have some ideas, vague enough as yet, that something should be done with the land in Great Britain beyond "freeing" it for the direct advantage of the capitalist: let them be sure that the Irish peasant is fighting their battle as well as his own (I am thinking of

the working-men Radicals of course) and that they will bitterly repent it if they let themselves be nose-led by their *Representatives*, who are so eager for the honour of the eighth commandment in its Bourgeois development, as given us by A. H. Clough:

"Thou shalt not steal: an empty feat  
When it's so lucrative to cheat!"

About this Irish business Mr. Chamberlain has pretty much effaced himself, which I must say seems to me both cowardly and impolitic; but he has given us a long speech at the meeting of the Allotments and Small Holdings Association, of which there is little to be said except that he does not seem to be moving from his old plan of following up vigorous denunciations of the land-owners with the proposal of absurdly insignificant "practical" suggestions. The logical outcome of his oratorical attack on the Duke of Richmond's 300,000 acres, if it was sincere, would certainly be that the Duke should no longer "own" them. Mr. Chamberlain's proposal is that he *might* be compelled to sell a few of them to the state at a fair market price. This is a small mouse to creep forth from the birth throes of the mountain.

As to the Allotments business, I think it is time that this swindle should be exposed; the accompanying quotation from the *Standard's* leader on Mr. Chamberlain's speech will help us to see what it means; it is good to learn from the enemy:

"We yield to no one in our appreciation of the good effects of the allotment system. It gives the labourer a new interest in life, and an additional motive for sobriety, frugality, and industry. It helps him to keep his pig and to pay his rent, without interfering in the slightest degree with the work which earns his weekly wage."

So much for the enemy; now for a friend, our staunch old comrade, E. T. Craig:

"If an agricultural labourer hold, say two acres of land at £2 per acre, he will have to seek employment at the hands of a farmer, and till his small allotment at his leisure. This would doom the man to an endless, increasing life of toil. Real leisure for social enjoyment he would never possess. These small individual allotments are most sordid agencies for the development of selfishness, ignorance, egoism, and superstition."

You see the two agree; only the veteran co-operator knows only too well what "sobriety, frugality (!) and industry" mean, in a condition of abject poverty, unenlightened by the manly hope inspired by communal good fellowship.

On the surface, then, this allotment swindle means the keeping down of wages by means of over-work; but it does not concern the field-labourer only, but the whole labour-class. It is a part of the regular plan of holding down discontent which specially characterises this second half of the nineteenth century; and which, but for the sickness of the commercial system in general, would be more dangerous than all the bayonets of absolutist monarchs. Briefly it means the plan of raising the condition of a part of the working class at the expense of the whole class; it would create an aristocracy of labour in whom, as our comrade puts it, "selfishness, ignorance, egoism and superstition" would be indeed developed. Those on the one hand, and on the other would be the real proletariat, the lower class indeed, doomed to life-long torment and degradation in the workshop, the street, the workhouse and the prison; these and their discontent it would be the function of the aristocracy of labour to keep down.

Words are but weak to express one's horror at this scheme for the last and worst, because most hopeless, oppression of the people; but I can at least call on the better-off of the workers to think what they will sink to if they lend themselves to it; what base flunkies of the upper classes they will become. And the only way to escape from complicity in this plot is to remember that the wretched fringe of labour the tramp, the prostitute and the thief, are what they are because of the conditions under which they have been born and bred; modern society would have them so, and will keep them so (not in the least knowing what to do with them save, if it can, to forget their existence) until you decent working men understand that they also are part of the Brotherhood of Labour and *must* be raised out of their misery as that rises. Not at the expense of these miserablemen, but at the expense of the system of slavery of which they are now the foundation must come the bettering of the condition of the working classes.

There is no great need to swell the chorus against Mr. Lusk since it has been taken up so strongly by the press in general; but we may remind the public in general that even when he is extinguished (and he will survive the present attack) the law which he administers will exist. The same may be said of Mr. Hadden: it is not that special fool who is the important thing; nay scarcely even the workhouse system itself, but the society which is forced to support such monstrosities.

The people of Bedfordshire are very naturally and properly crying out for help against Lord Brownlow who is setting about robbing them of some of the open ground on the beautiful chalk headlands of the Chiltern Hills regardless all the while of any obliteration of the historical records which may hinder his "doing what he likes with his own." The outcry against all this clearly comes mostly from cultivated people; they will of course be quite helpless against "the rights of property," and their defeat might teach them, if they could only learn, that there will be some gain even to well-to-do persons in a change in society which would prevent a man destroying other people's pleasure in beauty and history for his own gain of L. S. D.; a change which would only admit the right to possession when the owner could personally use the wealth possessed. Lord Brownlow has as much right to walk about the downs as anybody else—not a bit more. When the good people of south Bedfordshire have learned this lesson thoroughly they will be able to enjoy their chalk hills freely. Meantime, if they think the law will help them—why then who can help them?

There has been a great deal of talk about intimidation at the late elections. Our comrades will not be surprised to hear that Socialists have had their share in this; for instance, a comrade at Oldham, a good workman and an earnest Socialist, has been dismissed from his employment on account of his principles, and is now out of work. His case is a hard one as he and his wife and children are in great distress. W. M.

Note.—"The Pilgrims of Hope," by Wm. Morris, and Edward Aveling's *Lessons in Socialism* are held over through press of matter. See Notices on last page.

## A LETTER FROM THE PACIFIC COAST.

WE have received an interesting letter from San Francisco relative to the labour question and especially to the conference lately held there, in which the main subject of discussion was the Chinese labour question. Our correspondent's letter is as follows:

"1035 Post Street, S. F., California, Dec. 9, '85.

"DEAR COMRADES,—We last night adjourned from the 'Trades and Labour Organisations Convention' which had, with an interval of two days, been sitting since last Monday week. A full report is in course of preparation, of which you will undoubtedly receive a copy, but this is not yet ready, and I am anxious that you should receive at least an outline of the proceedings in time for your January issue. I am sending you copies of the *Daily Report* which, though a capitalistic paper, has given the gist of the speeches with commendable fairness. A study of such copies will give you a general idea of the work and temper of the convention, but it may be useful to English readers if I add the following as explanatory notes.

"In the first place we consider that we have gained a most decisive victory over the politicians, who have hitherto been the curse of the labour movement in this city. They, having obtained control of the District Assembly of the Knights of Labour, appointed themselves an Executive Board, and summoned the convention. They originally intended to run it as a political convention, and for that purpose threw out the credentials of the Socialist organisations. The convention by an overwhelming vote defeated them in this, and, if you will note that the names I have underlined are those of the Socialists, you will see what a significant part we played.

"The line we have taken throughout is briefly this. We have leaned greatly on the Declaration of Independence, which declares this to be a government of and for the people, and that all are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I may, perhaps, say here that I feel now convinced that this is invariably safe ground to take with an American audience. We accordingly declared that, the will of the people on this coast having most unequivocally declared for the expulsion of the Chinese, the people were bound to be true to themselves, and to enforce compliance with their demand. Everyone, however, of our speakers declared (and we had the ear of the audience throughout) that the Chinaman was our brother-slave; that we had no quarrel with him, and that not one drop of his blood must be shed; that the crime lay with the property owners, the employers who make profit out of the Chinese, and the officials who refused to execute the demands of the people. These we recommended as personally responsible. We adopted the same line of personal responsibility of officials to the people in our handling of the Convict Labour and Hard Times questions, in which last, of course, we got in plenty of work, every speaker being distinctly Socialistic, and an audience of some 1500 having the whole question laid before them in the clearest and most thorough manner.

"Having had for six nights an audience of 1500 to 2000 people, we have, I believe, conclusively shown that we Socialists are the power in the labour movement on this coast, and we have for the first time got the Trades Unions, who are now in course of federation, in sympathy with us. This I consider an incalculable gain.

"I may add that a careful study of the proceedings, and of the audience—which was throughout a most orderly and intelligent one—has convinced me that the people are far more advanced than I for one had imagined. The feeling against the wealthy and the police is, I am also certain, intensely strong. It has, however, modified my judgment on the Chinese question; for I have honestly held the belief that there would be this winter at least an attempt to drive the Chinese out of this city by force, and have further considered it a sacred duty incumbent on us to make at least an attempt to direct the storm against those who deserve that it should fall upon them. I now incline to the opinion that there are large masses who recognise that the cause of hard times lies far deeper than the Chinaman, and that they will wait till they can settle this question upon broader and sounder principles. If we have accomplished this we have, as I am sure all English comrades will admit, done good work."

This on the whole is satisfactory and reassuring, especially considering the sinister rumour of a plot for the massacre of the Chinese which was published in the English press some weeks ago, and which now appears from information since received from America to have been one of the breed of plots instigated by the police for the benefit of the capitalists. Our correspondent being present at the Convention would have a much more accurate impression of its tendency than any newspaper report could give, as he would understand the significance of what was said there in comparison with the utterances of former times.

Nevertheless, if anything can be said on this side of the Atlantic which might strengthen the hands of the American Socialists in pointing out to the workers their real enemy, it ought to be said; so as an International Revolutionary Socialist, I venture to make a few remarks, premising for the information of our English friends that a law has been passed restricting the importation of Chinese labour (apparently made that it might not be carried out) and that this law is systematically disregarded by the capitalist officials, so that our American friends are only exercising their ordinary rights as citizens in calling on the government to see that the law is carried out. It must also be remembered that whereas the European immigrants, Irish, German, or Scandinavian, speedily mingle with the general population, and so do not affect the standard of livelihood permanently by the lower standard which they bring over with them, the Chinese do no such thing, but remain Chinese in America, a community within a community.

Now I must say that it would be difficult to exaggerate the crime of the capitalists in their importation of Chinese labour; done as it was for profit, quite regardless of the welfare of either Chinese or American workmen. I fear, indeed, that some of the individuals of that order (of capitalists) who were engaged in the transaction, would give an ugly grin at the weakness of anybody supposing that they *could* think of anyone's welfare except their own and their families'. But the preamble of the resolution passed at the Convention pointed out very truly that the expulsion of the Chinese would by no means solve the labour question in America, and if our comrades there can only drive that home hard enough, so that American workmen can really understand it even amidst the sufferings caused by the immediate and special attack on their standard of livelihood, then the labour question in America will have entered into a new phase.

For this crime is being committed everywhere and always in civilisa-

tion by Capital; nor can it help committing the crime as long as it exists. Neither preaching nor terrorism will make it refrain from this: it is not an accident, but an essential condition of its life to drive down wages to the lowest point possible. Foiled in one direction it will try it in another, and will in the long run always succeed as long as it has life in it.

The Chinese workmen are only doing what every workman is *forced* to do more or less, that is to compete with his fellows for subsistence. It is true that the Chinese are *forced* by capital into being more obviously the enemies of their fellow-workmen than is usually the case, but that is only a surface difference; it is more dramatic, that is all. Every working-man is *forced* into the same false position of contest with every other working-man until he becomes a Socialist, and is conscious of his being naturally the *friend* of every workman throughout the world, and until he does his best to realise the consequences that should flow from this friendship.

The Chinese workmen are no more guilty of the suffering which their competition causes than are the women and girls who in London are starving the male adult tailors; are being *used* to starve them one should say—used against their own husbands, brothers and sweethearts.

It would be miserable indeed in this Chinese matter if, as too often happens, the instruments should receive the suffering due to those who have used them; who indeed in their turn are but the instruments of the long centuries of oppression which we may surely hope are now drawing to a close. If the American workmen can see this, and abstain, as we may well hope they will, from playing into the hands of their real enemies by attacking their fellow wage-slaves the Chinese, they will deserve well of the Brotherhood of labour, and will show that they understand the motto: WAGE-WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## THE LIBERTY AND PROPERTY DEFENCE LEAGUE.

REPORT FOR 1885.

JUDGING from the report of the doings of the band of landlords, lawyers, publicans, pawnbrokers and lesser banditti, who comprise the bulk of the aforesaid society, it seems to me a more appropriate title would be The Liberty to Plunder Protection League. One of the objects of this precious association is to resist over-legislation, and a list of about 40 Bills is given which the L. P. D. L. helped either to reject or mutilate during the past year. Amongst these were Bills relating to the London Livery Companies; Housing of the Working Classes; Labourers (Ireland); Suspension of Evictions (Scotland); Land Tenure (Scot.); Access to Mountains (Scot.); Factory Acts (Extension to Shops); Employers Liability Amendment; Criminal Law Amendment; and a number dealing with the drink traffic, railways, water companies, etc. By a curious coincidence it would seem that over-legislation commences precisely at the point where Government ceases to be merely a machine for the plunder and oppression of the many for the benefit of the few, and begins to touch, even in the most gingerly fashion, the sacred privileges of property. These hypocrites prate of liberty, and yet use the forces of the state which we workers pay for, to evict our Irish and Scottish brethren and to awe our fellow wage-slaves into submission to their taskmasters. A significant item in the report refers to a banquet given by the Pawnbrokers' Defence Association to the members of the League's Parliamentary Committee "as a mark of appreciation of the assistance rendered by the League in the successful opposition to the Pawnbroker's Bill and the Stolen Goods Bill in the preceding session." Truly a notable illustration of the old saying, "Birds of a feather etc.," this feast of the kites and the crows! But what of the poor wretches fleeced by the landlords and their allies—the "poor man's bankers," as the report euphemistically terms those traders in human misery, the pawnbrokers!

A lengthy paragraph is devoted to the action of the League in relation to the International Club affair. This is the only matter in which the League was concerned in which self-interest was not manifestly the sole ruling motive. The assistance of the League was doubtless asked more in irony than anything else. The astute individuals who run the concern, however, took up the case as a means of getting a little cheap popularity by posing as champions of liberty; and so the chairman of the committee wrote a letter to the papers appealing for subscriptions, a little political humbugging took place, and the upshot was, in the words of the report, that "the members of the club were ultimately compelled from lack of means to forego the prosecution, which on public and private grounds it was most desirable should have been pressed home." Yet be it noted that three of these Defenders of Liberty, whose names appear on the report as members of the Parliamentary Committee—viz., Earls Fortescue, Pembroke (Ireland's richest landlord), and Wemyss, possess respectively rentals of £28,674, £50,233, and £57,567; whilst the aggregate rental of half-a-dozen of the rank and file, reaches the enormous sum of £450,334. Amongst the titled founders of the League is also to be found the name of Lord Leconfield who owns 110,725 acres of land, with a rental of £88,482. He is a non-resident landlord of County Clare, and a portion of his enormous income is thus derived from the robbery of probably the most poverty-stricken peasantry on the face of the earth. In addition to the black mail levied in the form of rent, these objectors to over-legislation and their families, have plundered the public treasury of several millions in the form of pensions, etc., during the last 30 years. Money can generally be got for debauching pot-house politicians with cheap whisky and tobacco, and for the hire of "bravoes" to support the cause of the exploiters; but where the interests of the "common people" only were concerned, even such a "noble" society as the L. P. D. L., brimming over with love of liberty and the working man, was unable to find the means for their defence.

It appears grimly grotesque to read, notwithstanding, that 274 lectures were given at workmen's clubs by the League agents. Bill Sykes on "The Benefits of Burglary," or Charley Bates proffering "A Plea for Pocket-picking," seems to me a far less ridiculous notion than that of a body of working men gravely listening to a lecture on "Progress or Plunder" and the dangers of Socialism, from the point of view of the audacious monopolists who constitute the Liberty and Property Defence League. It is to be hoped that the report will be read and pondered in every workman's Club, in order that the wiles of these wolves may be understood, who hunt in packs themselves and preach individualism to the sheep in order that they may more easily devour them.

T. B.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## MOROCCO.

Mr. Allen, Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, writes us :

"The visit of Mr. Crawford and myself to Morocco was in no way connected with the revised Treaty with that country, upon which some of the European powers are now engaged. We knew nothing of the Treaty until after our arrival in the country, the visit being purely one of inquiry to supplement one made by me nearly two years ago.

"As Morocco is a barbarous country, without a single road or wheeled carriage or a mile of telegraph wire, it is not very surprising that Mr. Bax is not better informed than his article shows him to be. The condition of the country is a disgrace to civilisation, as there is no law but that of might, and no man's person or property is safe from the grasp of the oppressor.

"I do not know what your readers understand by the term 'professional philanthropists.' My own idea would be that it implies payment for services. Of course it is needless to state that the large body of influential gentlemen who form the committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, never receive one penny for their time, and the whole expense incurred by the Society for office rent and expenses, and the publication of its monthly journal, scarcely exceeds £1000 per annum, so that it could scarcely be called a paying profession."

[By "professional philanthropist" we did not necessarily mean that money was received for services, but that "philanthropy" in the sense of "promoting civilisation," with all which that implies, is the purpose of the public life of the individual in question. Mr. Allen finds Morocco "a disgrace to civilisation." We think we could name some countries nearer home, enjoying all the blessings of civilisation, which are nevertheless a disgrace, if not to civilisation, at all events, to humanity.—EBS.]

## "SOCIALISM AND REMUNERATION."

The remarks of T.M. under the above heading, in last month's *Commonweal*, considerably surprised me, coming as they did from one who I believe to be an earnest and active co-worker. I can only suppose that in a temporary fit of depression he allowed the short-sighted selfish doctrines of the Individualists, backed up by the local Whig paper, to overcome his better judgment. The proposition he puts forward, however, advocating "piecework" as against time, is so distinctly reactionary and so utterly incompatible with the Socialistic ideal, that I ask permission to reply.

T.M. says: "Taking men as we find them, the generality would object to bear one another's burdens. To tell the average man that it is his duty to do more work than his fellows for the same remuneration, is not the way to attract him towards Socialism or impress him favourably respecting your sanity." Is not this the most extraordinary perversion? Why the generality of men are to-day bearing the burden—doing the work of others—and not only doing more work for the "same," but enormously less, remuneration; and it is this very state of things that we denounce. He goes on: "The plague of it is because he does not believe himself to be merely an 'average' man," etc. The plague of it, I contend emphatically, is entirely the other way. It is not the conceit of the few, but the abject, grovelling, flunkeyish spirit of the many that is the difficulty. Is it not horrible, for instance, that the men who win the coal, should labour ten long years in "the unwholesome mine" at the daily risk of life and limb, for a sum equal to the monthly pay of a mischievous, muddle-headed statesman, thievish lawyer, or a lazy, canting bishop? Yet the "generality" of men who suffer the present frightful inequality of work and pay will, T. M. thinks, be deterred from accepting Socialism for fear they might be liable to do a stroke more work than their fellows!

The next reason is fear of loafers finding their way into the brotherhood. Now the term loafer is very vague. In the same way that, in our present beautiful Society, the big rogues pass sentence on the little ones, and the fashionable sinners are shocked at the peccadilloes of the unfashionable, so also, I find, that the loafers *par excellence*—the aristocratic club-loungers of the West-end—are much concerned about the shortcomings of their prototypes in the East-end; and in the intervals of billiards, racing, gambling and still more objectionable pursuits, some of them contrive to raise a little "smoke" money by scribbling libellous articles on the workers for the society magazines; while an inferior grade of snobs who hang on to the skirts of the aristocracy, write letters on emigration, etc., for the bourgeois press, insolently lecturing working-men as to their work and conduct, they themselves probably having never done an honest day's work in their lives.

It is evident, however, that these are not the people of whom T. M. was thinking, because his standard of quality and quantity is to be fixed according to the respective callings of the citizens. But before commenting further, let me quote from the concluding sentences of T. M.'s letter: "I believe that the idle and the selfishly-disposed would soon die off in a Socialist atmosphere . . . given society on a Socialist basis and a generation's trial, the salutary influences of fraternal communal principles, as opposed to the brute competition obtaining, would so effectually regenerate men, that," etc. Yes, exactly so, T. M.; but if you had fully considered the meaning of these words and had had faith in your principles, you would never have advocated the yoking of the Individualistic Ox with the Pegasus of Socialism. It is of the very essence of our doctrine that the "loafer" is only one of the many terrible products of the present system of society, and we claim for Socialism that, by destroying the system, we shall necessarily destroy the monsters—Poverty, Prostitution, Crime, Overwork, Idleness, Debauchery, etc.—which it engenders.

Before going into the water, however, T. M. thinks we ought to learn to swim. He proposes that we should show our fraternity by each looking upon his neighbour as likely to shirk his duty unless kept up to the mark by a labour-test; and we are to promote equality by the establishment of two labour-castes—time-workers and piece-workers. The diversity of capacity and industry is the stock argument of the cunning sophists who write in the interests of the infamous capitalist régime. I will endeavour, therefore, to show that this pretended difficulty is so small as to be unworthy of consideration, much less to require the machinery which T. M. suggests. I will take my own craft as a compositor to serve as a general illustration. As a result of 25 years' observation in various parts of England and Scotland and amongst large numbers of fellow-workmen, I have found the variations in working capacity in the vast majority to be inconsiderable. There are, however, about five per cent. who are recognised as "whips," that is, they probably exceed the average by from one-fifth to one-tenth. I worked several years beside one of these "swifts," and discovered, what I have no doubt is a pretty general rule, that the "speed" was gained at the expense of "staying power." Thus at 45 the "whip" begins to fag, if he does not break down entirely, whilst the average man who has taken life a little more easily, and deemed comfort and health of more importance than working himself to death for the sake of an extra shilling or two in his weekly wage—still keeps up a steady pace. These "superior workmen" are frequently members of building societies, and being terribly anxious to keep up their payments and make provision for their families, are forced still further to intensify the existing competition by over-exerting their powers, to the detriment both of themselves and their fellow-men.

In a rational state of society the difference in working capacity would constantly tend to diminish. Since by moderate exertion by all, not only the necessities but the comforts of life could be produced abundantly for all, no one could possibly be "burdened," whilst the spirit of emulation to which T. M. refers, would have scope for healthy exercise, freed from the debasing greed for gain with which it is now too often allied. As to the fear of idlers, I do not believe that the proportion of those who can be honestly termed lazy, exceeds two per cent. I am amazed not at the number of loafers, but at the excessive industry of the masses who are content to toil laboriously such long hours for such scant pay. Terribly pathetic, too, is the interest the poor slaves take in their masters' affairs. As a matter of fact, men are often compelled to loiter over their work for fear of "working themselves out of a job." I have had to do it myself and found it ten times more disagreeable than hard work. But even for the lazy ones (not to insist that laziness is really a disease) a word is to be said. They are dimly conscious of being exploited and, after all, they are only following their masters' example, "getting as much as they can for as little as they can." Even under the debasing influence of the commercial system, the proportion of "black sheep" is small, and surely the breed will become less and less as the salutary principles of Socialism more and more prevail.

So far, I have dealt with T. M.'s suggestion mainly from a theoretical point of view; but a very slight examination will show the proposal to be utterly unworkable. I will not dwell upon the minor difficulties of fixing a fair standard, arising from the variations in the materials used, of age, of health, etc., which would undoubtedly lead to a deal of friction and unpleasantness, but proceed to point out the great obstacle, which constitutes, in fact, the scientific basis of Socialism, *i.e.*, that by the organisation and subdivision of labour, aided by machinery and natural forces, the amount of wealth produced collectively is enormously in excess of what could be produced by individual effort, and that practically it is impossible to determine the exact *quota* which each worker has contributed to the product; or it may even be urged that there is really no difference in the value of the labour given by each worker, since the amount of work that can be measured by the "piece" is so small, and individual skill such an unimportant factor in socialised production. Apart, altogether, then from any ethical, sentimental, or Christian ideas as to the duty of the strong to help the weak, etc., enlightened selfishness must lead the workers to see that "share and share alike" will pay them better in the long run than trusting to their individual powers of brain and muscle in a general scramble.

The whole tendency of the age is totally at variance with T. M.'s ideas as to the "average man." Indeed it is only a truism to say that society is based upon averages. Not only is the price of the great bulk of commodities determined by averaging, but a large percentage of all the transactions of everyday life are regulated by the method of capitulation. Why even those great apostles of Individualism—Mr. Herbert Spencer, the Hon. Auberger Herbert, and Mr. C. Bradlaugh, M.P.—doubtless appreciate the value of averages at a *table d'hôte*, say, or in the case of life insurance and the interest on their bank accounts; and would scarcely advocate individual bargains in the case of cab and railway fares, etc. In conclusion, the leading trades' unions of England have long since declared against "piece" work, and the American labour organisations are doing likewise. In the London Society of Compositors time-work is fast becoming the rule, with the most beneficial results. In place of the bickerings, jealousy, spite, and paltry pride fostered by the "piece" system, a more brotherly spirit prevails; and to me the fraternity engendered by this equality on a small scale, gives happy augury of the blessings that will follow when the workers having shaken off their chains, adopt as the foundation of the New Society the Socialist principle, "One for all: all for one."

T. BINNING.

## SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

NINE THOUSAND men are thrown out of work on the Tyne and Wear. The shipbuilders demand a reduction of 12½ per cent. on piece wage, 10 on time-wage. The men have struck. They contend that the contracts now in the hands of the building firms were obtained on the basis of the present rate of wages, not on that of a 10—12½ per cent. reduction. Nor can reduction of wages increase the demand for new ships.

In all the large ports are many steamers manned by a single watchman. Suppose an improvement in the sea-carrying trade. These idle vessels will be employed or ever a new one need be built.

Last spring when the war-scare was on, the Admiralty commissioned a number of war-vessels of private firms, with the avowed intention of finding work for unemployed artisans. It is conceivable that even an Admiralty would be guided as to the price paid for these vessels by the then rate of wages. A reduction in these last means, therefore, that the masters will, as of old, pocket the difference at the expense of the men.

In March 1884, in August 1884, in January 1885, the shipbuilding artisans had their wages reduced. Aggregate of reductions 15 to 22½ per cent.

"Snow means starvation" to hundreds and thousands. Imagine a system under which a simple natural event, such as a snowstorm, is death to many! There is no need of imagination. It is the system under which we live—and die.

The unemployed of Birmingham are becoming busy again—not with work, but agitation. They are to form a labour army and conquer injustice. "No longer shall innocent children starve," says their handbill, "and strong men lie idle." And yet the smug, demure folk think there is no likelihood of a change in the basis of society.

Everywhere reduction of wages. The Manchester Iron Trade Association have given notice of a 7½ per cent. reduction, and this is but the beginning of a general movement throughout the English iron trade. Twelve weeks ago the cotton operatives of Oldham and its vicinity had a 5 per cent. reduction and now another 5 per cent. fall is announced.

The use of the military against the Llandulas quarrymen shows us, once again, how uneven is the contest between labour and capital, and how readily the latter uses brute force to satisfy its brute hunger.

The scene at the Tipperary guardians' meeting when the labourers bearded the guardians in their den was very disgraceful to every one but the labourers. Their cries are those of all their class. Their audience ought to be all society. "We are driven to half madness from hunger and you have done nothing for us."

It is hardly necessary to say that all Socialists are Irish Nationalists at heart. But it is worth our while to keep in mind that with the solution of the question of Irish independence a great nation will be set free to consider a yet greater matter—the freedom of labour.

E. A.



## RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

**POLAND.**—Some few weeks ago a Reuter's telegram announced, much in the same way as they announce that Her gracious Majesty has gone for a drive, that the "Warsaw trial of Socialists" had taken place, that six of the accused had been condemned to death, eighteen to sixteen, two to ten, and one to eight years' hard labour in the mines and life-long banishment to Siberia (as if any one had been known to outlive such long years in the Siberian mines!) and two to life-long exile to Siberia. And that was all! Of the trial, of the men condemned, I have seen no word in a single English paper. After all, a few Polish Socialists done to death by Russian "judges"—what does it matter?

To begin with, it must be borne in mind that for months, even years, these unhappy men and others retained as "witnesses," have been kept in prison. "I can take no oath," said one of these "witnesses." "You have kept me three years in prison, you have tried to force me to make false statements, and when I asked what had become of my wife and my children you gave me no answer—I can give no evidence." Three years in prison before even the farce of a trial! And what prisons they were, let these few facts prove. Two women, Pohl and Rusiecka went mad; another woman, Breslauer, hanged herself; of one prisoner a report says: "His pale, death-like appearance made a painful impression. Only the fiery eyes showed there was still life in this skeleton." And yet after all these years of torture all the prisoners behaved with a calm courage that would have been admirable under any circumstance, and is thrice admirable under such circumstances as these. One and all defended their cause, which is ours; not one failed. Not the least interesting or remarkable fact in connexion with this trial is that men of every class were represented at it. Thus, of the six men condemned to death, Bardowzyki is a justice of the peace, Lury a military engineer, Ossowski, Pietruszyki, and Szman, working-men, and Kunicki a student. Among the others also are officers, artists, working-men, teachers, and students. At the "trial" no friends of the prisoners were allowed to be present, and the public was rigidly excluded. A correspondent of a German paper writes: "The accused, who were brought in by threes and fours, and again led out so, received their sentences with perfect calm. These sentences have caused the utmost consternation among the people of Warsaw." Not one of the prisoners was acquitted, and those who know anything of Russian prison tortures, are aware that of all these men only the six who are to be hanged have been mercifully dealt with. The venal English press that so lately shrieked with horror at King Theebaw's atrocities, has uttered no word of horror at this atrocity. But let us Socialists at least remember these Polish martyrs, let us bear their names in our very heart of heart, let us learn to have something of their courage and devotion.

**FRANCE.**—That humbug and *faux bonhomme*, M. Jules Grévy, has been "exercising," as a daily paper put it, "his prerogative of mercy," and Louise Michel, P. Krapotkine, and some eight or nine political prisoners have been—*pardoned*. There is an impression that these people have been *amnestied*. Nothing of the kind. An amnesty would have had to include the victims of the infamous police plot at Monceaux-les-mines, and would have opened the prison doors of some thirty or forty persons still under lock and key as felons. For the French Republicans have learnt a lesson from England, and have taken to condemning political prisoners, like England did the Fenians, as ordinary criminals. They can thus, as the virtuous Mr. Gladstone did when the amnesty to the Irish was first proposed, indignantly repel the insinuation that there are any political prisoners. As to Louise, Krapotkine, and their comrades, their names happen to be known all over Europe, and to keep them longer in jail was a scandal that had to be ended. Their release was absolutely unavoidable, and so they have been—*pardoned*! That they resent this pardon, an insult to them and an injustice to the other prisoners, is natural. And we, while we rejoice that they are free to go on with their work, while we heartily welcome them, we too cannot but share the feeling of Louise when she says "to let us out thus is not only an insult but a shameful trick by which they hope to make the world forget our fellow-prisoners." That this was the pious intention of the French government there is no doubt. But the trick will fail. Rochefort is immediately to bring forward a General Amnesty Bill. This, Clemenceau and his followers must support, and there is a great probability that it will be voted. But should it not be, then a general agitation on the subject will be begun. Anyhow, the "convicts" will not, as M. Grévy imagined, be forgotten in the pleasure of welcoming those already "pardoned."

ELEANOR MARX-AVELING.

## PROPOSED ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST ORGANISATIONS IN AMERICA.

WE have received the following resolutions from the Central Committee, Pacific Coast International Workingmen's Association, and we hope that the admirable proposal it makes will be carried into effect:

"Whereas the economic condition of the masses of the working people generally, and recent events looking toward a settlement of the labour-troubles by violent means particularly, are portentous of a social upheaval in the nearest future; and

"Whereas during such an upheaval it is the duty of the reformers to be at the helm and carry it into proper channels toward a successful issue; and

"Whereas it is imperatively necessary, for such a purpose, to concentrate all our forces against the common foe; and

"Whereas there is really no sound reason why a concentration of all reform forces should not be effected, inasmuch as the aims of all genuine reform-organisations are identical, namely, the liberation of the people from the bondage of economic slavery and the substitution of economic independence; and

"Whereas, furthermore, all genuine reform-organisations—even the Socialistic Labour-Party according to the declarations made by its last congress—agree that the realisation of these aims can only come through Revolution; therefore be it

"Resolved by this body, the Central Committee of the Pacific Coast Division of the 'International Workingmen's Association,' that we earnestly and sincerely advocate an amalgamation of all existing genuine reform organisations;

"Resolved that we urge to be held as speedily as possible a congress of all these organisations, especially of the Socialistic Labour-Party and the black (anarchistic) and the red (social-revolutionary) Internationals; and

"Resolved, that at such a congress an agreement upon a common platform and a common system of agitation, organisation, and Action should be arrived at; and

"Resolved finally that copies of these resolutions be forwarded for publication to all labour-journals."

## LITERARY NOTICES.

In several little articles in the *Working Man's Almanack* (Turin) bearing on the social condition of the workers, the writers have grasped with enthusiasm the sentimental side of Socialism, but its ethical and economical aspects are evidently *terra incognita*.

A second edition of Frederic Engel's "Herr Eugen Dühring's *Anwälzung der Wissenschaft*" is out. Dealing ostensibly with the "System" of Herr Dühring, it actually treats in general the large questions of Philosophy, Political Economy, and Socialism. The whole work, and notably the third section of it, ought to be consulted and studied by all who want to know the history and the theory of the new philosophy called Socialism. Volksbuchhandlung, Zürich, 3s.

In an address delivered at Ravenna lately, published as a supplement to *Il Fascio Operaio* (Milan), Andrea Costa took a general survey of the growth of Socialism in Italy since the Union, and then proceeded to explain the position of the Socialist party. Costa builds his hopes high on parliamentary reform, although in another part of his discourse he calls the law a dead letter, and quotes the Gospel on the futility of putting new wine in old bottles.

Miss Jessie Craigen has reprinted as a pamphlet entitled "The Irish Police and Home Rule," part of a larger work published some years ago. It is a trenchant indictment of the Irish police-system as established and kept up by the English Government, and is based wholly upon what the authoress herself saw and heard. At this special juncture it should be widely read. It may be procured from the authoress at 31 Nutcroft Road, Naylor Road, Peckham, at 1d.

"English and French morality from a Frenchman's point of view." By Yves Guyot. Modern Press, 14 Paternoster Row. A pamphlet called forth by the events of recent days. Apart from its polemics, it contains much valuable information respecting prostitution in France, a subject on which the author is probably the first authority of the day. M. Guyot, we should imagine, from many passages might one of those days be a Socialist. The parallelism between Lombard Street at midday and the Haymarket at midnight, on p. 55, is excellent.

## THE PEOPLE'S PRESS.

[Under this heading will be found a collection of pithy paragraphs collated from various journals published in the interest of the workers. Comrades and friends are invited to forward cuttings from English and translations from foreign labour journals.]

"Were you never in a court of justice before?" "No, never, but I've often enough been up before the magistrates!"—*San Antonio Item*.

Work for all may be had by reducing the hours. Pay for all may be had by all going to work.—*Labor Lett*.

A hungry man has a bad conscience. If he had as much courage and energy to go with it as a well-fed man he would make things crackle.—*Chicago (Ill.) Alarm*.

That every mother shall have a roof over her head, where she can rear her children amid virtuous and refining influences, is of more importance to the country than all the wealth of the world.—*Our Country*.

The people should be warned that there is a persistent and sleepless influence all the time at work, to secure upon the bench judges who have not the staunch integrity and inflexible independence that should characterise the judiciary.—*New York Times*.

Majority! Don't wait for a majority! They come only when some great deed is done whose brilliancy lights up the dark skies of despair. Then the weak, the timid, the doubtful, the indifferent, will rally and move towards the light, roused by the magnetism of intrepid action. All great revolutions are accomplished by the few who, rising in the hot wrath nursed for many years, seize some hoary oppression by the throat and bid it in God's name depart! This is the history of all the great deliverances of man from his oppressors!—*Our Country*.

**PATRIOTISM.**—Patriotism is the clap-trap and stock-in-trade of the social devil-fish—the politician. Deprive him of it, and, like Othello, his navigation's gone. It is the "I am better than thou" sentiment, the meanest and most debasing trait in human cunning and hypocrisy. Patriotism is nurtured by knaves, and believed in only by fools. By it nations are held in antagonism and war, where there should be harmony and peace. It is patriotism that prevents the world from being the country of every man and all mankind his fellow countrymen.—*The Alarm*.

**GAMBLING.**—The pertinent question, so far as this vice is concerned, is the one of criminality. One man has it in a mild form, and buys a tenth of a ticket in a lottery every month. This costs him a dozen dollars a year, and may or may not be criminal. . . . It would appear to an impartial observer that the crime comes in the intent to defraud. Thus, where there is a game put up with a deliberate intention to swindle, there is fraud, hence crime. The person who gambles to enrich himself at the expense of another's poverty, commits a crime. There is more that is wicked and bad in a corner gotten up by speculators in breadstuffs, than in all the pools, lotteries, church fairs, and raffles in the world.—*The Republic*.

**TRADES' UNIONS** cannot confine their actions to merely exclusive trade matters any more if they want to be abreast of the times. Unjust social conditions are crowding them away from their old stumping grounds, and the methods that were effective fifty years ago are useless now. The mere regulating of trade matters is too small game for large bodies of presumably intelligent men to waste so much ammunition on. Of course, these little matters need attention, but we must not make the adjustment of these the paramount object of our great organisations. Why should not these unions grapple with the question of the right of every honest, industrious person to live? This necessarily would lead them to demand access to the means of earning a living,—the raw materials of nature, and the tools of production and exchange. The products of labour must be the wages of the labourer, and any association whose actions and hopes are not in this direction cannot consistently claim to be a labour organisation.—J. A. LABADIE in *Labor Leaf*.

I affirm it as my conviction that class laws placing capital above labour are more dangerous to the Republic at this hour than chattel slavery in the days of its haughtiest supremacy.—*Abraham Lincoln*.

The civilised labourer who bakes a loaf that he may eat a slice of bread, who builds a palace that he may sleep in a stable, who weaves rich fabrics that he may dress in rags, who produces everything that he may dispense with everything,—is not free. His employer, not becoming his associate in the exchange of salaries or services which takes place between them, is his enemy.—*Proudhon*.

It is not to die, or even to die of hunger, that makes a man wretched. All men must die—the last exit of us all is in a fire-chariot of pain. But it is to live miserable, we know not why; to work sore, and yet gain nothing; to be heart-worn, weary, yet isolated, unrelated, girt in with a cold universal *laissez-faire*. It is to die slowly all our life long, imprisoned in a deaf, dead, infinite injustice, as in the accursed iron belly of a Phalaris Bull.—*Carlyle*.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

## Notice to Members.

*Choir.*—The choir meetings are suspended for the present.

*General Meeting.*—On Monday 21st Feb. at 8.30 p.m. Council meets at 7.30.

*Library.*—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m. Members who have books from the library in their possession are requested to return them at once, as the librarians wish to collect all books for the purpose of re-cataloguing.

*Reading Room.*—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. All papers received by the Secretary are sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members.

*Standing Committees.*—Meet on Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m.

## MONTHLY REPORT.

At their ordinary weekly meeting held on Monday Jan. 18, the Executive Council passed the following resolution unanimously: "That this meeting of the Council of the Socialist League, while welcoming the released Socialists, records its energetic protest against the cowardly action of Jules Grévy, the President of the French Republic, in burking the question of the amnesty of political prisoners in France, by 'pardoning' a few of the more prominent among them."

In response to an invitation from the I.W.M. Club, Whitfield Street, delegates were appointed to assist in arranging for the reception of the Socialists lately released in Paris, should they visit England, and also for the holding of a meeting to protest against the conduct of the French Government in still confining the men of Lyons, Monceaux les Mines, etc., in defiance of justice and humanity.

The Council also resolved to invite all the Socialist bodies in London to send delegates to a preliminary meeting to form a committee to arrange for the holding an anniversary celebration of the Commune of Paris on or about March 18.

Although the reaction consequent upon the frenzy of the party conflict has hardly yet been recovered from by the people, there has been a marked improvement in the attendance at our lectures during this month, and from all quarters come tidings that augur well for our work when the season once more allows us to "go forth into the highways and byways." Everywhere the Branches have done a good month's work with lectures, outdoor meetings and discussions, but there is very little that specially calls for mention.

Comrades Sketchley and Copeland, with others, have succeeded in founding a very promising branch in Birmingham, in spite of the oft-repeated boast that the men of the midland metropolis were too hard-boiled politically to give ear to our gospel. Steady, enthusiastic work has its due reward, and our Birmingham comrades are to be congratulated on the success that has crowned their efforts.

At Liverpool some friends have formed a "Worker's Brotherhood," which has been carrying on a good series of lectures, with the help of our Manchester comrades, and is making some progress.

In Dublin our comrades have been, and are, subjected to those delicate attentions in which the English auxiliary garrison known as "police," is so very proficient, and which are so serviceable always in advertising our propaganda and arousing revolutionary feeling. The branch engaged the Oddfellows' Hall for a quarter to hold weekly meetings, but omitted to obtain a written agreement. After two or three very successful meetings had been held there, the Oddfellows' Hall board of management inserted an advertisement in the *Freeman's Journal* on Wednesday 13 Jan., stating that they would not allow the meeting advertised for next day, on the ground that it was a public meeting and they never allowed such, although it is well known that public meetings are continually being held there. Another advertisement answered on behalf of the branch that only members and the press would be admitted. Then came out the truth that Socialism was what was objected to, and that "at any risk" a Socialist meeting would be prevented. When the members turned up for their meeting they found a formidable array of police going through the farce of "guarding the building" to the intense delight of a large and appreciative audience! Our comrades gathered the crowd and went off and secured a room over a tavern, where a most successful meeting was held. The police, however, again exerted themselves with the landlord, and the branch was once more "evicted." It has now located itself in Carpenter's Hall, Aungier Street, but there is little doubt that it will be ultimately driven out there also. The time is coming, however, for open-air work, when the branch will have a full opportunity for utilising the leaflet just published on the Irish question.

The attention of provincial branches is specially called to the following resolution, passed at the monthly general meeting of London members on Dec. 28: "That branches be urged to organise four special public meetings during the year to be addressed by lecturers sent from the League." H. H. S.

## "THE COMMONWEAL."

The title-page, index, and covers for binding the volume of the *Commonweal* for 1885, can be obtained of the manager, 13 Farringdon Road, for 2s.

## THE GUARANTEE FUND.

We now have in hand about £80 in cash and definite promises, and appeal to all interested in the matter to help to make up the necessary sum before the end of this month. We take the opportunity of urging branches and members to do their utmost to circulate the paper, since its success must to a great degree depend upon their efforts. Probably the most effective method of support is for branches to guarantee to take a definite number of copies at wholesale price. Two or three branches have already done this; we commend their example to the others, and hope they will consider the matter and report to the manager at an early date.

E. BELFORT BAX. WILLIAM MORRIS.  
H. H. SPARLING. CARL THEODOR.

## LECTURE DIARY: February, 1886.

**FARRINGTON HALL** (Offices of the League), 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

*Lectures.*—Every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. Admission free: discussion invited. Jan. 27. G. B. Shaw, "L'Assommoir." Feb. 3. E. Belfort Bax, "Universal History from a Socialist point of view." 10. Mr. W. J. Ramsey, "A Socialistic Experiment. The Poor Laws—a Folly and a Failure." 17. H. H. Sparling, "The Münster Commune." 24. Mrs. Charlotte M. Wilson, "Anarchism." *Concert.*—On Saturday Feb. 27, at 8 o'clock, under the management of Comrade Theodor. All are welcome. Admission free.

## BRANCH MEETING ROOMS.

## LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—The "Eagle and Child" Coffee House, 45 Old Compton Street, Soho. Every Thursday at 8.30 p.m. Feb. 4. Eleanor Marx Aveling, a lecture. 11. Discussion on above lecture, opened by W. A. Chambers. 18. C. Faulkner, "Arithmetic." 25. Discussion on above lecture, opened by T. E. Wardle.

**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. The room is open every Sunday morning at 11.15, evening at

7.45. Evening arrangements: Feb. 7. Concert. 14. H. Sparling, "Pseudo-Socialism." 21. C. W. Mowbray, "Development of Revolutionary Ideas." 28. G. B. Shaw, a lecture. In the mornings there are readings, discussions, songs, etc. All are welcome.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m. Feb. 7. J. Stuart Glennie, "The Crofters." 14. F. Kitz, a lecture. 21. F. Verinder, "Work, Wages and Rent." 28. Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, "The Land and Social Morality."

**Marylebone.**—"Walmer Castle" Coffee Tavern, 136 Seymour Place, Marylebone Road, W. Sunday evenings at 8 o'clock. Feb. 7. H. H. Sparling, "The Meaning of the Revolution." 14. A. K. Donald, "Some Objections to Socialism." 21. W. A. Chambers, "Duty and Right." 28. Laurence Grünlund, "German and French Socialism."

**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Every Sunday, 8 p.m. Feb. 7. A lecture. 14. A lecture. 21. R. A. Beckett, "Happiness." 28. H. Charles, "Society v. State."

**Mile-end.**—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. Feb. 2. William Morris, "Political Outlook." 9. H. Davis, "Malthusianism and Socialism." 16. C. W. Mowbray, "Lords and Commons v. The People." 23. H. Charles, "The German Labour Movement."

**North London.**—Camden Hall, King Street, Camden Town, N. Wednesdays at 8.30 p.m.

**South London.**—Peckham and Dulwich Radical Club, 144 Rye Lane, Peckham. Every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Feb. 2. H. Charles, "Socialism and Anarchism." 9. D. Nicoll, "Charms of Civilisation." 16. R. A. Beckett, "Equality." 23. H. H. Sparling, "The Münster Commune." Business meetings at 103 Bird-in-bash Road, on Sunday evenings at 7.30.

## PROVINCIAL.

**Birmingham.**—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30. All are invited.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Kirkgate. Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Sympathisers invited. Feb. 2. J. L. Mahon, "The aims of Socialists." 9. T. Maguire, "The Labourer and the Capitalist." 16. J. Mitchell, "Usury: What does it mean?" 23. (M.S. lent by W. Morris) "Misery and the way out."

**Dublin.**—The Carpenter's Hall, 75 Aungier Street. Thursdays at 8 o'clock sharp.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m. Special business meeting, Wednesday 17th Feb. at 8.30 p.m. Lecture in Oddfellows' Hall on Thursday 18th Feb. at 7.30 p.m., by Edward Carpenter. Subject: "Exploitation of Labour," with illustrations from railway and other industries.

**Leeds.**—54, Myrtle Street. Meets every Wednesday.

**Leicester.**—Secular Hall, Humberstone Gate.

**Manchester.**—City Café, Swan Street. Meets each Tuesday at 8 p.m. Feb. 2. Ball, "How the Democracy are plundered." 9. Snowdon, "Female labour." 16. Addison, "Men who have made Socialism." 23. Prince, "A plea for Land Nationalisation." At the County Forum, Market Street, on Jan. 30, at 7.30 p.m., Edward Carpenter will lecture on "Exploitation of Labour."

**Royston.**—"Greyhound Inn." Every Sunday evening at 7.30.

**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Meets every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m. The Secretary will be happy to give lectures on Socialism to any of the Liberal and Radical Clubs in the town and neighbourhood; address 57 Landsdowne Road, Chadderton, Oldham. Comrade Tod, 73 Book Street, off Ashton Road, will be glad to see or hear from *bond fide* inquirers.

**Oxford.**—"Elm Tree Tavern," Cowley Road. Every Monday at 8.30 p.m.

## OPEN AIR PROPAGANDA.

**Hyde Park.**—Sundays, 3.30 p.m., near Marble Arch.

**Midland Arches, St. Pancras Road.**—Sundays, 11.30 a.m.

**Mile-end Waste.**—Sundays, 11.30 a.m.

**Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, 7 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Vicar's Croft. Sundays, afternoon.

**Manchester.**—New Cross, Oldham Road. Sundays, 2.30 p.m.

**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

## MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

**HAMMERSMITH LIBERAL CLUB.**—Wednesday 10th Feb. at 8 p.m., William Morris, "The Political Outlook."

**PATRIOTIC CLUB.**—Sunday 14th Feb. W. Morris, "Socialism."

**SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB, Goldsmith Row, Hackney Road.**—Lectures on Sundays at 7.45 p.m.

**LIVERPOOL.**—"THE WORKERS' BROTHERHOOD."—Sunday evening Socialist lectures. Fred Willis, 49 Wood Street, Hanover Street, asks help.

## WHERE TO GET THE "COMMONWEAL."

## LONDON.

Old Ford Road—Roberts, 4; Caudle, 139.  
Globe Road—Poole, 24; Caudle, 244; Brown, 254.  
Mile End Road—174. Haines, 212; W. Cole, 84 New St., Bedford St., wholesale agent; Hendry, 6 Jubilee Street.  
Commercial Road—C. A. Schweitzer, 43; Viney, 115; Bushy Brothers, 184; Long, 234; Briggs, 244.  
Whitechapel Road—Kerby, 118; Eades, 219; J. Brown, 18 Bakers Row.  
Hackney Road—Miller, 15; Wood, 103; Smith, 182; C. E. 443; Hammond, Goldsmith Row; Auckland, 4 Bishops Road; Vale, 4 Bonner Road.  
Maro St., Hackney—J. Yates, 4 West Street.  
Bishopsgate—E. T. Pendrill, 26 Brushfield St.  
Fleet Street—Freethought Publishing Co., 63; Reeves, 185; Cattel & Co., Bonverie St.  
Strand—Pitt, 30 Newcastle St.  
Farringdon St.—Progressive Publishing Co., 28 Stonecutter St.  
Comrade Wm. Blundell, 14, Camden Passage, Islington, N. Agent for Socialist League publications.

## PROVINCES.

**BIRMINGHAM.**—J. Sketchley, 348 Cheapside.  
**BRADFORD.**—G. Minty, 3 Crab St. Hall Lane.  
**BRIGHTON.**—Morrish, Narrow Wine St.  
**DUBLIN.**—J. J. Lalor, North Earl St.  
**EDINBURGH.**—B. Given, 20 Bristo St.; Robinson, Greenside St.  
**GALASHIELS.**—The News Stall, Princess St.  
**GLASGOW.**—J. Adams, 91, Houston St.  
**HAWICK.**—J. Finlay, High St.; J. C. Goodfellow, High St.  
**HULL.**—H. Witty, Suffolk Row, Wincolmea.  
**HAVERHILL** (Suffolk)—Chevins & Son, High St.

**LEEDS.**—T. Maguire, 54 Myrtle Street.  
**LIVERPOOL.**—Landing Stage; Stocker, 27 Vauxhall Road; Tibbs, 11 St. James Place; P. Bacon, Prescott St.  
**MANCHESTER.**—W. Addison (Wholesale) 22 Carnarvon St., Dickens St., Queen's Road.  
**NORTHAMPTON.**—W. Brain, 16 Little Cross St.  
**OLDHAM.**—J. Salway, 64 Falcon St. off Ashton Road.  
**OXFORD.**—English, 38 St. Ebbe's St.; Miss Foy 5 The Plain, St. Clement's.

Special attention is called to the literature of the Socialist League, including a series of leaflets. No. 7, "Home Rule and Humbug," is now ready. Copies may be had on application to the secretary. Supplied for distribution at 2s. per 1000

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE, at 15 Farringdon Road, London

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 14.

MARCH, 1886.

ONE PENNY.

## OUR POLICY.

THE recent "disturbances" as the word goes, the stir in the dry bones of labour, is a strange phenomenon to most people, and even to us, who have been working towards a change in the basis of Society, is unexpected; amidst the routine of our ordinary educational work we have been surprised, as it were, by something which, whatever else may be said of it, does look like the first skirmish of the Revolution.

The riot, or whatever it may be called, of February 8th, though a small matter in itself, became of importance because it has got to be a fixed idea in the heads of—well—most men, men of all classes, that the English workman had at last been brought to the point of incapacity of expressing his grievances by anything more threatening than an election riot; which expressed nothing at all except a certain pleasure in a "rough and tumble," joined perhaps to the irritation which comes of the indigestion of the "lower classes," an indigestion bred of garbage-eating, and want of fresh air and leisure.

But here was a crowd composed in the main, in spite of the watch-stealing, which was the work of professional thieves on the look out for plunder, of genuine working-men, who were angry, or excited, or miserable enough to cast off their habitual fear of consequences for an hour or two, and indulge in a threat to the Society which had made them the lower classes; as to the details of that threat I will not say much. I have no doubt that the shoeing-horn to the riot was the "truly gentlemanly" behaviour of the fools at the Carlton Club, who took for granted the axiom above stated, that a crowd of the English "lower classes" will stand anything, and threw jeers and milk-cans at them accordingly. However, let that pass. Apart from what actual plunder there was, the wrecking of shops to carry the contents away, the proceedings of the crowd seemed like a sort of gigantic practical joke against the tyrant—Sham Society. A joke mingled with threatening, embittered by anger and contempt; characterised by the English tendency towards brutality masked by good humour, which is so apt amongst our countrymen to accompany the first stages of a great tragedy. These seem to me to have been the outward aspects of this strange, and, in spite of all drawbacks, most memorable scene.

What was the meaning of it? At bottom misery, illuminated by a faint glimmer of hope, raised by the magic word SOCIALISM, the only hope of these days of confusion. That was what the crowd represented, whatever other elements were mingled with it.

What has come of it? The first outcome was on the Tuesday and Wednesday following, a panic at first sight quite inexplicable. There were no mobs in the streets, no placards threatening revolution, no processions—"no nothing" in short,—and the respectabilities were terribly afraid. Such abject cowardice has perhaps seldom been so frankly shown as was shown by the middling bourgeoisie on those two days. Whatever were they afraid of? Of nothing? No; they were afraid of their own position, so suddenly revealed to them as by a flash of lightning; their position as a class dominating a class injured by them, and more numerous than they. No doubt this insight into the depths of Society will be of service to the dominated class; who will also remember the terror it caused, after their masters have forgotten it.

As another result: the money which was coming into the Mansion House Fund very slowly, is now coming in in sacksful. I would wish to be as fair as possible to the richer classes; and I must say, therefore, that I think this comes partly from people's consciences being touched by the distress now at last become visible to them; yet partly also, I think, from fear. "Let us show them how kind we are, it may keep them quiet!"

What will come from these "disturbances"? First, some palliative measures. That is the regular course of events in England of late years; every reform has been blindly resisted till obvious violence has been brought to bear upon the question. Witness the Irish "difficulty," which has made great steps since I heard John Morley in St. James's Hall, before the Westminster electors in 1880, declare that Home Rule was a subject inadmissible of discussion. Well, furthermore, these palliatives must necessarily take the form of an interference with the sanctity of the labour market; an artificial raising of wages by authority, which in its turn will be a spoke in the wheel of our commercial system, will hasten its disruption, in other words, will tend to bring on Revolution.

Another thing may happen, at first sight very unpleasant to us of the Socialist League. We may be suppressed; practically at least, if not formally. It is true that just now cool-headed people of the middle-classes rather smile at the ravings of the *Telegraph*. And yet I think

that those ravings are prophetic. Already something or other, probably the Leicester strike riots, has forced the government to turn back on its resolution of letting the speakers at the Demonstration alone, and they are now on their trial.

Well, what will be the result of that attempt at the suppression of opinion? Of course, opinion cannot be suppressed; we shall find means of disseminating our opinions; but repressive interference with us will make those opinions a kind of mystery, a thing to conjure with. The upper classes will, of course, look upon that mystery as a hateful but also a fearful thing; on the other hand the lower classes will be eager to know what this Socialism is, which professes to be altogether in their interest, and which the upper classes think so dangerous that no man must know anything about it if it can be helped. Repression will attract the working-classes to us. Opinion which must be suppressed is Revolutionary; under such conditions fear and hope are abroad, the mere dramatic situation forces people into enquiry, action is dreaded and is hoped for; the Socialist Party will become a political force when all these things happen.

Now I should like to say a few words with the utmost seriousness to our comrades and supporters, on the policy of the Socialist League. I have said that we have been overtaken unprepared, by a revolutionary incident, but that incident was practically aimless. This kind of thing is what many of us have dreaded from the first, and we may be sure that it will happen again and again while the industrial outlook is what it is; but every time it happens it will happen with ever-increasing tragedy. It is above all things our business to guard against the possible consequences of these surprises. At the risk of being misunderstood by hot-heads, I say that our business is more than ever *Education*.

The Gospel of Discontent is in a fair way towards forcing itself on the whole of the workers; how can that discontent be used so as to bring about the New Birth of Society? That is the question we must always have before us. It is too much to hope that the *whole* working-class can be educated in the aims of Socialism in due time, before other surprises take place. But we *must* hope that a strong party can be so educated. Educated in economics, in organisation, and in administration. To such a body of men all the aspirations and vague opinion of the oppressed multitudes would drift, and little by little they would be educated by them, if the march of events should give us time; or if not, even half-educated they would follow them in any action which it was necessary to take.

To forge this head of the spear which is to pierce the armour of Capitalism is our business, in which *we must not fail*.

Let me ask our comrades to picture to themselves the consequences of an aimless revolt unexpectedly successful for the time; we will even suppose that it carries with it a small number of men capable of government and administration, though that is supposing a great deal. What would be the result unless the people had some definite aim, however limited?

The men thus floated to the surface would be powerless, their attempts at legislation would be misunderstood; disappointment and fresh discontent would follow, and the counter revolution would sweep them away at once.

But, indeed, it would not even come to that. History teaches us that no revolts that are without aim are successful even for a time; even the failures (some of them glorious indeed) had a guiding aim in them, which only lacked completeness.

The educational process, therefore, the forming a rallying point for definite aims is necessary to our success; but I must guard against misunderstanding. We must be no mere debating club, or philosophical society; we must take part in all really popular movements when we can make our own views on them unmistakably clear; that is a most important part of the education in organisation.

Education towards Revolution seems to me to express in three words what our policy should be: towards that New Birth of Society which we know must come, and which, therefore, we must strive to help forward so that it may come with as little confusion and suffering as may be.

One word to Socialists who do not belong to the League. I think there is a tendency abroad towards holding aloof from union on insufficient grounds. I do not urge formal union between those who really disagree as to principles, or the tactics which follow from them, since this results in quarrelling instead of the friendly difference which might otherwise be. But when the principles and tactics held are practically the same, it seems to me a great mistake for Socialist bodies



to hold aloof from each other. The present is no time for the formation of separate societies, whether central or local. Mutual and organised intercourse is necessary to the education. I have been speaking of independence is sacrificed by this intercourse, and propaganda made much easier by it. I appeal, therefore, to all who agree with individuals, local bodies, or central ones, to give up the mere name of independence in order to attain its reality, and to join our League so that we may show a firm front to the common enemy in these troublous yet hopeful times that are coming on us.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## LESSONS IN SOCIALISM.

### IX.—THE LUST FOR SURPLUS-LABOUR—THE CORVÉE SYSTEM.

IN our analysis of Marx' "Das Kapital," we now become students of history rather than of economics. Thus far in our study of commodities and their three values, of money and its four functions, of the transformation of money into capital, of surplus-value, its production and its rates, of constant and variable capital, and of the working day, we have dealt especially with the economical side of Socialism. From this difficult but very necessary study, we turn to another, not less necessary, and certainly less difficult. The study of the history of European countries, during the last 200 or 300 years will lead us to the same conclusion as the facts, arguments, and generalisations of economics; that the present capitalistic method of production is an iniquitous one, and that it must shortly give way to another more equitable, and less injurious to the community at large.

Some of the historical facts are now to be noted that bear upon the lust for surplus labour (that is, the labour expended by a human being after the equivalent of his means of subsistence has been produced by him). That which follows will be readily understood, even by those to whom the preceding notes have presented difficulties.

Surplus labour is no invention of the capitalist. Wherever in any time, or in any country, a man or a class of men has a monopoly of the means of production, there is exaction of surplus, unpaid labour from those having no share in the monopoly. In ancient Athens, Etruria, Rome the *kalos kai agathos* (the beautiful and the good man) the theocrat, ruler by the grace and with the power of God, the *civus romanus*, or Roman citizen, are examples. In the more modern England, America, Wallachia, the Norman baron, the slave-owner, the Boyard, keep up the same bad custom. It is as international as death. The most modern form and the one coming most home "to men's business and bosoms" in this country, is the landlord and capitalist of to-day.

Before passing to the particular phase of the general struggle between exploiters and exploited that has for its centre the length of the working day, let us look at the phenomena of the lust for surplus-labour, as shown in Eastern Europe under the corvée system. To do this will be of interest not only because we shall be again reminded of the cosmopolitan nature of the struggle between the possessing and the defrauded classes, but because of the likeness in difference that obtains between the corvée system and the capitalist system of the majority of civilised countries. In the corvée system surplus working time is clearly marked off from necessary working time (*i.e.*, from the time in which a man produces the equivalent of his own means of subsistence). In the capitalistic system the two kinds of labour glide into each other, so that one may say that 20 or 30 seconds *e.g.*, of a minute are necessary working time, 40 or 30 surplus working time, or even that a fraction of every second belongs to the former and the remaining fraction of the second to the latter. As a result of this difference it comes to pass that the capitalist aims at the lengthening of the working-day; the Boyard tries to get more days of corvée.

This system of corvée had its home in the provinces of Turkey that border the Black Sea to the East. From north to south these provinces run as follows: Moldavia, Bulgaria, Roumelia. To the north-east of Bulgaria, to the south of Moldavia, between these and Hungary lies Wallachia. Wallachia and Moldavia make up Roumania. At first in Roumania there was, as generally, community of soil. Part of the land was cultivated by members of the community individually; part of it as public land. From the latter were derived a reserve fund and a common store for the people at large. Then the usual sad series of changes set in. By fraud and by force, the public land and the labour spent on it were seized by dignitaries of the military and clerical order. Then arose the system of corvée, by which the peasants gave without remuneration time and labour to their master the Boyard.

Something of the nature of these arrangements before they were legalised and systematised, one may gather from a glance at them when they were reduced to a code. Roumania came into the possession of Turkey in 1739, under the treaty of Belgrade. It was occupied a short time by Russia, when the war of Greek independence broke out, and was again ceded to Turkey in 1829 by the treaty of Adrianople, when Greek independence was established.

In 1831 the Russian general Kisseleff proclaimed his "Règlement organique." Kisseleff was practically the Dictator over the Roumanian provinces from 1829 to 1835. The code in question was dictated by the Boyard, just as labour laws in England are drawn up solely by the employers of labour. The notables were assembled "to abolish the corvée," and the pretence was made that serfdom was by the terms of the règlement organique, ended. This is an instance of that Slav humour as to which occidental Europe is dull of comprehension.

The four chief terms of the code were: that each Wallachian peasant

owes to his landlord first, certain payments in kind; second, twelve days of general labour; third, one day of field labour; fourth, one day of wood-carrying; in all fourteen days in the year.

Future students of history will certainly ask why 14 days? And they may, possibly, think out a connexion between these and the 14 days penalty of the police-court. One may fairly ask why even one day? Waiving, however, that initial, rational and, I believe, unanswerable enquiry, let us see how the line of these 14 days is stretched out by one device or another.

First of all, the working-day even under this arrangement is virtually one of 24 hours at least. The idea of it is based on the idea of the production of that which would require all the hours of the day and night. Actually each of the 14 days is equivalent to 3 days, and thus the modest demand of the Boyard swells at once to 42 days out of the year that are to be given up to him for nothing. That we are not misled upon this point by the wicked Socialist we may see by reference to the Règlement organique, where it is said in so many words that the one written day is the equivalent of three days of life.

Further, in addition to the 14, alias 42, days of ordinary labour, jobagie was legalised. This is service due on extraordinary occasions, estimated at not less than 14 days for each peasant.  $42 + 14 = 56$ . Out of 365 days in the year, therefore, 56 were sacred to the employer and non-payer of labour. But in reality the proportion is much greater than that represented by these numbers. For only 210 out of the 365 days of the year are in the climate of Roumania available for out-of-door work. Of these 210 another 40 may be taken off for Sundays and fête-days, another 30 for foul weather. These estimates err in favour of the boyard, not of the peasant.  $210 - 40 - 30 = 140$  working-days in the year. Of these 56 are surplus-labour days, wholly given up to the Boyard and to unpaid production for him.

The rate of surplus-value, we saw, was expressed by the fraction  $\frac{s.w.t.}{n.w.t.}$  *i.e.*, surplus working-time  $\div$  necessary working-time. In the case of the Wallachian boyard and peasant, on which the above figures are based, this rate becomes  $\frac{56}{140} = \frac{2}{5}$ .  $84 =$  the 140 days of total working-time minus the 56 days of surplus working-time.  $\frac{56}{84} = \frac{2}{3}$ . Of course the fraction of the whole time given away is  $\frac{56}{140} = \frac{2}{5}$ . Nor should English people lift up too readily their hands and voices at the enormity of this exploitation. It is certainly less than the amount of exploitation suffered by the English agricultural labourer or the English factory hand.

Nor are the devices of the Roumanian owner of all the means of production—even of the labourers' labour-power—at an end here. A very favourite plan is the giving to the peasant on one of his lord's days such a piece of work as cannot possibly be finished in the day. Thus the man is compelled to turn up again on the following day to finish it and to be exploited even beyond the legal limits. By a stretching and a twisting of legal terms again, the agricultural day may actually begin in May and end in October. One of the Boyards cries out in the jubilation of his soul, "the twelve days [of general labour] have become 365."

Surplus labour	...	...	Not the invention of Capital. Occurs wherever there is monopoly of means of production.
Examples	...	...	Athenian <i>kalos kai agathos</i> ; Etruscan theocrat, Roman citizen, Norman baron, American slave-owner, Wallachian Boyard, modern landlord and capitalist.
Corvée system	...	...	The giving of days of unpaid labour to the lord. S.w.t. clearly marked off from n.w.t.
Règlement organique	...	...	Chief terms affecting labour due from peasant to landlord: 1st., payments in kind; 2nd., 12 days of general labour; 3rd., 1 day for field labour; 4th, 1 day of wood carrying.
Jobagie	...	...	Service due on extraordinary occasions. 14 days for each peasant.
Working year	...	...	365 days—155 (bad seasons)—40 (Sundays and fête days)—30 (bad weather) = 140 working days.
Rate of s.v.	...	...	$\frac{56}{84} = \frac{2}{3}$ .

EDWARD AVELING.

## CIVILISATION.

"Oh, if the accursed invisible nightmare, that is crushing out the life of us and ours, would take a shape; approach us like the Hyrcanian tiger, the behemoth of chaos, the archfiend himself; in any shape that we could see and fasten on!" These, the words of Thomas Carlyle, express the sentiments of every truly earnest man and woman. Who is this enemy that stalks throughout the land and renders futile all human effort?

Perhaps there are some that think human effort has not been futile, has hitherto been very successful. Do we not read perpetually of this nineteenth century of ours, its marvels, its improvements? Are we not continually being told that there never was an age like this, that there never were such clever and enlightened men anywhere at any time? Look at our means of locomotion, of communication; our bridges and buildings—what can we not make, what can we not do? Man never had such power over Nature before. To say, therefore, that all human effort has hitherto proved futile is surely to say what cannot be true.

To decide whether any given effort has or has not been successful, it

is necessary to know for what end such effort has been put forth. If a man be seen walking along a road, no one can tell whether that man is going in a right or in a wrong direction, unless his destination be known. So is it with all human actions; they must be judged with reference to the end that they are undertaken for. A man sows that he may reap, and he reaps that he may enjoy; unless this enjoyment be realised, no matter what ingenuity he may have displayed in sowing, no matter what beautiful machinery may have reaped and carried, his efforts must be pronounced futile. The great Pyramid is a stupendous structure. The monarch that built it may be conceived as exclaiming on its completion, "See that mighty monument, there is nothing so big in the world, nothing indicative of such power. I must be the greatest man that has yet lived." At the present day we would call such a monarch the greatest fool that has yet lived, for causing to be wasted so much human labour.

Before judging our modern achievements by the principle that we have just endeavoured to lay down, by the end, that is to say, that they have been intended to fulfil, we shall just say a word as to this end. The end of human conduct has been long a matter of dispute amongst philosophers; *summum bonum*, greatest happiness of the greatest number, and many other phrases, have resulted from this controversy. The mistake that runs throughout this controversy lies in supposing that there is any final end. "A man grows with the growth of his aims," said Schiller; so does a nation, so does mankind. In speaking, then, of the end of human effort we do not presume to lay down any absolute end; what we do lay down, however, and what no one will object to is that man's first necessity is to live, that the bottom principle in our being is the principle of self-conservation.

As to our achievements, then, that we look upon with so much complacency as reflecting our own greatness and skill—our bridges, our railways, our steamboats, our cables, our electric appliances, and all our other multitudinous devices for doing things precisely and rapidly—what purpose have they been constructed for, what end did we propose to ourselves when we invented and made these things? We made these things to the end that we might more easily supply our wants, that it might be easier to live. Railways supersede waggons and barges because they answer the purpose of conveying produce better. Bridges are built over rivers because they save infinitely more labour than they cost. So it is with all our inventions and improvements which have penetrated every department of human activity—all have been made with the view of lessening human toil, of increasing our means of gratification, of making it easier to live; and yet, as John Stuart Mill says, "it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being. They have enabled," he continues, "a greater population to live the same life of drudgery and imprisonment, and an increased number of manufacturers and others to make fortunes. They have increased the comforts of the middle classes. But they have not yet begun to effect those great changes in human destiny, which it is in their nature and in their futurity to accomplish. Only when in addition to just institutions, the increase of mankind shall be under the deliberate guidance of judicious foresight, can the conquest made from the powers of nature by the intellect and the energy of scientific discoveries, become the common property of the species, and the means of improving and elevating the universal lot." Looking squarely at the facts, then, we can come to no other conclusion than that, in Carlyle's words, "Our successful industry is hitherto unsuccessful; a strange success, if we stop here? In the midst of plethoric plenty the people perish; with gold walls and full barns, no man feels himself safe or satisfied."

Assuming, then, that the result of human effort and achievement is not what one might expect, is disappointing, in fact intensely saddening, we shall in these papers examine into the cause of this, and endeavour to give shape, more or less definite, to "the accursed nightmare that is crushing out the life of us and ours." R.

(To be continued).

## OUR EXCHANGES.

### III.—GERMAN.

THERE exists no Social Revolutionary Press in Germany, as in consequence of the Social Muzzle Laws passed by the German Parliament in 1878, all revolutionary propaganda is prohibited and all papers advocating international Socialism are at once suppressed, and the editors, publishers and sellers of such publications are punished with long and severe imprisonment. There exist plenty of daily and periodical newspapers advocating the cause of the workingman, but they are only advocating a mild sort of social reform, and therefore we neither exchange with them nor are they of interest to our readers. Consequently if we speak of our German exchanges, we mean the revolutionary contemporaries printed outside Germany in the German language for the German Social revolutionists. As representing the majority of the German labour class we first mention *Der Sozialdemokrat*, a small size four-page weekly, published in Zurich, the official organ of the Social Democratic Party in the German Parliament. It reproduces the views of the German Social Democratic leaders and advocates "practical social politics;" its ultimate aim is the "Volkstaat"—the government of and by the people for the people. Two cuttings from recent numbers illustrate its line of propaganda: "We know that the present order of things carries in itself the elements for its ultimate dissolution and that in spite of all apparent strength, it will finally succumb before our onslaught." "It is possible to advocate

proposals for social reform without deceiving the masses as to their importance, and in emphasising this we show them that there is all hope of our true aim and end being achieved." Next in importance for the German labour movement are its New York brother and sister *Der Sozialist* and *Die Neu Yorker Volkszeitung*.

*Der Sozialist*, a large size four-page weekly, is the official organ of the Socialistic Labour Party in America, edited by the National Executive Committee in New York. It is of the same political shape as the *Sozialdemokrat* in Zurich. In speaking of the future economical order of things it says: "Every nation ought to keep flowing the sources of its own country for its own real wants; on the exchange with foreign nations it ought only to rely so far as it has a surplus of products, which to produce would cost more time and labour to the other. This is the only kind of exchange or commerce whereby both parties gain—namely a gain of saved labour." With regard to the woman question it says: "Socialism demands that man and woman be treated on equal terms in the State and in society; but not only is woman to be the social equal of man, but also the economical. Women are to participate on equal terms with men in the fruits of labour."

*Die Neu Yorker Volkszeitung* appears in a daily edition for America and a weekly one for foreign transmission. It is now eight years old, is eight pages grand folio in size, and has by far the largest circulation. It is the organ of the German-speaking Social Democrats in America as well as in Germany, and propagates the same views as the above-mentioned papers. At present it devotes a good deal of its space to advocating the all-absorbing eight hours' movement in America. It says: "For us Socialists and for every thinking working man the shortening of the hours of labour has immense value, consequently we again and again must speak on the subject, and are anxious to convert all opponents to our view." "Experience teaches us that the longer the working day in any branch, the shorter or smaller you find the pay or wages, and the worse are the conditions under which the labour contract is made. While on the other side you will find short hours go hand in hand with higher wages." "If once the working man becomes conscious of the value of his labour-power and if once he has succeeded in his demand for shorter hours, then he will also try a second and third time to extend his rights and this will ensure the ultimate end of all wage-work."

Now we come to the more advanced paper, *Die Freiheit*. It is the organ of the German-speaking International Communist-Anarchists. It was founded as a small-sized four-page weekly in London, but is now published in New York as an eight-page grand folio weekly. A special edition of four pages is published for foreign transmission. *Die Freiheit* opposes in uncompromising language all parliamentary representation and socialistic reform business, and in this respect follows the same lines as the *Commonweal*. It advocates most energetically "action" against the oppressors and praises dynamite as acting more convincingly on the capitalists than speeches. It says: "Anarchy does not mean chaos, disorder—as our enemies interpret it. No; Anarchy means only the total absence of authority, government—in short of tyranny. Anarchy is the quintessence of real freedom, which knows no mastership and consequently no slavery; it is an harmonious order of things and in short Anarchy means *Harmony*."

We receive also *Der Rebell*, a small-sized four-page paper which appears at irregular intervals. The last received was No. 12., and it is printed and published in London. It propagates Individualistic-Anarchistic principles. It says: "We aim at the highest possible individual liberty, the most perfect autonomy of the individual, and through freedom of knowledge." Its tactics are dynamite, etc. Of more local interest is the following paper: *Die Morgenrothe des XX. Jahrhunderts*, published at Bern, whereof as yet only No. 1 has appeared. *Die Arbeiter Wochen Chronik*, a four-page weekly, published at Pest, is the organ of the German-speaking Labour Party in Hungary. It is a veteran in the labour cause for this is the fourteenth year of its existence. We have also received occasionally *Die Neue Zeit*, a monthly review, published at Stuttgart, dedicated to Scientific Socialism. C. T.

Are almshouses a credit or disgrace to a state or nation? We think a disgrace. They are monumental proofs of misgovernment, as poverty is the direct result of robbery. Charity, as the church and state teach, is not the remedy for poverty; prevention is better than cure.—*Chicago Express*.

A lumberman's axe started out to procure food for his family, but had not proceeded far when he met a Gatling gun in his path, who asked where he was going? "To earn food in this forest," the axe replied. "My dear fellow," said the Gatling gun, "there are certain conditions you must bind yourself to first. If you work hard and are content with the chips—" "But my family are in need of food," retorted the axe; "I will not be bullied." "Now, don't be unreasonable," said the Gatling gun; "we ought to be good friends and will be if you will only be satisfied with what can be spared you. We don't grudge you the chips. Profit has placed me here to look after his rights, and if you will not agree to take what he can spare you, you must go and lie idle." "In that case," said the axe, "I must evidently cut something else!"—*Moral*: Where there is a will there is a way.—*Alarm*.

"ABSTINENCE AND THRIFT."—"Millions," says the *Philadelphia Ledger*, "are talked about glibly in these times without clear understanding of the enormous sum represented by the fifty million dollars left by Cornelius Vanderbilt, the elder, or the two hundred millions left by William H. Vanderbilt to his sons. A Chicago preacher helps one to realise the magnitude of such fortunes by figuring out that, if Cornelius Vanderbilt had been born at the beginning of the Christian era and had saved 25,000 dols. a year ever since, he would not yet have made up his fortune of fifty million dollars; and that, if William H. Vanderbilt had been a contemporary of Adam, and had saved at the same rate of 25,000 dols. per annum, he would still have been far short of his 200,000,000 at the time of his death, and would still have had to toil and save for 2115 years in the future before amassing his fortune of two hundred millions." [Will our friends, the "orthodox" economist, the "practical" politician, step right up and explain?]



All literary communications should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

R. T., N. B. AND OTHERS.—We cannot undertake to return MSS. unless stamps are sent with them.

J. H. SMITH.—The answer of Binning last month renders yours unnecessary, good as it is.

BEKANNTMACHUNG !—Genosse Theodor hält jeden Donnerstag abend einen Cursus für Elementar Unterricht in der englischen Sprache, woran alle Genossen welche derselben noch nicht mächtig sind, theil zunehmen eingeladen werden. Näheres beim Secretär, 13 Farringdon Road, E. C.

KNIGHTS OF LABOR.—(H. K. and others).—For all information as to this order and steps to be taken in organising assemblies, address the General Secretary, Frederick Turner, Lock Box No. 17, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

ADAM BIRKMYRE.—Have you not misunderstood us a little? There is another thing certain about Socialism besides the fact that it will destroy existing social conditions. Certain as that fact is this one—that Socialism will create new and better social conditions. Nationalising all the means of production is the key to this new evolution. All that we deprecate is such enquiries as how a man will get his daily newspaper and the like, though such works as Grönlund's and your own, show with what ease these details will be arranged.

RECEIVED—England: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Der Rebell—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record. Belgium: Ni Dieu ni Maître—L'Insurgé. Canada: L'Union Ouvrière (Montreal). France: Paris: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—Le Révolté—La Question Sociale—Le Socialiste—La Tribune des Peuples—Revue du Mouvement Social, Le Devoir (Gise)—Le Forcat du Travail (Bordeaux). Greece: Harden (Athens). Germany: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). Holland: Recht voor Allen. Hungary: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Budapest). Italy: La Question Sociale (Turin)—Il Paria (Ancona)—Il Fascio Operaio (Milan)—In Marcia! (Fano). Morocco: Almoghreb Al-aksa (Tangiers). New Zealand: Watchman. Portugal: O Campino—Voz do Operario—O Protesto Operario (Lisbon). Roumania: Drepturile Omului (daily, Bucharest). Serbia: Tchas (Belgrade). Spain: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social (Barcelona)—Bandera Social (Madrid)—El Socialismo (Cadiz). Switzerland: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich)—Morgenröthe (Bern). U. S. A.: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal—Index. Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer—Chicago (Ill.) Alarm—Detroit (Mich.) Labor Leaf—Muskegon (Mich.) Social Drift—Princeton (Mass.) Word—Cleveland (O.): Carpenter—Chronicle. Cincinnati (O.) Unionist—San Francisco (Cal.) Chronicle—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Petersburg (Ill.) Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Die Parole—Altruist. Kansas (Mo.) Sun—Philadelphia (Pa.) Socialist—Pittsburg (Pa.) Labor Herald—Paterson (N. J.) Labor Standard—Baltimore (Md.) Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.) Lucifer—Atlanta (Ga.) New Working World—Newfoundland (Pa.) La Torpille—Litchfield (Minn.) Radical.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.—Emigration Fraud; The Malthusians; Practicable Socialism; Etudes Sociales (No. 6); Enthüllungen über den Kommunistischen Prozess zu Köln, von Karl Marx (new edition); Party Politics; Analysis of Principles of Economics.

RECEIVED.—Bloomfield Stevens, W. Latimer, To Clerks, N. Bottone, Peru under the Incas, Karlchen, American Experiment, Gospel of Work.

Some last acknowledgment books for the library have been received from Lightner (New York), Rayment.

### LOOTING, SCIENTIFIC AND UNSCIENTIFIC.

NOTHING strikes the Bourgeois mind with a keener sense of horror than the "lamentable," (as he calls it) destruction of property. Misery and starvation in times like the present, are part of the natural order of things, very unfortunate, very deplorable perhaps, but inevitable, and even useful as affording the well-to-do classes an opportunity of posing as the charitable benefactors of the distressed. Besides, is not the traditional founder of that religion which is often described as one of the bulwarks of our "social order," reported to have given utterance to the dictum, "the poor ye have always with you"? But the fracture of plate-glass windows, the destruction or alienation of respectable tradesmen's stock, and in a wholesale manner too, no this verily is not in the bond which knits society together; this is entirely out of the nature of Bourgeois law and order, and hence to be bewailed as a calamity.

We are told *ad nauseam* by the capitalist press that all destruction of "property" is "wanton," and cannot possibly benefit the distressed. It is necessary in the interests of truth to protest against this fallacy,

wholesome as the doctrine may be for Bourgeois security. "Looting," whether right or wrong in itself, is not necessarily a senseless or wanton proceeding. It may conceivably be a significant protest against the social organisation which has its roots in the capitalistic mode of production, or it might even under certain circumstances relieve distress. Every one, of course, will admit that the mere undoing of the labour of men's hands by men seems a deplorable thing, and it would really be so in a rational state of society. But our society of to-day is not rational. It is made up of contradictions. Not the least of these is the fact that the main cause of trade-depressions is over-production—that is that *want is produced by a glut of commodities*. The working classes create during the period when trade is brisk more goods than are required for the market; they thereby forge their own chains, since a reaction ensues, with the result that millions are thrown out of work and deprived of the necessities of life. And this notwithstanding that there are goods enough and to spare stored up, goods which their own labour has produced, *only* these must lie and rot since they cannot be disposed of at a profit. In proportion, then, as the warehouses and shops are emptied of their contents, it is obvious labour will be again in demand. Thus "looting" being one mode of relieving the overstocked market, might under certain circumstances, sensibly diminish the number of unemployed.

Again, where even it is not carried out on a sufficiently large scale to affect the market, it might still have a meaning as a demonstration or a protest against the monstrous system by which a surplus of goods can be the cause of want. But indiscriminate attacks deprive the action of much of this meaning. In the small capitalist, the extreme development of capitalistic production is not embodied. He is in a sense himself a victim. In him flesh and blood still cleave to capital. It is in the giant firm (or better still the joint-stock company) that capitalism appears in its nakedest, most abstract, and consequently most brutal form. In the "big establishment" with its four or five hundred "hands" ruled over by a salaried manager, we have the type of modern commercial capitalism. An attack on such would have a meaning no looting of small shops could ever possess. It is hardly necessary to remind readers of the *Commonweal* that in saying this we are merely pointing out the conditions under which "looting," however undesirable, would at least not be open to the charge of being "wanton" or "insensate." The time we believe is approaching when it will be the idealist's, the enthusiast's turn to have the clever man of business in derision—that cunning, thrifty, practical man who is no dreamer—when he and his business habits, with their results, will be engulfed by the vast proletarian wave that will shatter the system his "business" is bound up with, and finally cast him naked ashore in a world which knows him not but values him as only the meanest of the sons of men.

"We who once were fools and dreamers,  
Then shall be the brave and wise."

But the time is not yet. Bloodshed and massacre are too high a price to pay even for such a protest as the sacking of one of our great retail houses.

As to the riots of February 8th, though judged by the above standard there is much in them we cannot approve, we are bound to regard them on the whole as productive of good. The price paid happened by a chance combination of circumstances, not to be too high. As against this must be set the promiscuity of the attack and above all the assaults and robbery of private individuals. This latter we may reasonably attribute to the percentage of mere ruffians and thieves which such a concourse is bound to contain. An individual as such is representative of nothing but his concrete personality. The fact that he happens to belong to the privileged classes is not his fault. The property he carries about him is merely there for his personal use. A shop, on the contrary, is representative of the system, is a portion of the capitalist market. But although we repudiate to the utmost any sympathy with assaults on private persons, we nevertheless distinctly dissent from the shoddy chivalry adopted by one of our friends in the park. Surely it is time for Socialists to have done with this nonsense. A man assaulted by a dozen able-bodied fellowmen is, generally speaking, in quite as bad a case as a woman under similar circumstances. The action is not one whit more cowardly in the one case than in the other. Indeed the incident of the lady and her brougham in the park, since no personal injury was done, may be more condoned than some other incidents of the same kind, as showing a certain sense of humour not altogether ungenial.

We can of course quite sympathise with the feelings of the quiet, respectable West-end tradesman, accustomed to read in his paper of the gallant action of men whom his Government have employed for the purpose of storming and looting some Arab or Burmese village—we can quite sympathise with him, we say, when he finds his shop front stormed and looted by men whom his Government haven't employed for that or any other purpose. It is much more pleasant to see portrayed in the illustrated journals the "gallant action" of well-disciplined British troops engaged in the massacre and looting of barbarians and their villages than to have a practical exemplification of the process at home during business hours at the hands of a vulgar London mob. Besides the "gallant action" is performed in the name of the capitalist's *right to trade*, that most vital interest to the patriot; the exceedingly ungallant action of the mob nearer home is merely done in the name of that mob's *right to live*—which is a very different thing, and one which has no connexion with "British interests."

Of the immediate good done by the riots not the least is the exposure of the abject cowardice of the English middle-classes *en bloc*. Such



panic-stricken scare, such a reign of terror as London displayed on the Wednesday was truly a sight for the gods. The want of solidarity between the tradesman-employer and his over-worked shop-assistant was also illustrated. The "hand" wisely abstained from risking his skin merely in defence of the wares by means of which he is exploited. Yet further, and looking only to the immediate gain of the unemployed, no honest man can deny that the events of February 8th have called attention to their condition in a manner no number of peaceful meetings could have done. Their immediate result was to extort from the President of the Local Government Board an extension of outdoor relief. The capitalistic press hypocritically pretended concern lest the Bourgeois out of spite should close his purse to the appeal for aid. What are the facts? Are they not written in the figures of the Mansion House Fund before and after the eventful day? Verily the rattle of plate-glass windows speaks more eloquently to the capitalist heart than any sentimental appeal. No desire to relieve the destitute can approach in strength the desire to preserve one's shop-fronts. A sop must be thrown to Cerberus at all hazards, even though we damn him the while. To those who have none but harsh words for the February rioters we commend the statement of the *Times'* leader-writer, who declares that the absence of serious bloodshed and loss of life was solely due to the "forbearance of the crowd," there being no police on the spot. But what avails that with the Bourgeois world against "destruction of property?"

"They are coming up," said the Regent Street shopkeeper to the painter Vereschagen. The sooner the "respectable" middle-class man recognises this inevitable truth in the full meaning which Vereschagen hinted at, say we, and prepares to make up his account with it, the better will it be for him and his.

E. BELFORT BAX.

## THE RECENT RIOTS.

A MEETING of the unemployed took place in Trafalgar Square on Monday February 8, 1886. After it rioting, exaggerated as it has been by the literary proletariat at the bidding of their own and their masters' fear, certainly occurred. Since then in more than one town there has been similar rioting.

All Socialists are in most ardent sympathy with the unemployed of this and of all other countries. Nor is that sympathy in any way lessened by the fact that they recognise the reasons of the unemployment, recognise that it is inevitable under present conditions, and that it is hopeless to expect any serious and lasting relief, apart from a revolutionary change in the conditions of production and of distribution, under which we live and die.

Further, all Socialists are in complete harmony with the idea of calling together mass meetings of men out of work, and of those sympathising with them—mass meetings that by their vast size may show, at once, how widely-spread is that suffering which is the necessary outcome of our capitalistic method of production, how general is the feeling that a momentous change must come, and is even at hand, and how great is the force at the command of those recognising that change as inevitable. Nor must another use of these large assemblages of the working class be forgotten. They give unequalled opportunity of preaching the doctrine. It is I think better to seize that opportunity than to incite to discursive and aimless pillage.

But most Socialists must feel that the scattered, unorganised use of force is of little use. Further some are of opinion that those who broke windows, and broke into a few shops on Monday February 8, were to a large extent not the active, intelligent members of the working class, to whom especially Socialism appeals, but those unhappy members of the working class, whom the accursed system of capital has forced into the ranks of the rough and of the criminal.

Socialists are seriously conscious of the fact that the great revolution towards which they work will not be brought about in any other fashion than that in which all revolutions have been wrought—viz., by force. The force may be that of mind or, at worst, that of the show of numbers. But the student of history is bound to expect that other force—that commonly known as physical—will come into action. The time for this, however, in England is, I think, not yet. And when the time comes, the source of that force-outburst will be probably not the proletariat, but the capitalistic class, with their human machines, the police and soldiery.

That this will be the way in which the physical struggle will initiate has been seen by the eye of poet and philosopher alike. Shelley in his "Masque of Anarchy," figures a time when the great assembly of the fearless and the free, gathered together to declare itself free, will be attacked by the charged artillery, the horseman's scimitar, the fixed bayonet. Whether we agree with Shelley that then we are to suffer and be strong, until wrath dying away, the assailants are ashamed, or whether we hold, as I do, that other than passive resistance then becomes a duty—we can, in either case, feel with him that the first serious use of physical force must come from the capitalists. And that feeling is intensified when we see the philosopher taking the same line of thought. Marx constantly points out that the first serious aggression must come from the possessors of the means of production. Once let us show them that Socialism is a power, that the workers are practically unanimous in the determination to end the present system, and the force-outburst will come assuredly.

In any case, I think that such unsystematic, isolated action as that of Monday February 8, is to be deprecated. For even supposing that the easily-frightened Government of an easily-frightened nation, sub-

dises certain individuals of certain classes of labourers—that some temporary employment is found for a small fraction of the unemployed, the real question is not touched. This remedy partakes too much of the nature of an ordinary Radical measure. It affords a passing relief to a handful of people. It does not get at the real heart of the matter—the relations of capital and labour. Even if every man and woman out of work to-day could be employed by the State to-morrow, yet the essential principle on which our present capitalistic system with all its misery rests, would not have been touched.

From that which has occurred, however, Socialists in England can learn at once their weakness and their strength. Their weakness is want of completeness of organisation; their strength is in the numbers of the people and the abject cowardice of their oppressors. We must have an organisation co-extensive with the working-classes. Once let us be able to gather together a crowd like that of Monday February 8 in numbers, but unlike it in unanimity as to the reasons and the remedies for misery, and our cause is won.

It is for that end that Socialists work. Always conscious that the ultimate solution of the social problem will be by means of force, many of us yet feel the time for that solution is not yet, and that the present work is to educate and organise the workers until they form a mass of Socialists so earnest, so overwhelming that the end must come.

This feeling in no way prevents our sympathy with the speakers whom the Government are foolish enough to prosecute. We must do our best for all in whom is attacked the right of openly declaring wrongs, their causes and their remedies. They must be defended and supported in this and we must continue to preach Socialism, in season, and out of season, to educate and to organise, until out of the few voices yet articulate grows the cry of "an exceeding great nation."

EDWARD AVELING.

## THE PILGRIMS OF HOPE.

### IX.—A NEW FRIEND.

I HAVE promised to tell you the story of how I was left alone Sick and wounded and sore, and why the woman is gone That I deemed a part of my life. Tell me when all is told, If you deem it fit that the earth, that the world of men should hold My work and my weariness still; yet think of that other life, The child of me and of her, and the years and the coming strife.

After I came out of prison our living was hard to earn By the work of my hands, and of hers; to shifts we had to turn, Such as the poor know well, and the rich cannot understand, And just out of the gutter we stood, still loving and hand in hand.

Do you ask me if still amidst all I held the hunt in view, And the hope of the morning of life, all the things I should do and undo? Be easy, I am not a coward: nay little prudence I learned, I spoke and I suffered for speaking, and my meat by my manhood was burned. When the poor man thinks—and rebels, the whip lies ready anear; But he who is rebel and rich may live safe for many a year, While he warms his heart with pictures of all the glory to come. There's the storm of the press and the critics maybe, but sweet is his home, There is meat in the morn and the even, and rest when the day is done, All is fair and orderly there as the rising and setting sun; And I know both the rich and the poor.

Well, I grew bitter they said; 'Tis not unlike that I did, for bitter indeed was my bread, And surely the nursing plant shall smack of its nourishing soil. And here was our life in short, pinching and worry and toil, One petty fear thrust out by another come in its place, Each scrap of life but a fear, and the sum of it wretched and base. E'en so fare millions of men, where men for money are made, Where the poor are dumb and deedless, where the rich are not afraid. Ah, am I bitter again? Well, these are our breeding-stock, The very base of order, and the state's foundation rock; Is it so good and so safe that their manhood should be outworn By the struggle for anxious life, the dull pain dimly borne, Till all that was man within them is dead and vanished away. Were it not even better that all these should think on a day As they look on each other's sad faces, and see how many they are: "What are these tales of old time of men who were mighty in war? They fought for some city's dominion, for the name of a forest or field; They fell that no alien's token should be blazoned on their shield; And for this is their valour praised and dear is their renown, And their names are beloved for ever and they wear the patriot's crown; And shall we then wait in the streets and this heap of misery, Till their stones rise up to help us or the far heavens set us free? For we, we shall fight for no name, no blazon on banner or shield; But that man to man may hearken and the earth her increase yield; That never again in the world may be sights like we have seen; That never again in the world may be men like we have been, That never again like ours may be manhood spoilt and blurred."

Yea even so was I bitter, and this was my vilest word: "Spend and be spent for our hope, and you at least shall be free, Though you be rugged and coarse, as wasted and worn as you be."

Well, "bitter" I was, and denounced, and scarcely at last might we stand From out of the very gutter, as we wended hand in hand. I had written before for the papers, but so "bitter" was I grown, That none of them now would have me that could pay me half-a-crown, And the worst seemed closing around us; when as it needs must chance, I spoke at some Radical Club of the Great Revolution in France. Indeed I said nothing new to those who had learned it all, And yet as something strange on some of the folk did it fall. It was late in the terrible war, and France to the end drew nigh, And some of us stood agape to see how the war would die,

And what would spring from its ashes. So when the talk was o'er  
And after the stir and excitement, I felt the burden I bore  
Heavier yet for it all, there came to speak to me  
A serious well-dressed man, a "gentleman," young I could see;  
And we fell to talk together, and he shyly gave me praise,  
And asked, though scarcely in words, of my past and my "better days."  
Well, there,—I let it all out, and I flushed as I strode along.  
(For we were walking by now) and bitterly spoke of the wrong.  
Maybe I taught him something, but ready he was to learn,  
And had come to our workmen meetings some knowledge of men to learn.  
He kindled afresh at my words, although to try him I spake  
More roughly than I was wont; but every word did he take  
For what it was really worth, nor even laughter he spared,  
As though he would look on life of its rags of habit bared.

Well, why should I be ashamed that he helped me at my need.  
My wife and my child, must I kill them? And the man was a friend indeed,  
And the work that he got me I did (it was writing you understand)  
As well as another might do it. To be short, he joined our band  
Before many days were over, and we saw him everywhere  
That we workmen met together, though I brought him not to my lair.  
Eager he grew for the Cause, and we twain grew friend and friend:  
He was dainty of mind and of body; most brave, as he showed in the end;  
Merry despite of his sadness, quick-witted and speedy to see:  
Like a perfect knight of old time as the poets would have them to be.  
That was the friend that I won by my bitter speech at last.  
He loved me; he grieved my soul: now the love and the grief are past;  
He is gone with his eager learning, his sadness and his mirth,  
His hope and his fond desire. There is no such thing on the earth.  
He died not unbefriended—nor unbeloved maybe.  
Betwixt my life and his longing there rolls a boundless sea.  
And what are those memories now to all that I have to do,  
The deeds to be done so many, the days of my life so few?

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## NOTES.

The British raid in the Soudan which took place at the beginning of last month has not been followed up. General Stephenson has returned together with the additional troops sent to the front, and the project of any further advance is evidently abandoned, for the present, at all events. Meanwhile it is instructive to note the exasperation of the little ring of journalistic stock-gamblers at Cairo and their frantic efforts to obtain another expedition whereby increased activity in "Egyptians" might be effected. Their telegrams to the "dailies" contain reiterated accounts of "reported advances of the Arabs in strong force," of "consternation among the European residents at Cairo," and other items of news to the same effect.

We are glad to see that the Burmese are not submitting tamely to the British marauders. "Dacoity," we are informed, is "rampant." Would that General Prendergast and his dacoits might be effectually "suppressed" by their victims! But of course, this is impossible. If the native races of India and the neighbouring states would but unite as one man against the oppressor, then even the resources of the British empire might be insufficient to prevent their freeing themselves. But the power of a little ready cash and any amount of promises, seems unfortunately in these cases, always enough to make one or other of them prove "friendly," i.e., traitors to their country.

The following extract from a letter received from a comrade shows us the manner in which the police-slaves do their lords' work on those who are trying to set them free:

"7 Clyde Road, Tottenham, London, N., 13th Jan., 1886.

"I was arrested at the High Cross, Tottenham by Sergeant Murphy, while addressing a crowd of about 100 people on the 'crisis.' Murphy was in plain clothes and quite unknown to me. He thrust and shook me for some moments without giving any sign of authority. I was hurried to the Tottenham police station, and after some bullying, I was offered my liberty if I would promise not to address the public. That I refused; after which a charge of obstruction as usual was made out and as I refused to send for bail, I was confined in the usual ignominious cell with insufficient bedding all night."—R. THOMPSON.

Ultimately Comrade Thompson was remanded on bail, and finally fined 10s.

## LITERARY NOTICES.

"The Malthusians." By P. J. Proudhon. International Publishing Company. Rhetoric rather than argument. And the great pity of this is in the fact that it is evident Proudhon understood the real fallacy and the evil teaching of Malthusianism. Both fallacy and evil teaching stand condemned the moment the Malthusian offers over-population as an explanation, and parental prudence as a solution, of the misery of the working-classes.

The *Ploughshare*. Reversing the scriptural transformation, this ploughshare has become a sword. "The Creation of Hell," on the outside of the little journal, nearly made us throw it away as only an anti-religious periodical. But a paper on Labour and Capital in the heart of it—the right place for this question—caught our eye, and we found that the *Ploughshare* understands that the true hell is earth and that the capitalist is the devil of it.

Do trades unionists ever ask themselves, what makes us so poor while the "bosses" are so rich? How is it that our pay is so low and their profits so high? Why is it that we are turned adrift to starve while we need the very things our labour creates? Why should there be a class to work and other classes to enjoy all the benefits? Why should not labour, like capital, control its own destinies, and regulate its own wages and hours of work? These and scores of other questions should come up for discussion in Trades Unions. —J. F. Bray.

The following extract from a private diary kept by Thomas Carlyle and given to the world by Mr. Froude is interesting: "A man with £200,000 a year eats the whole fruit of 6,666 men's labour through a year; for you can get a stout spadesman to work and maintain himself for the sum of £30. Thus we have private individuals whose wages are equal to the wages of seven or eight thousand other individuals. What do these highly benefited individuals do to Society for their wages? *Kill pay-ridges!* Can this last? No: by the soul that is in man it cannot, and will not, and shall not!"

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## MARX ON CAPITAL.

1. Those things only which tend towards life can be valuable; materialised human labour does not necessarily fulfil that condition, therefore it is not in itself valuable. Yet I believe you say (*Commonweal*, p. 21) that apart from utility and power in exchange, a product has value. 2. The two statements: "A natural object as such has no exchange value," and "the land ought to have no exchange value," are not parallel, indeed the word "ought" justly discredits the former one. I learn from Rae that Marx admits price is only a particular form of value. Virgin soil has a price, therefore value does not depend solely on the socially necessary time of labour. 3. Is this the solution? "The power in exchange of a piece of virgin soil is in an ever-remaining relation to the labour of obtaining a like piece, and also to its social desirability?" 4. Are the utility and power in exchange of all labour of average productivity accurately measured by time alone? 5. You say (p. 33) gold money "is not a mere sign." Does not its power in exchange depend upon its conventional acceptance as a general equivalent? 6. "Commodities pass from places where their use-value is not recognised" (p. 45). Should it not be "realised"? For a product is not a commodity if its utility be neither imagined nor recognised (p. 21). 7. Is it just to say (p. 57) "orthodox economists believe they find surplus-value by reason of a confusion . . . and of an ignoring . . . ?" Why not briefly state their argument?

R. F. E. W.

[ (1) and (4) Confusion between the three values, of which only one, "value", is due to human labour. (2) and (3) Land has a price, though it "ought" not to, because it can to-day be used as a means for exploitation. Fabulous value (so-called) of land in cities, to wit. (5) Value of gold dependent on labour expended in getting the gold. 6. Recognition involves potential realisation. (7) I think it is just.—E. A.]

## THE PEOPLE'S PRESS.

[Under this heading will be found a collection of pithy paragraphs collated from various journals published in the interest of the workers. Comrades and friends are invited to forward cuttings from English and translations from foreign labour journals.]

It is no use striking against the introduction of machinery. The only way to reap the benefit is to own it.—*Labor Leaf*.

There is much prating about Capital and Labour being brothers. Yes, such brothers as Esau and Jacob—the one defrauding the other of his birthright.—*John Swinton's Paper*.

The danger is not in the possible uprising of the people. It is in their submission to the wrong. "If the people remain quiet under oppression," said Jefferson, "it is lethargy, the forerunner of death to public liberty."—*Our Country*.

Toilers, organise for co-operation; organise not to strike against capital under a wage-system, but to free yourselves from both the capitalist and the system which has made him one.—*Decatur* (Ill.) *Bulletin*.

Because all that is produced is not consumed is no reason for saying there is overproduction—by no means. If a man cannot get employment whereby he can buy a dinner, that doesn't argue that he is not hungry.—*Devilson* (Tex.) *Siftings*.

For every one who is poor because he is ignorant, there are twenty who are ignorant because they are poor; and for every one who is poor because of intemperance there are twenty who are intemperate because they are poor.—*Alarm*.

The day is coming when the toilers will demand to know "the reason why" in plain English; and will refuse to yield up three-fourths of the products to the non-producers without a clear explanation of the necessity for so doing.—*Hayes Valley* (Cal.) *Advertiser*.

When labour combines for the purpose of securing to itself a portion of its products as it produces them, it is communism; but when monopoly combines to take all and reduce labour to want, it is shrewd business management, and even the enslaved labourer looks on with admiration and wonders when he will be a monopolist.—*Industrial News*.

The railroads take about half the products of this country, and then the banks come in for a good share of what is left. When both banks and railroads are satisfied, the people are left to quarrel over the balance. And the balance is so small that there is a struggle for it among those who produced it. The people had better quit quarrelling over the crumbs, and direct their attention to the fellows who are getting away with the loaves.—*Kirwin* (Kan.) *Independent*.

At a political meeting a few days since one of the speakers took credit to himself for coming to the town and giving employment to the citizens. He might be entitled to credit if he reaped no benefit himself. He might then pose as a philanthropist. But, like most capitalists, his idea was to reap a return for himself. The employment was preliminary to this. He would reap nothing without sowing the seed first.—*Labor Leaf*.

You may strike till sheol cegeals, but as long as you sell your labour to another that other will try to reduce your wages, and if you object to a reduction and quit work and try to dissuade others from taking your place, fraud and force are used to intimidate you and compel you to yield to the will of capital. This will be the way as long as a few men have the power to buy your labour. Under our present social system you are forced to sell your labour or starve, and if you would better your condition you must change the system.—*Topeka Citizen*.

The labour movement is not a political movement. It is essentially a social movement, and he who does not see it in the light of the social revolution is but a trimmer and a hindrance to the attainment of what is right and just. The proof that this movement is not political lies in the fact that under every form of political government, from the autocracy to the democracy, the same agitation is going on, and the same demands are made of the ruling classes. But some of our friends grow impatient because such questions as these are discussed in labour papers. They desire that "practical" questions should be handled, and these "abstract theories" left to professors and doctrinaires. But I notice that "practical questions" almost always lead us to the support of some political mountebank who has no word of condemnation for the legalised methods of robbing the labourer of his earnings.—J. A. LABADIE, in *Labor Leaf*.

While pretending to lean towards the side of the workers, the *New York World* opens an article on the cigarmakers' strike depicting the desolate home of a non-union cigarmaker who was locked out, and making the miserable wife say that the little money her husband received from the boss was better than nothing. "There are seven mouths in the family to fill, and I tell you we can't afford to strike." This is probably supposed to be an argument against striking, and no doubt seems sound to the *World* man. But if the head of this poor family had received the value of his labour in the past, they would not need to fear a few weeks' vacation, which could be rather enjoyed than otherwise. And it is to gild this that Labour organises. The *World* knows this, but appeals to the ignorant and thoughtless, to the starving, to defeat the objects of Organised Labour. But then, the *World* is a capitalistic sheet, and is only showing hypocrisy when it says a good word for Labour.—*Workmen's Advocate*.

## RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

FRANCE.—By far the most important news to chronicle from France—perhaps indeed, from the Continent generally, this month—is the splendid stand made by the four working-men's representatives in the Chamber, and more especially the magnificent speech by the miner Basly in his "interpellation" on the subject of the Decazeville "riots." This speech is so good that I am sure comrades will be glad to read something of it, and I regret that want of space forces me to give only a few extracts. It is the more important that we should read this speech, as we are practically ignorant of the condition of affairs at Decazeville that led to the execution of M. Watrin. M. Watrin has, by the sycophant English press, been represented as the unhappy victim of "popular fury." It is well we should know what manner of man this "victim" was, that we may judge for ourselves whether Basly was not right when he called the miners of Decazeville who killed him "des justiciers." I need hardly say, I suppose, that Basly's speech—as well as those of his supporters—caused a perfect tempest in the Chamber. The deputies of all colors tried to distract and intimidate the miner, for the first time addressing such an assembly of "gentlemen", by interrupting him, shouting and yelling at him. Basly read his speech, and when deputies thought fit to jeer at this and his "unparliamentary language" ("I haven't been to school to learn parliamentary language!" said Basly) his dignified reply "Yes, I am reading my speech, and if you had worked like me for eighteen years at the bottom of a mine, perhaps you'd find it difficult even to read," must have made even these "gentlemen" a little ashamed of themselves. Basly began by pointing out the very serious state of affairs at Decazeville. "It is under the protection of bayonets that work is carried on; the soldiery are still at Decazeville, and have even been re-inforced . . . this does not look as if calm were re-established. This proves, on the contrary, that the company and the government fear another outburst. . . . This company, then, is conscious not only of its unpopularity, but also of its exactions, since, like brigands in Calabria it acts, arms in hand. . . . But this is not merely a question of public safety, it is a question of political morality, of social justice. . . . What is happening to day is not new, and it is my duty to explain to you the situation of the workers." After showing what has been the action of the government, Basly continued: "I now touch . . . upon the most important point—the conditions under which the labor of the miners is carried on. . . . To begin with, they are obliged to give the Company two month's credit; it, for example, only pays them on the 28th of February their wages for the month of January, which amounts to a forced loan without interest of 300,000 francs to the Company by its working-men. Thus, when a miner goes to Decazeville Company, he works the first month, and is only paid for that after he has finished the second month. And how, with the ridiculously low wages, can the workman live? This is a way of keeping them in the power of the Company, as they are always in debt. . . . Now this is how Watrin treated the workers; he went down into the shaft in the morning and asked the miners how much they got, and ended by saying to them 'You don't earn enough.' Then in the afternoon he called the manager of the mine saying to him, 'You give so-and-so much to the workers—they earn too much!' So that there was theft and swindling on the part of M. Watrin—(Interruptions)—Watrin used to call the manager of the mine and force him to reduce the price agreed to with the miners. This is simple theft. . . . I have held in my hands monthly cheques for work worth 100 francs, reduced to 34 francs! This, again, is simple swindling! . . . But at last the workers learnt the part played by Watrin, which consisted in again forcing a reduction of the wages agreed upon. They further learnt that M. Watrin was in the habit of reducing at the end of the month the wage that the worker had earned, and that without the knowledge of the men. By this I mean, that the man fancied he was receiving the price of the work done, a certain sum, but M. Watrin permitted himself to reduce this by half, without warning or explanation, to those interested." Next Basly explained how the so-called "Co-operative Societies" started by the Company are used simply to exploit the miners, since 25 per cent. is retained from their wage to form the capital of these undertakings, in which the workers, however, have no share! "In the face of all this," Basly continued, "who shall dare deny that the conflict which broke out a fortnight ago, and that cost M. Watrin his life, was not more than justified? (Exclamations and violent interruptions). The miner who digs the coal is in the same position as the horses that drag the carts of the Company, only the Company have never thought, under the pretext that business was slack, of reducing the rations of the horses,—(oh, oh!)—while every one has seen the wage of the workers reduced. . . . The workers demand . . . a salary always sufficient for their needs, and the needs of their families, and it is a minimum of salary that I am sent here to demand. . . . I now come to a delicate point . . . but I ask you to let me state, not only what I think, but what I know. I only state facts that I have seen. . . . Well, gentlemen, a man has been killed at Decazeville. This man had drawn upon himself all the hate, all the anger of the working and commercial population. . . . He was detested; he had starved a whole population. His rôle had been peculiarly abominable. You know it; it was he who took the bread out of the mouths of the women and children. (Loud protests. M. de Cassagnac: "Do not insult the victim, do not trample on the dead. This is odious!") It is he who is responsible for all that has happened. . . . You protest against my words. And those hundreds of workers, mercilessly stricken by the Company, thrown with their families into the streets! . . . Ah! against the starvers-out of a people there is no law! Well, these workers, these miners, they too are slain, slowly assassinated, and no one protests. . . . Among the miners the death of M. Watrin—I must say this—is looked upon as an act of justice. It is not I alone who say this, it is the workers who say it. I know I shall be told no one has a right to take justice into his own hands. No! no one has that right—but on this condition only that justice is done. But had the Minister of Public Justice thought of suppressing M. Watrin's exactions? No! so he allowed, or rather he had to let popular justice be done." (Loud protests, interruptions, etc. "This is simply an apology for assassination." Calls to order from the President, for the fifth or sixth time, etc.). "Such summary justice is not rare. It is not long since the worthy, the valiant wife of M. Clovis Hugues, in the very court of justice, executed an abominable creature . . . not only did the jury and public opinion exalt her act, but several of our colleagues, among others M. de Cassagnac, approved this act of summary justice. . . . So it happens that one does take justice into one's own hands, and the executioners (*justiciers*) are not always condemned. But in those acts it was only a question of personal vengeance. Well, is not the anger of a famished, outraged mass just as legitimate? . . . One word more. On July 14, 1789, were not the tyrants who starved out the people executed, and were not their heads

carried about the streets at the top of poles?—and yet has not this Chamber made this revolutionary day the national *fête*? . . . The law never touches the Companies who starve their workers—their are the culpable acts—but who can say the miners of Decazeville are assassins?" (Interruptions, and Basly turning to the yelling deputies), "May you always do your duty as I have to-day done mine!"

After Basly, some very good speeches were made by Boddy and Camélinat. The little group of four that has thus dared to face over 500 men has "deserved well," not only of their own country, but of all Socialists. The formation of this revolutionary group is, of course, a bitter pill for M. Clémenceau to swallow. He fancied Basly and the rest, would, like our miserable Howells and Broadhursts, become a useful "tail" for his party. His indignation at their independence and their determination to have nothing to do with the unclean politicians of any shade, but to stand out boldly as the spokesmen of the people, is almost pathetic.

Our comrade Vaillant has again brought forward a motion of amnesty (to include the Decazeville miners) in the Municipal Council. Meantime, Rochefort's Bill was lost in the Chamber, and Rochefort has in consequence resigned his seat.

ELEANOR MARX-AVELING.

## THE SOCIALISTS AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

As early as 11 o'clock on the morning of February 8th, the unemployed began to put in an appearance in Trafalgar Square, at the demonstration called for 3 o'clock by Lemon, Peters, Kelly & Co. At 2 o'clock the mass of people had become so great as to fill the Square and to overflow into the adjoining streets. Just after 2 o'clock John Burns of the S. D. F., began to speak from the base of the Nelson monument in condemnation of the political huckstering of the promoters of the meeting. While putting a resolution to the meeting, Burns and those with him were cleared off the monument and took up their position upon the balustrade immediately overlooking the square in front of the National Gallery, where speeches were delivered by Burns, Champion, Hyndman, Sparling, Williams, and others. Several resolutions were carried, and enthusiastic cheers were given for the Social Revolution.

When the meeting broke up in the square, a procession was started by the crowd to go through the West End and "show the people there what hunger and want looked like." When Pall Mall was reached a halt was made outside the Carlton Club, where those who had been carrying Burns upon their shoulders placed him on the stone railings in front of the club and called for a speech. Opposite to the Carlton the pavement was up, and when the loungers at the club windows began to jeer and flout at the already excited and angry "mob," some of these utilised the loose fragments of stone and mortar by hurling them through the windows at the scoffers within, who incontinently fled. After the first crash of glass was heard, the destruction increased rapidly, gravel, broken wood paving, etc., being showered right and left in reckless profusion. Through St. James's Street and Piccadilly surged the crowd, until Hyde Park was reached where, at Achilles Statue, another meeting was held, and several speakers impressed upon the people the absolute necessity of dispersing quietly. Up to this time no pillage had taken place of any consequence, but after the Socialists had left and a large part of the audience quietly gone away, there still remained a large number who started out upon the raid which has since through the blundering and lying of the capitalist press, forced the Government to commence the prosecution of Burns, Champion, Hyndman and Williams, which is still proceeding and serving thereby to popularise the cause of Socialism among the workers.

On Sunday Feb. 22, a mass meeting was held in Hyde Park by the Social Democrats. The audience, numbering about 75,000, almost unanimously voted a resolution, the latter portion of which ran thus:

"That this meeting, though convinced of the pressing need of this instant governmental action on behalf of the working people who have been reduced to poverty and starvation owing to the robbery of their labour by capitalists and landlords, recognises fully that no permanent good will result for the working class until the workers themselves are sufficiently organised to effect the overthrow of the present system of economical and social oppression by taking into their own hands, as an educated democracy, the land, machinery, capital, and all means of production to be used for the benefit of the entire labouring community."

Speeches were delivered from three platforms, and received with frequent applause. In order, apparently, to atone for their neglect of duty on Feb. 8, the police did their worst to provoke a riot so that it might be put down promptly by the immense force held in readiness, and thus in some measure rehabilitate their character for vigilant brutality in the eyes of their bourgeois paymasters. So outrageous was the conduct of the police in charging an orderly crowd of men, women and children, that even the general press has been constrained to admit the unprovoked nature of the attack.—H. S.

### SOCIALIST UNION.

At the meeting of members held on Tuesday, February 23, at 185 Fleet Street, E.C., Paul Campbell was elected Treasurer, and C. Fitzgerald and A. J. Macpherson, joint secretaries. A resolution condemning the action of the police at the Socialist Demonstration in Hyde Park on Sunday 21st February, was carried unanimously.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

### Notice to Members.

*Choir.*—The choir meetings are suspended for the present.

*General Meeting.*—On Monday March 29, at 8.30 p.m. Council meets at 7.30.

*Library.*—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m. Members who have books from the library in their possession are requested to return them at once, as the librarians wish to collect all books for the purpose of re-cataloguing.

*Reading Room.*—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. All papers received by the Secretary are sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members.

### MONTHLY REPORT.

On Monday February 1, the Council passed the following resolution: "That whereas the Liberty and Property Defence League have been, and still are, continually traducing Socialism, we, the Council of the Socialist League, do hereby challenge the said Liberty and Property Defence League, or its accredited representatives to a public debate upon the principles of Socialism, and their alleged



efficacy, if applied, for the removal of the suffering inevitably entailed upon society by the present system." The receipt of this challenge has been duly acknowledged by the secretary of the Liberty and Property Defence League, but up to the present it has not been accepted.

On Monday 15th, it was resolved: "That we, the members of the Executive of the Socialist League, wish to express our heartiest sympathy with those members of the S. D. F. who are to be the victims of a Government prosecution for daring to address a meeting of unemployed and starving men, and condemn the vicious system which breeds criminals, and allows human beings to starve until violence has been committed."

On Monday Feb. 22, the general meeting of London members resolved: "That the question of the weekly *Commonweal* be referred to the Ways and Means Committee, and that they prepare a scheme for working it and bringing it out by the 1st of May, to be brought before the next monthly meeting of members, and that the Committee invite a delegate from each Branch that can send one to give them a detailed account of the kind and amount of help which each Branch can give."

The general work of the League has been fairly satisfactory during the past month, although the sale of literature has been rather dull. Two new leaflets have been issued. One entitled "Home Rule and Humbug," has been widely circulated and generally criticised by the press; the other, upon the topic of the day, is entitled "The Unemployed and Rioting." Of these there have been several thousands distributed and more are being sent out. "A History of the Commune of Paris" in pamphlet form, will be issued about the middle of March, in order in some measure to meet the blundering lies of capitalistic historians and commentators.

Two new Branches have been added to the League during the past month. The Croydon members who have been incorporated as the Croydon Branch of the League have always been most energetic workers for the cause. Owing to a combination of circumstances, they have thought it advisable not to hold public lectures, but they meet once a week for discussion, and to make arrangements for the very effective propaganda they carry on in other ways.

Our Norwich comrades have held a pioneer class for the study of social questions for a considerable time past, and on the 7th February they unanimously resolved to apply for incorporation as a Branch of the League. This has accordingly been done, and our comrade William Morris is going to Norwich on the 8th March to lecture on behalf of the new Branch. Although most of them are new members they are old workers and have done an enormous amount of missionary work by lectures, discussions, house-to-house visitation, and distribution of literature. Appearances promise that this will be a very strong and influential Branch.

A report of the Christmas Tree and Children's Party on December 26th was inadvertently omitted from our last issue. It is sufficient now to say that it was a marked success, some hundreds of children thoroughly enjoying themselves. A small monetary balance remains in the hands of the Committee, which will serve as the nucleus of a fund to provide an excursion for the children during the summer.

At the weekly meeting of the Birmingham Branch of the Socialist League, the following resolution was carried unanimously: "Resolved, that while we sympathise with the unemployed throughout the country, and heartily approve the action of the Social Democrats of London at the yesterday's demonstration at Hyde Park, we condemn in the strongest terms the conduct of the police as base, cowardly and brutal in the extreme, and that it is the duty of the Radical Party in the House to demand an immediate explanation of the Home Secretary."—W. TAYLOR, sec., Feb. 22, 1886.

### "THE COMMONWEAL."

The title-page, index, and covers for binding the volume of the *Commonweal* for 1885, can be obtained of the manager, 13 Farringdon Road, for 2s. A few bound volumes can also be had, price 3s.

As it has been definitely resolved to make all possible preparation for the starting of the weekly issue by the 1st of May, members and branches are urgently requested to do their utmost in getting subscribers, and to let the Committee know at the earliest opportunity what number they are prepared to guarantee to sell weekly.

### LECTURE DIARY: March, 1886.

#### HALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Lectures.—Every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. Admission free; discussion invited. March 3. Public Debate: "Socialism defined and its purpose defended." Affirmative, C. W. Mowbray; Negative, James Bedford. 10. G. Brocher, "The Familistere." 17. Stewart D. Headlam, "Christian Socialism." 24. G. Bernard Shaw, "Points disputed among Socialists." 31. F. Kitz, "The Criminal Classes—High and Low."

#### Sunday Evening Lectures.

Special attention is called to a projected series of Lectures to be held in the Hall of the League on Sunday evenings, commencing at 7.30. March 7. Andreas Scheu, "Owen, Marx and Blanqui." 14. H. H. Sparling, "The Latterday Devil." 21. Laurence Grönlund, "England's Future in the Light of Evolution." 28. A. K. Donald, "Solidarity."

Concert.—On Saturday March 27, at 8 o'clock, under the management of May Morris, Sparling and Theodor.

### BRANCH MEETING ROOMS.

#### LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—The "Eagle and Child" Coffee House, 45 Old Compton Street, Soho. Every Thursday at 8.30 p.m. March 4. R. A. Beckett, "Happiness." 11. Discussion on above. 18. H. H. Sparling, "The Münster Commune." 25. Discussion on above.

Croydon.—Parker Road. Business meeting every Sunday afternoon at 3 p.m.

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. The room is open every Sunday morning at 11.15, evening at 7.45. Evening lectures: March 7. D. Nicoll, "Charms of Civilisation." 14. H. A. Barker, "The Poor's House." 21. R. A. Beckett, "Happiness." 28. H. H. Sparling, "Meaning of the Revolution." Morning arrangements: 7. Readings and committee. 14. Westwood, "Temperance Question from a Socialist point of view." 21. Readings and Committee. 28. J. P. Allman, "John Law, the Proto-Capitalist."

Marylebone.—"Walmer Castle" Coffee Tavern, 136 Seymour Place, Marylebone Road, W. Sunday evenings at 8 o'clock. Mar. 7. Hubert Bland (Fabian), "Nihilism." 14. G. Brocher, "The Familistere at Guise; a practical attempt at a solution of the social question," (illustrated by diagrams and photographs). 21. At 7, General Meeting of Members, important business; at 8, Joseph Lane, "The Different Schools of Socialistic Thought." 28. Mrs. C. M. Wilson, "The Utility of the Theory of Anarchism in Practical Socialist Propaganda."

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m. March 7. A lecture. 14. William Morris, "The aims of Art." 21. A. K. Donald. 28. S. Stepiak, "The position of Workmen in Russia."

Hackney.—All members and sympathisers willing to work in the formation of a Branch in this district, are asked to communicate with J. Flockton, care of the secretary, at the League office.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Every Sunday, 8 p.m. March 7. A lecture. 14. G. Brocher, "The Familistere." 21. J. Lane, "Revolution or Reform."

Mile-end.—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. March 2. C. W. Mowbray, "Lords and Commons v. The People." 16. R. Banner, "The Social Revolution." 23. R. A. Beckett, "Wealth." 30. H. H. Sparling, "The Blind Samson."

North London.—Camden Hall, King Street, Camden Town. N. Wednesdays at 8.30 p.m.

South London.—Peckham and Dulwich Radical Club, 144 Rye Lane, Peckham. Every Tuesday at 8 p.m. March 2. W. A. Chambers, "Right and Duty." 9. R. A. Beckett, "Wealth." 16. D. Nicoll, "Socialism and Political Economy." 23. C. W. Mowbray, "Lords and Commons v. The People." 30. R. Banner, "The Social Revolution." Business meetings at 103 Bird-in-bush Road, on Sunday evenings at 7.30.

#### PROVINCIAL.

Birmingham.—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30. All are invited.

Bradford.—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Kirkgate. Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Sympathisers invited.

Dublin.—The Carpenter's Hall, 75 Aungier Street. Thursdays at 8 o'clock sharp.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m. Lecture in Oddfellows' Hall, Forrest Road, on Tuesday 2nd March, at 8 p.m., by Laurence Grönlund, subject, "Are the Rich getting richer, and the Poor poorer?"

Glasgow.—Neilson's Hotel, Ingram Street, every Saturday at 7 p.m. Lectures and discussions. All are invited.

Leeds.—54, Myrtle Street. Meets every Wednesday.

Leicester.—Secular Hall, Humberstone Gate.

Manchester.—County Forum. Mondays, at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Lecture in Victoria Hall on Monday evening, March 8, by William Morris, on "Socialism."

Royton.—"Greyhound Inn." Every Sunday evening at 7.30.

Oldham.—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Meets every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m. The Secretary will be happy to give lectures on Socialism to any of the Liberal and Radical Clubs in the town and neighbourhood; address 57 Landsdowne Road, Chadderton, Oldham. Comrade Tod, 73 Book Street, off Ashton Road, will be glad to see or hear from *bond fide* inquirers.

Oxford.—"Elm Tree Tavern," Cowley Road. Every Monday at 8.30 p.m.

### OPEN AIR PROPAGANDA.

Edgware Road.—Corner of Bell Street. Every Sunday morning, at 11.30.

Hyde Park.—Sundays, 3.30 p.m., near Marble Arch.

Marylebone Road.—Corner of Seymour Place. Every Sunday evening at 7.30.

Midland Arches, St. Pancras Road.—Sundays, 11.30 a.m.

Mile-end Waste.—Sundays, 11.30 a.m.

Hulme.—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, 7 p.m.

Leeds.—Vicar's Croft. Sundays, afternoon.

Manchester.—New Cross, Oldham Road. Sundays, 2.30 p.m.

Oldham.—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

### MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

CELEBRATION OF THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.—On Thursday, March 18, at 8 p.m., at South Place Chapel. Speeches in several languages by Representatives of the Socialist League, Social Democratic Federation, International Working Men's Clubs, Cercle Révolutionnaire Français, I. W. M. Educational Club, Deutscher City Club, Communistischer Verein, and other societies. Admission free.

TOTTENHAM BRANCH S. D. F.—2 Albion Terrace, Broad Lane, Tottenham. Sunday March 7.—J. Macdonald, "Socialism and Slavery." 14. H. Quelch, "Practical Politics." 21. E. Barnes, "Socialistic experiments in America." 28. G. Clifton, "Three Acres and a Cow."

St. PHILIP'S SCHOOLROOMS, King's Cross Road.—On March 11, at 8 p.m. W. Blundell, "Money, Competition, and Revolution."

### WHERE TO GET THE "COMMONWEAL."

#### LONDON.

Old Ford Road.—Roberts, 4; Caudle, 139.

Globe Road.—Poole, 24; Caudle, 241; Brown, 253.

Mile End Road.—174. Haines, 212; W. Cole, 84 New St., Bedford St., wholesale agent; Hendry, 6 Jubilee Street.

Commercial Road.—C. A. Schweitzer, 43; Viney, 115; Busby Brothers, 184; Long, 234; Briggs, 244.

Whitechapel Road.—Kerbey, 118; Eades, 219; J. Brown, 18 Bakers Row.

Hackney Road.—Miller, 15; Wood, 103; Smith, 132; C. Ell, 443; Hammond, Goldsmith Row; Auckland, 4 Bishops Road; Vale, 4 Bonner Road.

Mare St., Hackney.—J. Yates, 4 West Street.

Bishopsgate.—E. T. Pendrill, 26 Brushfield St.

Fleet Street.—Freethought Publishing Co., 63; Reeves, 185; Cattel & Co., Bouverie St.

Strand.—Pitt, 30 Newcastle St.

Farringdon St.—Progressive Publishing Co., 28 Stonecutter St.

Comrade Wm. Blundell, 14, Camden Passage, Islington, N. Agent for Socialist League publications.

#### PROVINCES.

BIRMINGHAM.—J. Sketchley, 348 Cheapside.

BRADFORD.—G. Minty, 3 Crab St. Hall Lane.

BRISTOL.—Morrish, Narrow Wine St.

DUBLIN.—J. J. Lalor, North Earl St.

EDINBURGH.—B. Given, 20 Bristo St.; Robinson, Greenside St.

GALASHIELS.—The News Stall, Princess St.

GLASGOW.—J. Adams, 91, Houston St.

HAWICK.—J. Finlay, High St.; J. C. Goodfellow, High St.

HULL.—H. Witty, Suffolk Row, Wincolmllee.

HAVERHILL (Suffolk).—Chevins & Son, High St.

High Holborn.—Truelove, 256.

Clerkenwell.—Berg, 32 Arlington St.; Bartlett, 10 Garnault Pl.; Lill, 13 Tysoe St.; Lovell, 8 Upper Gloucester St.; T. Jakes, 14 Benjamin St.; Red Lion St.; Edwards, 119 Rosoman St.

Holloway Road.—Miller, 76.

Islington.—Gee, 56 Upper Street.

Bloomsbury.—Manly, 113 Cleveland St.; Fitzroy Square; Bard, 20 Cleveland St.; Middlesex Hospital; Mrs. H. Hanstan, 51 Charlotte St.; Goodge St., Tottenham Court Road; Mrs. Brown, 4 Charlotte Place, Goodge St.; W. Rawlinson, 12 Castle Street, East; C. Gardner, 17 Little Windmill St., W. H. Schmidt, 5 Broad St., Soho; Kempton, 63 Great Russell St.

Marylebone.—W. Roberts, 18 Bell St., E. Igware Road.

PROJECTED HANDBOOK.—The need of a compact and portable Handbook for the use of our lecturers and speakers has been much felt, and it is proposed to compile one as quickly as possible. The co-operation of every one interested in the subject is invited. The plan of the work will include definitions of all terms used by us, objections most commonly raised and how to meet them, and a full reference to authorities upon every point. Suggestions or offers of aid will be gladly received by H. Halliday Sparling, at the office of this paper.

Ready by 15th March.

A History of the Commune of Paris. By WM. MORRIS, E. BELFORD BAX, and VICTOR DARVE.—Will be issued as one of the Socialist Platform series.

REVOLUTIONARY RHYMES AND SONGS FOR SOCIALISTS. Fifteen selections. 1d.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 15.

APRIL, 1886.

ONE PENNY.

## SOME BOURGEOIS IDOLS; or IDEALS, REALS AND SHAMS.

THERE are certain catchwords which have a marvellous charm to calm the breast political, a magic power to levitate the mind captivated by them out of the regions of mere argument and recognition of facts. Such a hold do these words and the deified abstractions they cover, have on the average man of the nineteenth century, that they and they alone are worshipped as the ultimate manifestation of goodness, beauty and truth. To be opposed to these abstractions is to be condemned as blasphemous against the first principles of rectitude, moral and political.

Let us take Liberty. What a charming phrase that is, what a word to conjure with! What a thrill can be evoked from an average audience by the tub-thumper who waves his hand and pronounces the magic formula "liberty of conscience" or "liberty of contract." Little reckes the applauding Bourgeois whether he has the living reality itself, or merely the empty hull from which the soul has long since fled. Little reckes he whether the thing he clasps be human or not. Liberty as expressed in liberty of contract, of conscience, etc., as understood by the Bourgeois of to-day, has been dead wellnigh three centuries and buried since the French Revolution; the shibboleth that now stalks in its semblance is its vampire, and like other vampires, it has but one function, to suck the life-blood from its living kin—real liberty.

Time was when our modern "liberty of contract" was the expression of a living reality. Feudal oppression said in effect to the labourer, "You shall only work for one master, for him who is your lord, under whom you were born; you shall work for him for ever, even though he be unjust, harsh or cruel, and you shall render him his accustomed dues, whatever they may be." As against this principle of traditional *status*, the rising bourgeois world invoked "liberty of contract." "Liberty of contract" was then a reality as against its negation, the tyranny of *status*. The victory of *contract* over *status* having been once definitively assured, one might have imagined that liberty was thereby assured also. And this is what the Bourgeois thought and thinks still. He will not recognise the subtle change that has come over "liberty of contract" in the moment of its supremacy—that the tyranny to which it opposed itself is now absorbed into itself. So long as the barren form is there, it matters not to him that by means of the modern revolution in the conditions of production and distribution, its content, its living principle is no longer what it was, but the opposite of what it was—that the body of liberty is animated by the soul of slavery. Hence the horror of the ordinary Radical at the sacrilegious hand that would boldly transfix the vampire-body, notwithstanding the honoured shape it bears. He feels the blow struck at liberty of contract is a blow struck at himself, at the core of his being. For is he not himself the embodiment of a contract-system? What bourgeois sentiment really cares for and has cared for, in its revolt against *status* is not liberty, but the development of the bourgeois world. "Liberty of contract" was essential to this development in its war with *status*, and therefore received honour at its hands, not because of the *liberty*, but because of the *contract*—the power of contract being its only means of realisation. The liberty is the bait held out to the proletarian fish, which covers the hook of contract. Unless labour can be contracted for, *i.e.*, caught by the Bourgeois, it is of no more use to him than the fish that remain in the sea are to the fisherman. "Liberty" in the sense of the bourgeois economist is then, in brief, an empty abstraction which stands in flagrant antagonism to the real, the concrete, liberty of the Socialist. The abstract liberty of the economist is the liberty to die quickly of starvation or slowly of the same. The Socialist knows no such liberty as this. He cares not for the liberty to change masters with identical conditions in either case; he cares not for the liberty to refuse work and starve quickly or accept it and starve slowly. He would be glad to see such liberty for ever abolished. The liberty he values is the concrete liberty for individuality to assert itself, the leisure or freedom from work and care which is essential thereto, and which with comfortable circumstances and good surroundings, make up the *sine quâ non* of all real liberty. Thus the "liberty" which to the mind of the later middle ages was an ideal, became real in the earlier phases of the modern world, but its reality has long since evaporated, leaving a sham in its place.

"Liberty of conscience" is, again, another of the glib phrases so neatly rolled off the tongue, and which are supposed to crush an opponent against whom they are invoked, by their mere intrinsic weight. This too, as employed by the bourgeois Freethinker and Radical, is

often but a vampire, a semblance of a reality which has ceased to be. The typical British "Freethinker" would regard with horror as a violation of that sacred idol "liberty of conscience," any attempt under any circumstances to prevent the infusion into minds incapable of judgment of doctrines which he would admit to be injurious morally and perhaps even physically. His sheet-anchor is argument and reasonable persuasion—to which we say *à la bonne heure*, when the possibility of argument and reasonable persuasion is there. But let us take a case. A child, or person intellectually incapable either naturally or through ignorance or both, comes under the influence of the Salvation Army or the worst kind of Catholic priest, it matters not which, is terrified by threats of the wrath of God into "conversion," becomes the slave of General Booth or the "Church," is warped morally and mentally for life, and in the worst case possibly driven to religious mania. There's the result of liberty of conscience. The bourgeois Freethinker, hide-bound in this abstraction, is quite oblivious of the fact that though the form of liberty is there, it does but enshrine the reality of slavery; that it is a liberty to deprive others of liberty. It would be intolerance forsooth to suppress the Salvation Army—he will tell you; liberty of conscience demands that the Salvation Army and every other body or individual shall have the privilege of enslaving the minds of the young or the ignorant by threats or cajolery—of fooling them to the top of their bent. Against this the only weapon he permits himself is argument or persuasion. He forgets that argument is only a reliable weapon when employed against argument, *i.e.*, against a doctrine avowedly based on reason, and that against one which makes its appeal not to reason but to faith, fear and ignorance, argumentative persuasion must be a broken reed. The freedom to hold and propound any proposition, however absurd, as a theory to be judged of, and accepted or rejected at the bar of Reason, is quite another thing from the liberty of the hot "gospeller" who claims to hold a speculative pistol to the ear of ignorant and weak-minded people by threatening them with damnation if they reject his teaching. The one is of the essence of real liberty, the other is the vampire of a dead liberty of conscience which was only living and real when it was opposed to the positive power of the representatives of dogma over men's persons and lives. As our comrade Gabriel Deville well puts it, "The aim of collectivity is to assure liberty to each, understanding by this the means of self-development and action, since there can be no liberty where there is the material or moral incapacity of consciously exercising the faculty of will. . . . To permit by religious practices the cerebral deformation of children is in reality a monstrous violation of liberty of conscience, which can only become effective after the proscription of what at present passes muster for religious liberty, the odious licence in favour of some to the detriment of all." The vampire, Bourgeois liberty of conscience, must in short be impaled before true liberty of conscience can become a healthy living reality.

Let us take another idol. This time we tread on sacred ground indeed—equality between the sexes. Well may the iconoclastic hand tremble before levelling a blow at this new Serapis. Nevertheless here also—as the phrase is understood by the ordinary modern woman's right advocate—we are bound to recognise a vampire. In earlier stages of social development, woman was placed in a condition of undoubted social inferiority to man. The female was unquestionably in a position of disadvantage. Into the grounds of this inferiority this is not the place to enter. Suffice it to say it existed and that against the state of things it implied, the cry of "equality between the sexes" was raised, at first in a veiled and afterwards in an open manner. For some time it represented a real tendency towards equality by the removal of certain undoubted grievances. But for some time past the tendency of the bourgeois world, as expressed in its legislation and sentiment has been towards a factitious exaltation of the woman at the expense of the man—in other words the cry for "equality between the sexes" has in the course of its realisation become a sham, masking a *de facto* inequality. The inequality in question presses, as usual, heaviest upon the working-man, whose wife to all intents and purposes has him completely in her power. If dissolute or drunken, she can sell up his goods or break up his home at pleasure and play general havoc all round and still compel him to keep her and live with her to her life's end. There is no law to protect *him*. On the other hand, let him but raise a finger in a moment of exasperation, against this precious representative of the sacred principle of "womanhood," and straightway he is consigned to the treadmill for his six months amid the jubilation of the *D. T.* and its kindred, who pronounce him a brute and sing psalms over the power of the "law" to protect the innocent and helpless female. Thus does bourgeois society offer sacrifice to "equality

between the sexes." The law, on the other hand, jealously guards the earnings or property of the *wife* from possible spoliation. She on any colourable pretext can obtain magisterial separation and "protection."

Again, we have the same principle illustrated in the truly bestial howl raised every now and again by certain persons for the infliction of the punishment of flogging on *men* for particular offences, notably "assaults on women and children." As a matter of fact in the worst cases of cruelty to children, women are the criminals. Some few months back there was a horrible instance in which a little girl was done to death by a stepmother in circumstances of the most loathsome barbarity, yet these horror-stricken advocates of the lash never venture to support flogging as a wholesome corrective to viragos of this description. It would be opposed to middle-class sentiment, which would regard such a proposition as blasphemy against the sacred principle of "femality." No other explanation is possible, since it can hardly be assumed that even the bourgeois mind is incapable of grasping the obvious fact that a man pinioned and in the hands of half-a-dozen prison-warders, is in precisely as helpless a condition as any woman in a like case, and that therefore the brutality or cowardice of the proceeding is the same either way. The bourgeois conception of "equality between the sexes" is aptly embodied in that infamous clause of the "Criminal Law Amendment Act" which provides that in case of illicit intercourse between a boy and girl under sixteen years of age, though the girl escapes scot free, the boy is liable to five years' imprisonment in a reformatory.

Even the great Radical nostrum which is supposed to involve the quintessence of political equality, is when closely viewed, the hollowest of shams. The Revolutionary Socialist doesn't much concern himself about questions of the suffrage, esteeming but lightly the privilege of electing men to help to carry on the present system of society, which he believes destined to perish before long. But looked at from the Radical point of view, it is quite clear that considering the fact that the female population of England is in excess of the male by about a million, female suffrage, in spite of its apparent embodiment of the principle of equality, really means, if it means anything at all (which may be doubtful) the handing over of the complete control of the state to *one* sex. These are only a few of the illustrations which might be multiplied almost indefinitely, of the truth that the tendency of the modern middle-class world, is, while proclaiming the principle of "equality between the sexes" in opposition to the feudal subjection of woman, to erect the female sex into a quasi-privileged class. The real equality between the sexes aimed at by Socialism is as I take it, as much opposed to this Brummagem sentiment and sham equality, as it is to the female-slavery of ancient times, of which we do not wish to deny survivals remain even at this day. With the economic emancipation of woman and the gradual transformation of the state-system of to-day into an international league of free communes, the feudal subjection of woman to man and the middle-class subjection of man to woman will be alike at an end.

Yet another Bourgeois idol—the rights of majorities. The Radical mind instead of placing before it the concrete ideal—Human Happiness—erects an abstract idol in its room as the supreme end of all endeavour. The Radical's first question is not does such or such a course conflict with social well-being, but does it not violate one of our supreme dogmas? There is no more frequent charge brought against the Revolutionary Socialist than that of despotic interference with the right of the majority. Socialism, it is indeed true, in pursuit of its central purpose, treats with scant reverence the household gods of the Radical. The abstract principle of the right of the majority is of as small concern to the Socialist as the equally abstract principle of "liberty of contract" or "liberty of conscience." And why? Because like the rest the Bourgeois "right of the majority" is the vampire of a dead reality. Feudalism, and the centralising monarchical tendency which succeeded feudalism proper, opposed the will of the feudal few or of the monarchical one to the will of the majority of propertied persons, *i.e.*, the rising middle-class. The ascendancy of this rising middle-class then represented the extent of popular aspiration. The decaying principle was Feudalism and the monarchical Absolutism it left behind it. As against the privilege and traditional *status* upon which this based itself, Liberalism asserted as its ideal, the right of the majority of the people—*i.e.*, of the middle-classes—to self-government. Hard upon the realisation of this ideal has followed its reduction to sham. Conditions are changed in the Western Europe of to-day. With the entrance upon the arena of the modern proletariat of capitalism and the differentiation of class-interests therein involved, the old popular sovereignty has become a meaningless phrase. The old majority has ceased to be the majority—has become a minority, and the new majority is in the thralldom of this minority (the franchise notwithstanding). Capitalist fraud has succeeded to feudal force—the castle has given place to the factory.

The new majority, consisting of the proletariat and all those who suffer from the present system, are in the thrall of Capitalism. With no leisure for thought or education, they are necessarily the victims of every sophism of middle-class economists and politicians, even where they are not directly coerced or cajoled by their masters. The majority know that they suffer, they know that they want not to suffer, but they know not *why* they suffer and they know not *how* they may cease to suffer. The majority therefore under a capitalistic system will necessarily for the most part vote for the maintenance of that system under one guise or another, not because they love it, but out of sheer ignorance and stupidity. It is by the active minority from out this stagnant inert mass that the revolution will be accomplished. It is to this Socialist minority that individuals acting during the revolutionary period are alone ac-

countable. The Socialist leader or delegate, as such, does not take account of the absolute majority of the population, which consists of the two sections of those who are interested in the maintenance of the present system and those who are blind or inert enough to be misled by them. To disregard the opinion (if such it can be called) of these latter is no more tyranny than it is tyranny to hold a drunken man back by force who wants to get out of the door of a railway carriage with the train going at full speed. The man does not want to be maimed or killed; he is simply misled by his drunken fancy as to what is conducive to his welfare. In the same way the workman who sides with one or other of the various political parties against Socialism, does not want to be the slave of capital, never certain of his next week's lodging and food. In coercing him, if necessary, that is, in negating his *apparent* aims, you are affirming his *real* aims, which are if nothing more, at least to live in comfort and sufficiency. Yet to grant him the semblance of right, the right to perpetuate his own misery through blindness and to deny him the *reality* of right by keeping him a slave—the slave of free contract—this is the object of the Liberal and Radical, an object he hopes to accomplish by, among other things, flaunting in his face the nostrum of the inalienable "rights" of numerical majorities to control of the executive machinery of the state, at all times and in all circumstances. Of course, as soon as Socialism becomes an accomplished fact, the inert mass of indifferentism which now clings to the *status quo* merely through ignorance and laziness, will be dissolved, and its elements pass over to the new *status quo* of Socialism. The Socialist party will then cease to exist as a party and become transformed into the absolute majority of the population. Then and then only will the right of the majority and the sovereignty of the people be transformed from a sham into a reality—a fuller reality than it ever was before.

A few words on one more "idol"—on "justice," as embodied in the "rights of property." It is *unjust*, the Bourgeois will tell you, to nationalise or communise property now in the hands of private persons, since they as individuals have received it in the natural course of things as guaranteed by social conditions present and past. This notion of the right of every man to the exclusive possession of wealth he has acquired without breach of bourgeois law, and of the injustice of depriving him of it, is part and parcel of the system of vampire-dogmas and nostrums of which Liberalism and Radicalism are composed. It has been, like the rest, the ideal principle of the middle-class world in its conflict with Feudalism. In the days of the "small industry," the artificer and the merchant asserted this principle in opposition to the feudal lord. The middle-class world affirmed the absolute right of the individual over all his belongings as against the claims of the overlord and his prescriptive dues, and as against tenure in fee generally, but above all as against the dearest right of the mediæval baron, the right of plunder and dispossession by force of arms. Security of personal property has ever been the middle-class watchword. Hence this new notion of justice.

In the ancient world it would have been deemed "unjust" for the "tribe," the "people," or the "city" to suffer, so long as an individual citizen possessed aught that could relieve that suffering. In the mediæval world it would have been "unjust" for the inferior to retain aught that his feudal superior required; while it would have been "unjust" for the rich man to refuse to give alms to the needy. But as we have said, to the corruption and rapacity which characterised the decaying feudal classes at the break up of the mediæval system, the Bourgeois opposed his thesis of the inviolability of private property and of the ideal of justice consisting in the absolute control of his property by the individual. But like the rest, this principle unimpeachable as it seemed, had no sooner realised itself than its reality began to wane. Now in this last quarter of the nineteenth century it is dead and stalks the world as perhaps the ghastliest vampire of all the shams. The immediate cause of its transition from the living to the lifeless, is the change from small individual production to the manufacturing industry, a change which has reached its consummation in the "great industry." Yet strange to say, the Liberal or Radical can still mouth about the injustice of expropriating the wealthy few for the good of the whole. To him there is no "injustice" in the chronic starvation of myriads of his fellow-men, in the robbery of their labour and health and lives by the rich man by means of his wealth; yet there is "injustice" in depriving the Vanderbilt of a single hundred or the Duke of Argyll of a single acre!

But it is time to drop the curtain on the grim procession. Veritably this last of the bloodless spectres—bourgeois "Justice"—will not bear looking on. It is death on the pale horse habited in nineteenth century humbug. The hope and aim of the Socialist must be to lay these troubled ghosts—to consign them to their lower resting-place. Then will "liberty," "equality," "right," and "justice," once more flourish living and real—not in their old forms indeed, which are henceforth for ever dead and meaningless—but in higher and nobler ones. The evolution which we have traced in them through their seeming negation to a higher reality, is but an instance of the inherent *dialectic* of the world, in which death and destruction evince themselves the inseparable conditions of life and progress.

E. BELFORT BAX.

"Give me the land and you may frame as many laws as you please, yet I can baffle them all and render them null and void. Prohibit child-labour if you will, but give me land and your children will be slaves." Yes, and give the right to reap profits, through the existing wage-system, from the workers, and they may have land as free as air, and I will hold them in slavery. Abolish rent, and interest, but continue the iron law of wages, and the rich will always be getting richer and the poor, poorer.—*Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer.*



## BAD TIMES.

THE present condition of England's workers could surely not have been imagined by the slipshod economists who taught that the people would become better off as their country grew richer and greater. So long as England was "expanding," the condition of the working-class was little heeded. When the present depression in trade began a few Socialists were insisting that the people were as badly off as ever they had been in spite of the nation's enormous trade. Of course such "ridiculous assertions" were easily refuted. Figures galore were cited to show the vast strides that had been made in the comfort and general prosperity of the people. Bright gave us glowing pictures of the results of fifty years' progress. Bradlaugh thundered against those who would dare infringe the sacred rights of property. Brassey showed, from the memoirs of his enterprising father, how the British working man could hold his own against the world. Giffen and Levi floundered about in a chaos of figures which were drawn from suspicious sources and gave conclusions entirely opposed to all practical experience of everyday life. Socialists industriously argued away these elaborate sophisms but got very little thanks for their trouble, as well-to-do people didn't want to be convinced and badly-off people didn't need to be. Now the glaring facts are sufficient to convince all that England's commercial prosperity does not mean that her people are happy. What now of Mr. Bright's statement that the country is "better worth living in and more worthy of our affections"? Would the great reformer repeat this now in Trafalgar Square? What now of Brassey's irresistible British working-man? What of the statistician's 200 per cent improvement?

The workers have been very apathetic of late, and deserve a good deal of blame for their indifference to the future of their own class. But now that they feel the pinch more keenly they will become more intelligent. As their wages fall their manliness will rise. And once the people do take this matter in hand there need be no doubt of their settling it in a satisfactory way.

The first thing to make itself plain is that our trusted economists are unable to deal with the situation. They are now at their wits' end to account for the great paradox of modern economic conditions—universal famine and superabundance of wealth appearing as twin evils. Men wont starve in a rich country, and Mansion House Funds, be they ever so well stimulated by street riots, will not ward off the evil.

It is every day becoming more plain that the capitalists are unable to handle our great industries without plunging the mass of the people into misery which is quite unnecessary in a land so wealthy as this. In the first place, the capitalists are only anxious for their own enrichment and are regardless of the welfare of the community. In the second place, the system of competition will not allow them to be otherwise. Competition among capitalists makes it above all imperative that goods should be produced cheap. Cheap goods can only be had by cheap labour. We have learnt the important lesson that profits can be increased by lessening wages. (The capitalists knew this before any one told them, and all of them are fully conscious of it to-day without the aid of any political economist.) Cheap labour may be got in two ways: first, by paying small wages to each workman, and second, by introducing labour-saving—that is *wages-saving*—machinery. By the aid of this machinery the capitalist can raise wages and get his labour cheaper at the same time: he employs fewer hands to do the same amount of work. By this means the artisans have been gulled into thinking they are improving their condition, and even Robert Giffen has been bewildered—or pretends to have been—into stating that the working class are getting a larger share of the national wealth than formerly, whereas in reality they are getting a smaller share of what they produce than ever. That this should be so is inevitable under the present capitalist system, which can only sustain itself by the most rigid cutting down of the labourer's share of wealth.

So long as English capitalists have the monopoly of the world's markets, and so long as trade goes on increasing, the workers might never become miserable enough to make revolution a necessity. But our trade is now declining. English commercial supremacy is decaying—and more power to the destructive forces! More than a century ago Adam Smith said—what we can now see the truth of—that when a society begins to decline, the first and cruelest suffering must fall on the labouring class. As our markets are being wrested from us, the capitalist is compelled to reduce wages that he may sell his goods cheaper; and thus hastens the destruction of the system by trying to save himself. For when wages are low property is not secure, as McCulloch naively assures us. Even Giffen now admits that wages must be considerably reduced, and appeals to the workers to accept the reduction in order to save our commerce, upon which our greatness as a nation rests. When patriotism means a reduction of wages, we may look out for the speedy collapse of jingoism. But this patriotism by smaller pay will be made compulsory, and the free Briton brought nearer to starvation than the integrity of the empire (*i.e.*, the unbridled licence of the enterprising trader) may be maintained.

The only way out of these evils is for the working men to take the industries of the country under their own direction and produce goods to supply the wants of the population. The time is ripening very fast. Already the results of the reign of enterprising individualism are being seen in the armies of unemployed, which are steadily growing larger in all our big manufacturing towns. What to do with these men is a question which neither economists, capitalists, nor politicians can settle. But settled it must be, for if the capitalists cannot settle the unemployed, the unemployed will settle the capitalists. No doubt some

makeshifts for toning down the present distress can be found, but it is certain that all, from the fund started at the Mansion House, to the Relief Works proposed by the Social Democrats, will prove of very little use. Society has come to a miserable state and civilisation is a sham when men have to starve because their toil has been too productive. Out of the evil there is but one way, and that is for the workmen—and especially the trades' unionists—to be in readiness, so that when a crisis comes they will be able to seize upon the factories, mines, railways, stores, and other means of making and distributing wealth. *How* this can be done is what they must now consider. If the different craftsmen would discuss among themselves how they could "sack" their employers and manage the workshops, etc., in the interests of the community instead, the matter would soon become easy of settlement. But this at all events we must make up our minds to—the time is not far off when there will be but two courses open to us. Either to stand by quietly, and allow "law and order" to assert itself by butchering the hungry and turbulent masses, or make a determined effort to seize hold of the machinery of industry and manage it for the common good of all.

J. L. MAHON.

## The Ballade of "Law and Order."

A Song I sing to celebrate  
Our nation's chiefest glory;  
Oh, that I had the language bold  
Of ancient allegory!  
What tho' upon hyperbole  
My words might sometimes border?  
Know that the stalwart theme is mine  
Of British "Law and Order"!

Our battles won on land and sea,  
Have bards enough to sing them;  
New anthems greet our victories,  
As fast as heroes bring them:  
And must our nation's nobler fame  
In verse have no recorder?  
Shall not a loyal song be sung  
In praise of "Law and Order"?

Our venerable church and state—  
These are its glorious trophies!  
It keeps the monarch on her throne,  
The minister in office.  
From prince and peer and prelate  
down

To poor parochial boarder,  
There's not a British heart but feels  
The power of "Law and Order."

It binds the social fabric firm  
From knavish twists and twitches;  
Protects the poor man's poverty,  
And guards the rich man's riches.  
It wraps its might round Freedom  
fair,  
From Treason's knife to ward her;  
Rebellion hides its hideous head  
When stand forth "Law and Order."

'Tis true some trifling blots are seen  
Upon its bright escutcheon,  
But these, no loyal subject would  
Now think of dwelling much on.  
What tho' a few facts here and there  
A little untoward are—  
Spots can be seen upon the sun—  
Thy emblem, "Law and Order"!

Alas! how oft the people have  
Proved purblind and ungrateful!  
(What care we how our fellows fare  
When we have got our plate full?)—  
And so, in past times deeds were done  
Greatly to be deplored, ere  
The mob was tutored in the love  
And fear of "Law and Order."

King Edward, partial to the Scots,  
True "Law and Order" gave them,  
Somehow they barbarously thought  
He meant it to enslave them;  
So him, and his philanthropists  
They drove right o'er the border,  
And said, "Sir king, we do not want  
You, or your "Law and Order"!"

King Charles "Law and Order" made  
A mighty state appliance,  
Indeed it may be said that he  
Reduced it to a science.—

When to the block they led him forth,  
He spake thus to his warder:  
"Alas! I die a martyr in  
The cause of 'Law and Order.'"

King James on pious things intent,  
A church reform projected;  
He "Law and Order" wisely thought  
The best means to effect it.—

He crossed the channel in a smack,  
And when he went aboard her,  
A bright star left the firmament  
Of British "Law and Order."

Now all our institutions are  
In danger at this moment,  
From notions which those Radicals  
There utmost do to foment.  
Against all their vile principles,  
Which truly most abhorred are,  
Let every patriot invoke  
The power of "Law and Order."

When factions bawl about the wrongs  
To which they are subjected,  
From press and platform shriek the  
cry:

"The Law must be respected!"  
For if we firmly would maintain  
The power of king and lord, or  
Privileged class, we must proclaim  
Loudly for "Law and Order."

Some talk of "Right," "Equality,"  
And other such like phrases;  
To hear them speak, why really me  
It perfectly amazes!  
Do good forsooth! I tell you what,  
They apples of discord are!  
Ah, nothing like the good old plan  
Of thorough "Law and Order"!

Some people may have different views  
Of how best to enforce it,—  
Now Buckingham's opinion was—  
And firmly I endorse it:  
"Of all the methods I have tried,  
The hangman and the sword are  
The stoutest means to propagate  
Respect for 'Law and Order.'"

Now let the clergy inculcate  
In all their prayers and sermons,  
How blest peculiarly are we  
Above the French and Germans;  
And let their admonition be:—  
"These blessings the reward are  
Of our unbounded loyalty  
And love of 'Law and Order.'"

In every nursery and school,  
And barrack room and prison,  
Let sheets be stuck upon the walls  
Conspicuous to the vision;  
On which, in ornamental text,  
With neat appropriate border,  
Set forth the words, "Sedition shun,  
And reverence 'Law and Order.'"

And let us sing, "God save the  
Queen,"  
We could not do without her,  
And all the peers and gentlefolks  
She likes to keep about her:  
And while our voices and our heart  
In glorious accord are,  
Acclaim the peerless apothegm  
Of "Long live 'Law and Order'"

J. BRUCE GLASIER

By means of government and statute law the idle few are licensed to plunder the industrious many.—*Alarm.*



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NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

WORKINGMEN and women in factories, workshops, stores or mills, are requested to go around among their comrades and get up a list of subscribers for the *Commonweal*, and lend a helping hand in the struggle for labour's freedom.

J. H. JOHNSON and W. BLUNDELL.—May be used later on.

W. TAYLOR.—We may be able to do what is wished in after issues.

KNIGHTS OF LABOR.—For all information as to this order and steps to be taken in organising assemblies, address the General Secretary, Frederick Turner, Lock Box No. 17, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

C. M. M.—Have not time to send anything more than our good wishes to you in your struggle.

VERITAS.—Canvassing with all its attendant evils, of which not the least is the method of payment of the canvasser, is a necessary part of our miserable commercial system. Join us in the endeavour to get rid, not only of canvassing but of the system.

RECEIVED—England: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Der Rebell—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record. Belgium: La Guerre Social (Brussels). Canada: L'Union Ouvrière (Montreal). France: Paris: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—Le Révolté—Le Socialiste—La Tribune des Peuples—Revue du Mouvement Social, Le Devoir (Guisse)—Le Forçat du Travail (Bordeaux). Germany: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). Holland: Recht voor Allen. Hungary: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Budapest). Italy: La Question Sociale (Turin)—Il Fascio Operaio (Milan)—Morocco: Almoghreb Al-aksa (Tangiers). New Zealand: Watchman. Portugal: O Campino—Voz do Operário—O Protesto Operário (Lisbon). Roumania: Drepturile Omului (daily, Bucharest). Serbia: Tehas (Belgrade). Spain: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social—Acracia (Barcelona)—Bandera Social (Madrid)—El Socialismo (Cadiz). Switzerland: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich). U. S. A.: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal—Index. Denver (Col.): Labor Inquirer—Chicago (Ill.): Alarm—Detroit (Mich.): Labor Leaf—Muskegon (Mich.): Social Drift—Princeton (Mass.): Word—Cleveland (O.): Carpenter—Chronicle. Cincinnati (O.): Unionist—San Francisco (Cal.): Chronicle—Stockton (Cal.): Mail—Petersburg (Ill.): Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.): Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Die Parole—Altruist. Kansas (Mo.): Sun—Philadelphia (Pa.): Socialist—Pittsburg (Pa.): Labor Herald—Paterson (N. J.): Labor Standard—Baltimore (Md.): Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.): Lucifer—Atlanta (Ga.): New Working World—Newfoundland (Pa.): La Torpille—Litchfield (Minn.): Radical—Manchester (N. H.): Weekly Budget—Portland (Oregon) Alarm.

### Notes on Matters Parliamentary.

Big as the passing days are with hopes of events to come, hard as the times are now, and troublous as the outlook is, there has seldom passed a month in which there is so little to say about the proceedings of that "representative" body called Parliament, which according to the views of some worthy persons is the only instrument by means of which the reconstruction of Society can be carried out. It has as usual manifested its mingled tyranny and impotency, and for the rest has been doing nothing but trying hard to sit on two stools at once, with apparently little fear of the consequences, which however duly follow in the shape of a more peremptory dismissal than the ordinary "dissolution"—a final one, to wit.

Its impotency was well shown in the matter of the £50,000 lopped off the estimates by Mr. Labouchere's successful resolution. The august assembly was gravely told that though it was its undoubted duty to watch the outgoings of the national purse, it must exercise that duty reasonably—i.e., not at all. Then presently the Government uttered its official "can't be done," and relegated Mr. Labouchere to the making of a funny speech on the subject next year, and every year as long as the farce of Parliamentary Government lasts. This incident is a good measure of the real power of the Radicals in Parliament, and if they are encouraged by its results, they are sanguine men indeed.

While we are on these small matters, we may note the petty piece of tyranny exercised by our popular House in forbidding the people to use the national property on a Sunday. The House of Lords had just discovered that the world would not come to an end if the museums and picture galleries paid for by the people could be seen by the people. When it is attempted to endorse this opinion in the Commons, the attempt will probably be defeated by an opposition led by the pious Broadhurst and the still more pious Arch. Perhaps after all, then, the Primrose Habitation of Buccleuch,

who petitioned the House of Lords to abolish the Commons' House, were democrats in disguise, who wished to get rid of the Hereditary House by beginning first on its only support, the House of Commons.

For indeed Society need not tremble at Mr. Labouchere having nearly achieved a second success. The second or third generation of money-bags elevated to seats in an upper house by means of various cajolery and bribery exercised on servility, will be quite "hereditary" enough to be safe men, especially when helped by a good cohort of successful bamboozlers and muddlers up of facts, under the name of lawyers.

One thing has happened in Parliament of some importance to the party faction-fight, though of little otherwise: Mr. Bradlaugh has practically declared his adherence to the Whigs. I congratulate the Whig Party on their gain of a really able man, and Mr. Bradlaugh on having at last reached his level. He now stands on firm ground after much floundering through sham democratic mud.

To come to matters of more importance. There is Mr. Chamberlain's circular to the Boards of Guardians, which is as complete an exemplification of the helplessness of our present governmental system as could be. We may fairly assume his wish to do all that can be done under the present circumstances. Considering his position, he may be said to admit the existence of hard times to the full, and to be anxious not to say anything offensive to the feelings of the working-men. But, after all, phrases will not feed folk, and it seems to me he gives them little else. I should like to ask Mr. Chamberlain if he really thinks that useful work (and he clearly aims at that) can be given to the unemployed "without competing with that of other labourers now employed"? And also how long such hybrid work as he proposes can go on if the present distress goes on, or only betters a little? It is after all only playing at finding productive or serviceable work for the unemployed. Surely Mr. Chamberlain knows this. Is he thinking nothing more exalted than, "After me the Deluge"?

Well, at least he is resigning his place, and his motives for doing so are being much canvassed. One can easily imagine them. Perhaps he thinks Mr. Gladstone will not carry his Irish measure, as he probably will not. Perhaps he is not very anxious to see the Irish landlords rather more than compensated for their land, which pleasure Mr. Gladstone's bill will probably do for them. Perhaps also he sees that, the arrangements made, the Irish peasants will decline to pay this "compensation" to the landlord, unseen, indeed, but still existing; and that the English taxpayer will have to pay it; and Mr. Chamberlain may well dread the English taxpayer.

But perhaps, again, he sees that Mr. Gladstone's scheme means separation simply, in the long run, and that when this is found out, the "great heart of the English people," of which we sometimes hear, will be ready to burst with rather undignified rage, and will serve out those politicians who brought matters to this pass, and Mr. Chamberlain naturally does not want to be served out. Yet it would scarcely answer his purpose to find himself the representative of the stupid prejudice of Englishmen against Irishmen, which is quite as strong among Liberals and Radicals as it is with the other side.

But of course he has a good opportunity for sitting on two stools. If the democratic side and Home Rule win he can say, "How could I consent to buying out the landlords on their own terms, with all the dangers obviously appertaining thereto?" If the Whig-Radical integrity of the empire wins, he can say, "How could I consent to the injury done to the great Anglo-Saxon race and its future—by admitting that a nation of Celts don't belong to that race?" The temptation towards shuffling is great; but it might be better not to yield to it. For after all, the question for England really is, "Shall Ireland separate with civil war or without it?" And for Ireland: "Shall we be allowed to deal with the land as we think good?"

WILLIAM MORRIS.

### THE PILGRIMS OF HOPE.

#### X.—READY TO DEPART.

I SAID of my friend new-found that at first he saw not my lair;  
Yea he and I and my wife were together here and there;  
And at last as my work increased and my den to a dwelling grew,  
He came there often enough, and yet more together we drew.  
Then came a change in the man; for a month he kept away,  
Then came again and was with us for a fortnight every day,  
But often he sat there silent, which was little his wont with us.  
And at first I had no inkling of what constrained him thus;  
I might have thought that he faltered, but now and again there came,  
When we spoke of the Cause and its doings, a flash of his eager flame,  
And he seemed himself for a while; then the brightness would fade away,  
And he gloomed and shrank from my eyes.

Thus passed day after day,  
And grieved I grew, and I pondered: till at last one eve we sat  
In the fire-lit room together, and talked of this and that,  
But chiefly indeed of the war and what would come of it;  
For Paris drew near to its fall, and wild hopes 'gan to flit  
Amidst us Communist folk; and we talked of what might be done  
When the Germans had gone their ways and the two were left alone,  
Betrayers and betrayed in war-worn wasted France.

As I spoke the word "betrayed," my eyes met his in a glance,  
And swiftly he turned away; then back with a steady gaze  
He turned on me; and it seemed as when a sword-point plays  
Round the sword in a battle's beginning and the coming on of strife.  
For I knew though he looked on me, he saw not me, but my wife:  
And he reddened up to the brow, and the tumult of the blood  
Nigh blinded my eyes for a while, that I scarce saw bad or good,  
Till I knew that he was arisen and had gone without a word.  
Then I turned about unto her, and a quivering voice I heard  
Like music without a meaning, and twice I heard my name.  
"O Richard, Richard!" she said, and her arms about me came,  
And her tears and the lips that I loved were on my face once more.  
A while I clung to her body, and longing sweet and sore  
Beguiled my heart of its sorrow; then we sundered and sore she wept,  
While fair pictures of days departed about my sad heart crept,

And mazed I felt and weary. But we sat apart again,  
Not speaking, while between us was the sharp and bitter pain  
As the sword 'twixt the lovers bewildered in the fruitless marriage bed.  
Yet a while, and we spoke together, and I scarce knew what I said,  
But it was not wrath or reproaching, or the chill of love-born hate ;  
For belike around and about us, we felt the brooding fate.  
We were gentle and kind together, and if any had seen us so,  
They had said, "These two are one in the face of all trouble and woe."  
But indeed as a wedded couple we shrank from the eyes of men,  
As we dwelt together and pondered on the days that come not again.

Days passed and we dwelt together ; nor Arthur came for awhile ;  
Gravely it was and sadly, and with no greeting smile,  
That we twain met at our meetings : but no growth of hate was yet,  
Though my heart at first would be sinking as our thoughts and our eyes they  
met :

And when he spake amidst us and as one we two agreed,  
And I knew of his faith and his wisdom, then sore was my heart indeed.  
We shrank from meeting alone : for the words we had to say  
Our thoughts would nowise fashion ; not yet for many a day.

Unhappy days of all days ! Yet O might they come again !  
So sore as my longing returneth to their trouble and sorrow and pain !

But time passed, and once we were sitting, my wife and I in our room,  
And it was in the London twilight and the February gloom,  
When there came a knock, and he entered all pale, though bright were his  
eyes,  
And I knew that something had happened, and my heart to my mouth did  
arise.

"It is over," he said—"and beginning ; for Paris has fallen at last.  
And who knows what next shall happen after all that has happened and  
passed ?  
There now may we all be wanted."

I took up the word : "Well then  
Let us go, we three together, and there to die like men."

"Nay," he said, "to live and be happy like men." Then he flushed up red,  
And she no less as she hearkened, as one thought through their bodies had  
sped.

Then I reached out my hand to him, and I kissed her once on the brow,  
But no word craving forgiveness, and no word of pardon e'en now,  
Our minds for our mouths might fashion.

In the February gloom  
And into the dark we sat planning, and there was I in the room,  
And in speech I gave and I took ; but yet alone and apart  
In the fields where I once was a youngling whiles wandered the thoughts of  
my heart,

And whiles in the unseen Paris, and the streets made ready for war.  
Night grew and we lit the candles, and we drew together more,  
And whiles we differed a little as we settled what to do,  
And my soul was cleared of confusion as nigher the deed-time drew.

Well, I took my child into the country, as we had settled there,  
And gave him o'er to be cherished by a kindly woman's care,  
A friend of my mother's, but younger : and for Arthur, I let him give  
His money, as mine was but little, that the boy might flourish and live,  
Lest we three, or I and Arthur should perish in tumult and war,  
And at least the face of his father he should look on never more.  
You cry out shame on my honour ? But yet remember again  
That a man in my boy was growing ; must my passing pride and pain  
Undo the manhood within him and his days and their doings blight ?  
So I thrust my pride away, and I did what I deemed was right,  
And left him down in our country.

And well may you think indeed  
How my sad heart swelled at departing from the peace of river and mead,  
But I held all sternly aback and again to the town did I pass.  
And as alone I journeyed, this was ever in my heart :  
"They may die ; they may live and be happy ; but for me I know my part,  
In Paris to do my utmost, and there in Paris to die !"  
And I said. "The day of the deeds and the day of deliverance is nigh."

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## LESSONS IN SOCIALISM.

### XI.—THE LUST FOR SURPLUS-VALUE IN ENGLAND.

WE have, following "Das Kapital," taken an example of the shameless devices of the exploiter to obtain unpaid labour from the exploitee, from eastern Europe. Now, under the same guidance, let us trace out some of the history of these same devices in England. To understand this terrible and disgraceful history, first let us remind ourselves of the general provisions of that Act of 1850, which in the first place marks the conclusion of one stage in the ceaseless struggle between employers and employed, and in the second place has been the basis for all those slight modifications in 1871, 1873, 1874, and other years that have left the 1850 Act virtually master of the situation.

As these papers are only a *résumé* of Marx' book, I do not profess in them to deal with any history later than 1867. Possibly, after this work is done, a summary of the factory legislation of more recent years, along the lines suggested by him, may be made. By the 1850 Act, the average working-day for a man is 10 hours. Oh Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday the hours are 12, from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., with intervals of half-an-hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner, leaving for actual work  $10\frac{1}{2}$  hours a day. On Saturday the time is from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m., with half-an-hour for breakfast, *i.e.*,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  hours of actual work.  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 5 = 52\frac{1}{2}$ , and this  $+ 7\frac{1}{2} = 60$  hours for 6 days, *i.e.*, 10 hours of actual labour on the average per day.

Every worker knows that these 10 hours are like committee men, with power to add to their number. By this device or that, in every branch of industry, in every factory, in the person of every labourer,

the 10 became 10 and a fraction, or even at times 11 or more. One of the commonest of these devices is that known as "nibbling." Thus work may be and often is begun at 5.45 a.m. instead of at 6 ; five minutes are "cribbed" from the beginning of breakfast time, 5 minutes from the end ; the morning work is continued 10 minutes beyond the moment of stopping for dinner, the afternoon is begun 10 minutes too soon ; 6.15 instead of 6, and 2.15 instead of 2, become the times for ceasing work on five days in the week and on Saturday respectively. For every man this means  $15 + 5 + 5 + 10 + 10 + 15 = 60$  minutes for 5 days or 300 minutes, with on Saturday  $15 + 5 + 5 + 15$ , or 40 minutes of extra unpaid labour in a week. Suppose there are 50 weeks in the year, allowing two for holidays and accidental pauses.  $340 \text{ minutes} \times 50 = 1700 \text{ minutes}$ , and as the nominal working day is of 10 hours, each of 60 minutes, dividing 17,000 by 600, will give us the number of extra unpaid working days each man gives in a year to his master. It is over 28 days, wherever this nibbling obtains. And the system denounced with forcible use of the very figures just quoted, by Factory Inspector Leonard Horner, in 1859, is in vogue and in many places in full swing to-day.

The regularly recurrent crises in our capitalistic method of production only alter the lust of the capitalist after surplus-labour in degree. His anxiety to prolong the working day becomes at these times more marked. With interrupted production, short time working, less time spent in work, the more of that working time must from the capitalist's point of view be surplus working-time. Hence the worse trade is, the more unscrupulous are the masters. Thus, Horner reports that when in his district 122 factories were closed, 143 were standing still, and all the rest were working very short time, work was prolonged beyond the legal limits. The same thing occurred habitually during the cotton crisis time of 1861-65.

Masters consciously and men for the most part (as yet) unconsciously recognise the formation of surplus-value by this surplus (unpaid) labour. "Let me work my factory 10 minutes a-day over the legal time," says one manufacturer, "and you will put £1000 a-year into my pocket." And the men and children call one another "full-timers" and "half-timers," as their hours are the 12 or only 6 a day. Unconsciously, they in the very names, recognise that they are to the capitalist and under our modern method of production, nothing but personified labour.

Press of other matter in the *Commonweal* this month makes this article shorter than usual. I am the more content with this, as the next number of the journal will be the first of the weekly series, and the detailed history of the cruel exploitation of English workers can well begin in our issue of May 1.

Act of 1850 (legalised limits)	Monday to Friday, 6 a.m. to 6 p.m.
of working day	Saturday 6 a.m. to 2 p.m.
Meal times ... ..	$\frac{1}{2}$ hour, breakfast ; 1 hour, dinner.
Nibbling and cribbing ...	Encroachment on meal-times at both ends. Beginning earlier, leaving off later than legal times.
Full-timers, half-timers ...	The names for those whose working-day is respectively 12 and 6 hours. The phrases embody the idea of the worker as personified labour.

EDWARD AVELING.

## THE IMBECILITY OF WHOLESALE THRIFT.

PERHAPS the coolest specimen of "chaff," the most perfect illustration of "insult added to injury," is now being perpetrated by certain of our bourgeois friends. The reason for the present depression in trade, for thousands of working men being absolutely without the means of subsistence, for young girls taking to the streets in shoals—so numerous indeed, that even here competition has asserted its dread supremacy, and a woman's person is so cheap as to be barely worth the selling—for all this misery, this starvation, this prostitution is the *extravagance of the working classes!* In other words, the British workman should no longer be content with living on nothing, but should curtail his necessities, so that he may live on something less than nothing.

Such a theory propounded in an epoch of universal self-denial and hideous privation, might be expected to have been promptly laughed out of existence. Emanating, however, from a bourgeois source, the middle classes, frightened, perplexed, and possibly slightly conscience-stricken at the present state of the labour-market, have caught at this flimsy doctrine, partly to justify them in the eyes of the victims, but chiefly with a view to wield it as a potent argument in their projected attempt at a universal further reduction of operatives' wages.

As the denouncers of the habits of luxury and prodigality at present so evident among the labouring classes, support their sophistry by a spurious logic, it is as well that we examine a little into the merits of the case.

It is argued by a large fraction of bourgeois society that the whole solution of the social question lies in the drink question. Every year, say the sapient ones, between 350 and 400 millions of money are spent in Great Britain in drink, of which a large proportion is consumed by the working classes. Now supposing each working man, on an average, to spend £10 annually in liquor, if each working man turned abstainer (of course the worker must always set the example of virtue to his betters) he would be £10 a-year richer, and could afford £10 worth more clothes, bread, meat, etc.



Of course, other economies are also suggested. Thus the labourer is advised to discard his pipe, to walk to his work instead of riding, to shun the theatre and eschew the music-hall. These very social reformers, be it remarked, would oppose tooth and nail any attempt to open the museums, etc., on Sunday.

Such, then, are the means whereby these philanthropists would set the world on its legs again. They skilfully ignore the fact that the stoppage of the liquor-traffic, the tobacco-trade and others which contribute to the small ray of sunshine that occasionally brightens a labourer's life, would have the effect of throwing thousands more into the already bursting ranks of the unemployed. But we will not consider that point. We will suppose that, by some miraculous means, every operative in the country economises £10 annually on his present expenditure. Let us see how it affects him.

Now it is evident that however severe competition for employment may be, it has its limits. No man will work for a wage with which no conceivable amount of squeezing and pinching will suffice to eke out his existence (with women, for obvious reasons, the case is different). Male labour-remuneration never descends below one degree above starvation-point, for if it did so, if the labourer were literally starved on what he earned, he would soon be physically incapable of continuing work. All mine and factory owners and other large employers of labour, therefore calculate the remuneration they will give, taking as a basis the needs of the labourer. We will call starvation-point<sup>1</sup>  $n$ , and the point above that  $x$ .

Now we will imagine A and B competing with one another for a certain office only yielding sufficient employment for one. A and B are of equal capabilities and usefulness, and the livelihood of each for the nonce is dependent upon his securing the vacancy. It is clear then that the employer who has the vacancy to offer can only lower the rate of remuneration to  $x$ . For if he goes still lower, A and B being without other means, could not maintain themselves at such a wage, and would both refuse the post. But if A has a private income of £10, he can afford to and will compete with B down to  $x - 10$ , which will probably come below what to B is  $n$ .

It is this illustration that we have now to apply on the large scale. Through unlimited competition, labour-wages (I am speaking generally, as some exceptions are still sustained through trades-unionistic efforts) may now be considered as having sunk to  $x$ , i.e., the minimum at which a working-man can subsist without denying himself one or more of what are considered the necessities of life, and which may include (for we are speaking of men and not of animals) not only bare dry bread, but beer, tobacco and recreation. But if all the workers agree to resign such recreation, such beer, such tobacco, they simply shift the points  $x$  and  $n$  lower down. In other words, competition would reign among them exactly as before, and the extra £10 which pseudo-economists speak of, instead of going to buy the wretched labourers more bread and more meat, would go into the pockets of their astute exploiters without ever reaching them at all.

Of course we know the majority or even any considerable number of working men would not be so senseless as to adopt the theory of operative extravagance, but individual workmen with the, under the circumstances, stupid trust in their "superiors," which characterises their class, have already been and are being entrapped, and such men, by lowering their own standard of life, force their fellows, by the law of competition, to lower theirs. It is not our business to show our employers upon how little we are able to live; any more than it is his to submit the books of his business to the inspection of his trade-rival. It is not for us to economise in order to keep up middle-class profits or dividends. Let the operative pause before he agrees to still further diminish the small sweets that existence yet retains for him. Let him frequent the few temples of art or pleasure which are still left stranded in the capitalistic wilderness, let him recreate himself as much as his scanty means allow, and forget occasionally, for an hour or two, that he is but the impersonal and degraded tool of a heartless and no less degraded taskmaster.

KARL L. LAUNSPACH.

## SOCIALISM IN THE PROVINCES.

I AM asked by some comrades to give a brief of report of my lecturing tour to Sheffield, Liverpool, and Norwich. I do so, therefore, believing it of some use to give the impressions of a Londoner as to our prospects in other parts of the country.

I gave two lectures at Sheffield on Sunday February 28th, in the Secularist Hall: both were well attended, although I was told that the religious rancour which runs high in Sheffield would keep many people away from the Secularist Hall. Both lectures were well received, the evening one, the more plain-spoken and less historical of the two, particularly so: indeed I have never stood before a more sympathetic audience; and it seemed to me that the interest in the subject had much increased since I was last in Sheffield about a year and half ago.

On the day following, I attended a private meeting of about thirty sympathisers, called to discuss the possibility of starting a definite Socialist body. Of course I went as an advocate of the League. I found much interest in the subject amongst these friends, also some doubts and hanging back from that step of association, a step undoubtedly harder to take in a provincial town where people are so much more known and as it were ticketed than in London. The doubts had reference, some to the religious question, but

mostly I think they turned on our repudiation of the Parliamentary method, the reasons for which I did my best to explain. However it was determined to set on foot a Socialist body, of which I hope we shall hear more soon; as undoubtedly several will join it who are both intelligent and eager to do something. Sheffield, I was told, is a specially good town for open-air meetings; and those who gather at them have every reason for listening to speaking which offers a remedy for the present state of things, as labour is very badly off there, and as far as I could make out from what I heard, political matters are sufficiently mixed up. It is worth noting in relation to the matter of would-be Parliamentary Socialism, that an advanced Radical association with a semi-Socialistic programme, which had been established in the town, was swept away by the General Election, the Radicals belonging to it joining the regular party, as they are pretty sure to do under such circumstances.

From Sheffield I went to Liverpool and delivered my lecture at the Concert Room in Nelson Street, on March 2nd. The hall was crowded with an audience mostly of working men, who not only listened with very great attention, but took up all the points which they caught and understood with very hearty applause. After the lecture I had the group round the platform eager to ask questions, which one always encounters in these more northern towns, and there could be no doubt of their eagerness to learn. It is much to be regretted that the League has no branch at Liverpool: although the members of the Workers' Brotherhood are doubtless intelligent and in earnest, they seem to shrink from the full consequences of the change which they advocate: I must ask them to excuse my pressing on them the advisability of their forming themselves into a branch and rallying to them energetic people from the working classes. From all that I saw and heard at Liverpool, half-a-dozen, nay two or three energetic and uncompromising men pushing our principles there would soon have a following, especially if they spoke quite roughly and plainly to their listeners whether working or middle-class men.

On the 8th March I went to Norwich and lectured to a very good audience, some 800 I should think, at the Victoria Hall. Again the audience was mostly working-class, and was or seemed to be quite in sympathy with the movement. There was no opposition except from a clergyman, who I was told was a worthy man; he however only said that he disagreed, without giving his reasons.

It was strange to me for once to be preaching Socialism in a city like Norwich, with its beautiful architecture and strange half-foreign old-world aspect. But from all I can learn it seems as likely a place as any in England for the spread of Socialism. The working-classes there are in a sad plight; the old weaving industries are fast perishing; the modern industry of mechanical shoe-making is hard pushed by foreign competition, and the "hands" are terribly exploited. Like all other industrial towns its "reserve army of labour" or something more than that is all but disbanded. The magnates of the town have been forced to give them some employment, but it is a good illustration of the helplessness of the authorities in such a crisis that they are chiefly setting them to tumble the hillocks into the holes on Mousehold Heath, a rough uncultivable tract of land near the city and which now belongs to it, and where these sturdy bodies are producing under the bourgeois organisers of labour nothing at all, except—ugliness, and literally, platitude.

I had the pleasure, which was a real pleasure and not a mere conventional one, of meeting our branch before the lecture. And here there was no room for the regret one felt at Liverpool, for they seemed just the men wanted in such a place, with their hearts in the business, and with no thought of compromise, thoroughly understanding the futility of Parliamentary agitation. Here again they told me there was good opportunity for open-air work, and they intended to set about it as soon as the weather permitted.

Altogether it is not as a partisan but as an observer that I say that every where people are willing and eager to listen to Socialists, and that the doctrines will take root; and as a last word I appeal to all who are not afraid of the expression of opinion, to help us, whether they call themselves Socialists or not. Some of those who are better off, if their position or their sensitiveness, whatever that may mean, prevents them from joining us, or working actively, can at least help us with money; and let them remember that these people who want to know about that Socialism which is beginning to stir the world, and which offers them a remedy for their hardships and degradation, are poor and daily growing poorer. Some day they will assuredly move in a way which will shake everything and overturn much: surely it will be better even for you well-to-do people if they have an aim and a policy in their movement. And to help them to this is our purpose; therefore in our turn we ask help of all thoughtful people.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## "YE GENTLE BOY-CAT."

"They who would be free themselves must strike the blow."

EVERY mail brings additional evidence how thoroughly the workers of America, male and female, grasp the fact that their emancipation can only be achieved by their own united efforts—by acting in the spirit of the noble motto of the Knights of Labour, a motto that should be the rallying cry of the workers throughout the world, "The injury of one is the concern of all." We have lately received a handbill issued by the Can Makers' Mutual Protective Association, of Baltimore, Md., containing an engraving of their registered trade mark. Accompanying the handbill was a circular letter, which we reprint, in the hope that it may serve as a stimulus to our somewhat sleepy unions:

"To all Assemblies, Knights of Labor, Trades Unions and Labor Organisations, greeting. We come to you with this appeal to aid us in our struggle to get living wages. Since the introduction of child and female labor at inadequate wages, and machinery, with the use of acids, oils and other poisons, our wages have been reduced to under five dollars per week since 1883. Brothers and sisters, we do not ask you for financial aid, but appeal to you, to help us in this just cause of gaining and maintaining living wages, by creating a demand for the 'Canned Goods preserved in cans bearing the Union Trade Mark, 'C. M. M. P. A., Hand Made,' stamped in the tin in circular form on the bottom of the can. This Can is manufactured only by employers of Union hands, and as it is made with pure rosin, it is therefore recommended to the consuming public as the only safe can on the market; our action was approved by the Executive Board, G. A., in 1884, and also by the same, May 9th, 1885. Boycotts have been issued by D. A. 41, K. of L.—see *Journal United Labor*, June 25th, 1885—and Federation of Labor, Baltimore, Md., August 12th, 1885, and endorsed by the National Federation of Trades and Labor Unions at Washington, D. C., December 8th, 1885, against all cans not bearing this Trade Mark. We earnestly request you to place a copy of our hand bill, with our Trade Mark upon it, in conspicuous public places; in your meeting or assembly halls and in your kitchens, and see that your wives and all

<sup>1</sup> It must be understood that by "starvation-point," I mean that situation where a man has to dispense with what, in the eyes of a European, are considered necessary to life, though as a matter of fact, not necessarily literally so; e.g., meat, etc. Of course, a Chinese or a Hindoo might live on a few handfuls of rice a day. Their "starvation-point" is consequently lower than our own, and they are paid accordingly.

members of your families create a demand for this Union Trade Mark Can, and that they buy no other. Trusting you will aid us, as above, all in your power,—We are fraternally yours,—W. H. MARINER, President; Wm. C. OWENS, Secretary C. M. M. P. Association."

Everywhere across the Atlantic is heard "the sound and rumour" of the marshalling of Labour's forces, and the generals seem fully to recognise their responsibility and the gravity of the situation; but what are our "dull and muddy-pated" leaders doing in "these times that try men's souls"? Prattling of "jubilees" and "royal progresses" as if we were still in the middle ages; pottering and peddling with some miserable makeshift, such as leasehold enfranchisement and the like; winning the praise of smug, middle-class monopolists for their "moderation," and the contempt of all honest, earnest men, for their cowardice and servility; giving evidence before sham royal commissions; and stupidly bragging of the ability of the trades unions to maintain their own unemployed, when it is notorious that large numbers of the members of various unions are now on half relief, and many others have received all the out-of-work pay allowed by their societies, and are now in the direst straits of poverty.

There is one point to which I would especially call the attention of my brother coms. and that is to the slow costly strike at Waterlow & Layton's. Is it not time that we discarded our old rusty worn-out weapons? Our American cousins have not been slow to adopt and improve upon an effective instrument used by our Irish brethren—the boycott—with the result that during the time the strike at Waterlow & Layton's has been dragging its slow length along, scores of firms in all the big towns in America have succumbed to the pressure of organised labour. Fellow-workers, let us go and do likewise. Let us have done with the cant of moderation—the picking up of crumbs from the capitalist's table—the "half-a-loaf" doctrine preached to us by the canting rogues who profit by the system which robs us of the result of our labour. Join with the "poets and idiots" to boycott the Capitalist, the Landlord, and the Middleman, and so get rid once and for all of political quacks, royal commissions and royal everything else, Mansion House funds, and all the other shams which make life scarce worth living, except to those who consecrate it to the emancipation of labour and the realisation of the noble ideal which the *Commonweal* is established to advocate.

T. B.

### CELEBRATION OF THE COMMUNE.

On the very anniversary of the outburst of the glorious Commune of Paris, its children in England held festival in remembrance and in honour. At the same day and hour in the various countries of Europe the like meetings were held. Ours was at South Place Institute. This was crammed before the actual proceedings began by an audience that was throughout the whole evening as enthusiastic as it was densely packed. After certain revolutionary singing,

Joseph Lane took the chair, and in opening the proceedings, said they had met to commemorate one of the most glorious events which had ever occurred in the annals of history, and to render homage to those brave men and women who had sacrificed their liberty and their lives for the benefit of the working classes and of mankind at large. Another reason why they met was to confer together that they might take lessons from their failures and successes, so that when the time came for them to make a struggle in the same direction, they might have no failures.

Frank Kitz (Socialist League) in moving the following resolution, spoke of the odium heaped upon the Commune when it fell amid the jubilant execrations of the bourgeois press. Despite all this it lived on in the hearts of the people as a great and grand example and as an inspiration to renewed effort.

"That this meeting of International Revolutionary Socialists, assembled in London on the 15th anniversary of the Commune of Paris, has met to commemorate the heroic devotion of the Parisian working-classes in the spring of 1871 to the cause of the people, as embodied in that forerunner of the socialised administration of the future—the Paris Commune, and to record its gratitude to those who fell in defence of freedom and the emancipation of labour. That it declares its determination to strive without ceasing for the overthrow in all countries of the system of class-domination founded on force and fraud, and maintained by the folly of the workers, and to establish instead thereof a condition of society based on principles of social justice and international brotherhood. That it fully recognises that the lesson to be learnt from the events of 1871, is that this can only be achieved by simultaneous and organised forcible action, and, therefore, it calls upon the wage-workers of the world to unite. Furthermore, it desires to record its abhorrence of the malicious lying of the capitalist press with reference to this struggle of the people for their own emancipation."

T. Mann (S.D.F.) in seconding the resolution, said he was a wage-slave and the son of a wage-slave, that he recognised there was no hope for his class save in such brave attempts at the inauguration of a new system as that made in 1871.

The resolution was then read and spoken to in German by Trunck (I.W.M.C.), in Italian by Dr. Merlino, in French by Bordes (C.R.F.), who also read several resolutions of French revolutionary associations addressed to the toilers of all classes without distinction of school or nationality, expressing regret for the slain workers of the 18th March, and approving of the revolt of the communists against the bourgeois. He hoped that the events of 1871 would be closely studied, that they might afford us a lesson of what in the future to avoid, and that the example of Paris would be closely followed by many other places, one of them not far from here. All peoples were now becoming animated by the sublime truths of Socialism, and through its influence upon them the Commune was, though vanquished, victorious.

Eleanor Marx-Aveling (Socialist League) said the time we looked for was coming swiftly, and then the severest punishment that could be inflicted on our enemies would be to turn them all into good hard-working citizens. She reminded them that there was more to be done than to demonstrate there on one day of the year, which had 365 in it. Speaking eloquently of the good work done by women in the past, she urged the necessity of combined and resolute work. When the revolution comes—and it *must* come—it will be by the workers, without distinction of sex, or trade, or country, standing and fighting shoulder to shoulder against their common foe. She ended by quoting the last words of the Communist manifesto of 1849.

The Chairman next announced that telegrams had been received from the Dublin branch of the Socialist League and the Glasgow branch of the Social Democratic Federation, assembled for a like purpose, conveying fraternal greetings to their London comrades, and that the Committee had despatched a telegram to their comrades in France conveying an expression of their sympathy and sentiments of solidarity.

Pierre Krapotkine was the next speaker. Addressing the meeting in French with great vigour and fluency, he said that he happened to be in Geneva in 1872, at the time of the first anniversary of the Commune, when Ferry and Rossel had been shot in cold blood on the plains of Satory, and he witnessed the arrival at Geneva of men of the Commune who had been stigmatised by the press of Europe as thieves and vandals. What did they do when they arrived there? Did they live in luxury on the wealth they had stolen? No; they sought their places in honest labour among the proletariat. Fourteen years had elapsed since that time—a great deal in the life of a man but very little in the life of a nation. But what

had been accomplished in those fourteen years? In spite of all the calumnies hurled against that noble rising, throughout the whole of the world, in America, throughout Europe, yea even under the violence of the Czar, to-night they were celebrating its fifteenth anniversary. After all, the Commune did but little, but the little it did sufficed to throw out to the world a grand idea, and that idea was the working-classes governing through the intermediary of a Commune—the idea that the State should rise from below and not emanate from above. The social revolution would teach them there was no such thing in nature as the rights of private property. It was approaching rapidly and it was being brought about by giant strides, not so much by us as by the bungling and avarice of the governing classes. The commercial condition of Europe was so strained, that it was clearly demonstrated that the present condition of society could not continue for long. While they had not clothes to wear sufficient to keep out the weather, it was not the pleasure of the working classes to manufacture fine robes for Indian rajahs or Russian princes. They had to learn at the next revolution that they must make clothes for themselves, and that grand economical revolution would not be checked even at the cannon's mouth.

After brief speeches from Headingley (Fabian), Quelch (S.D.F.), Lessner (Communistischer Verein), and Mowbray (S. L.), the meeting ended with the singing of the Marseillaise.

### RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

RUSSIA.—The capitalist press is so constantly assuring us that Nihilism is "played out" (the wish is father to the assertion!), that the few facts which I take from a Russian correspondence in our fellow-organ the Paris "Socialiste," may be interesting.

A new number of the *Narodnaia Volia* has just been printed—under what difficulties I need not remind my readers—and it begins with a long, a terribly long list of the martyrs of the Russian government. Next, this paper gives us details as to the absolutely rotten internal condition of the Empire, its imminent bankruptcy. "In several provinces famine and misery are chronic . . . but nowhere are the peasants in so terrible a condition as in Siberia. The population is literally dying of hunger there. Moreover, the industrial situation of Russia is no better. . . . In many provinces the collecting of taxes gives rise to revolts, and migrations to other portions of the Empire, where the emigrants found prosperous villages. But as soon as a village begins to thrive, and the soil is cultivated, the government drives out the inhabitants. Such, e.g., was the case in 1884, in a village of 950 houses, on the Don."

Agrarian risings are the order of the day. In the province of Woronege the peasants have burnt the goods of a rich landed proprietor; at Kiev is an association whose object is the devastation of the cultivated land of the large landlords. "This Society was composed of peasants, and the police has been powerless to deal with it." It happens not infrequently that the police sent to restore "order in a village" find themselves forced to fly before the rebel peasants. In the already-mentioned province of Woronege, 325 peasants were brought up on a charge of destroying a dyke that caused them damage, whereupon all the rest of the villagers demanded that they should be accused along with their comrades. "Last year there were 192,000 prosecutions for damaging forests—for the government refuses to admit that the forests are the property of the Commune."

There are also many strikes; at Iwanswo-Woznessensk 8,000 men went out on strike last September rather than accept a reduction of wages. At Alexandororsk the workers on a railroad struck; eleven men were arrested and condemned; 200 others immediately went and demanded the same treatment as their fellows.

The working-men are beginning to organise, and only those who have carefully followed the history of the Nihilist movement can appreciate the full significance of this fact. The correspondence from which I have taken the above statements concludes with these words: "These few facts are sufficiently eloquent to characterise the frightful condition of the Russian people, to show at the same time that the people, no longer able to suffer in silence, are awaking to resistance. The sacrifices of the revolutionists have not been in vain. Russian Society is not at all indifferent or hostile to the revolutionists, as is shown by the sums subscribed "in good society" during this year for the revolutionist propaganda. These sums amounted to £1,600."

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM.—Large meetings are being held all over Holland by the unemployed, and in several cases public meetings have been dispersed with the utmost brutality by the police, while numerous arrests have been made. In Belgium, too, there are "disturbances." At Liège a public meeting was called on the 18th of March, which ended in a fight between the gendarmerie sent to suppress the meeting, and the people. Several policemen as well as many of the crowd have been seriously wounded; some eighty or ninety people have been arrested. "Quiet was re-established by midnight," we have been informed by a Reuter telegram, but, as a matter of fact, the utmost "uneasiness still prevails." There is a large strike among the miners of Seraing and Jeneppe, growing daily more threatening, and a "descent" on Liège by the strikers is hourly expected. "If," writes a correspondent of the *Cri du Peuple*, "if the miners of Jeneppe try to enter Liège to make another manifestation, a collision, which if the Government do not take care will be a bloody one, is to be expected."

SPAIN.—From Spain, as from the rest of the world, comes news of struggles between unemployed and police, while meetings are constantly being dispersed with more or less brutality. At Alicante a meeting in honour of the 18th of March was forcibly suppressed; further details of this affair are not yet to hand.

FRANCE.—It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the splendid movement of the Decazeville miners. In the next number of the *Commonweal* there will be a full account of all that has gone on there. Meantime, only a few facts. Of these the most significant perhaps is the solidarity shown by all the workers in France to their brethren at Decazeville. Every day different towns and villages are sending sums of money to enable the miners to carry on their heroic struggle against all the Watrins of the Company, while others are sending sacks of potatoes and other contributions in kind.

That every form of petty trickery and brutal intimidation is being attempted by the Company goes without saying. But to no use. The miners are determined to resist à outrance, and some of the mine-proprietors are beginning to confess that "Decazeville is lost to the Company." It is expected that all the mines will be closed next week. This means 600 more men out of work. The 18th of March was taken advantage of to hold—for the first time at Decazeville—a meeting in honour of the Commune.

How thoroughly scared the bourgeois really are, will be best understood from an account of the various debates in the Chamber, of which I shall speak next month. In conclusion to-day, I am sure I am speaking for all English comrades when I wish our fellow-workers of Decazeville good-speed in their splendid fight.

ELEANOR MARX-AVELING.

### ROCKY MOUNTAIN SOCIAL LEAGUE.

M'Clelland Hall, Denver, Colorado, Feb. 16th, 1886.

Dear Comrade—At a regular Sunday evening meeting, Feb. 14, the Rocky Mountain Social League unanimously passed the following resolutions and instructed me to forward them to you for publication in the *Commonweal*:

"Whereas—The reign of capitalism in England having brought many thousands of our disinherited brethren to the verge of starvation, and Whereas—Rather than submit to such an ignominious fate, they have shown a disposition to rebel and to throw off the bonds of economic servitude; therefore be it *Resolved*—That the Rocky Mountain Social League tenders its hearty sympathy to our trans-Atlantic brethren in their sufferings, and that it applauds their efforts to force the government to recognise their right to life and the means of livelihood. And be it further *Resolved*—That the authorities in London by refraining from butchering the starving masses have evinced a degree of prudence contrasting strongly with the action of the officials of Oregon and other states and territories, and of the President of the United States, who ordered out the militia and army to shoot down working-men at the bid of corporations and money kings. And be it further *Resolved*—That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist League of London, the *Alarm* of Chicago and the *Denver Labor Enquirer*, for publication."—WM. CARDNELL, sec.

### MISSOURI VALLEY DIVISION I. W. A.

Topeka, Kansas, Feb. 19, 1886.

Dear Comrade—At a meeting of our local group of the "International Working-men's Association," on last evening, the following resolutions were passed without a dissenting voice:

"*Resolved*—That we congratulate our brothers in England upon having at length made their rulers see the truth of Carlyle's prophecy, that England must listen to the demands of the poor, or England must die. *Resolved* further—That we caution and advise our County Commissioners and Overseers of the Poor to profit by this distant warning, instead of waiting for one near home. *Resolved*—That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to our comrades in London, and to the *Daily Citizen*, for publication."

Our organisation in this State is yet in its infancy, it being but eight months old. However we have at present between 150 and 200 good and true men in this city. We have captured nearly all of the leaders in the labour movement, and control the Knights of Labour, which is very strong in this city. Our progress and success have been even beyond our expectations. I send you by mail a few circulars. With best wishes for success of the cause beyond the seas,—I am fraternally yours—HARRY A. BLAKESLEY, sec.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

### Notice to Members.

*General Meeting.*—On Monday April 26, at 8.30 p.m. Council meets at 7.30.

*Library.*—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

*Reading Room.*—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. All papers received by the Secretary are sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members.

### MONTHLY REPORT.

During the past month the Executive has been busily engaged with the arrangements for the Commune celebration; for a public meeting on Saturday 20th, to explain the attitude of the League towards the unemployed, at which the following resolution was carried:

"That this meeting, sympathising heartily with those who are thrown out of work by the working of our present system of wrong and robbery, believes that no capitalistic government can remedy this evil, and that nothing but a change in the basis of society which would abolish all classes and make the workers themselves society, will ever prevent these miseries"; and for the weekly issue of the paper, which are now concluded, and will be duly carried into effect.

On another page will be found report of lecturing tour by W. Morris. Comrade Grönlund has returned from Edinburgh and Glasgow with a cheering account of his visit, and the news from all the branches is decidedly hopeful.

The police seem determined to do their best to help the Socialist cause. Their last exploit in Leeds in this respect ought to elicit our warmest thanks. After a man has been knocked over two or three times by a mounted policeman, for happening to be out in the street, he will probably be in a position to understand something of the gospel of discontent. A woman treated in a similar manner will also be likely to look with toleration on her husband's membership of the League. A child also might receive some useful education by having strongly and physically impressed on him the fact that he belongs by nature to the dangerous classes. We expect some news of this "rather disagreeable incident," as the *Daily News* calls it, from our Leeds comrades.

## THE "COMMONWEAL."

It has been determined to bring out the *Commonweal* weekly from May 1. It will be ready for issue on 29th April and each succeeding Thursday. The first number will contain a cartoon by Walter Crane, entitled "Mrs. Grundy frightened at her own shadow." The Editors appeal to the Branches to do their best to circulate the paper, and to give early notice of the number of copies that they will want.

### LECTURE DIARY: April, 1886.

HALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

#### Sunday Evening Lectures, 7.30.

April 4. W. C. Wade, "The Riots and the Revolution." 11. G. Brocher, "The Familistère at Guise." 18. Stepniak, "The position of workmen in Russia." 25. Debate on Socialist League Manifesto. Attack: James Bedford. Defence: H. H. Sparling.

#### Wednesday Evening Lectures, 8.30.

April 7. H. Charles, "Development of the German Labour Movement." 14. Edward Aveling, "The Labour Christ." 21. Miss Edith Simcox, a lecture. 28. William Morris, "Competition."

### BRANCH MEETING ROOMS.

#### LONDON.

*Bloomsbury*—Business meeting at central office every Wednesday at 7.30.  
*Croydon*—County Hotel, near West Croydon Station. Sundays at 8 p.m. April 4. W. Morris, 11. H. H. Sparling, 18. E. M. Aveling, 25. A. Scheu. Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.  
*Hoxton* (L. E. L.)—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Every Sunday evening at 7.45.  
*Hammersmith*—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m. April 4. George Bernard Shaw (Fabian Society), "The Unemployed." 11. C. J. Faulkner, "Inhuman Arithmetic." 18. Mrs. C. M. Wilson, "The Future of Radicalism." 25. William Morris, "Our Policy."  
*Hackney*—All members and sympathisers willing to work in the formation of a Branch in this district, are asked to communicate with J. Flockton, care of the secretary, at the League office.  
*Merton*—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.  
*Mill-end*—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m.  
*North London*—Camden Hall, King Street, Camden Town, N. Wednesdays at 8.30 p.m.  
*South London*—Business meetings at 103 Bird-in-bush Road, on Sundays at 7.30.

#### PROVINCIAL.

*Birmingham*—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30. All are invited.  
*Bradford*—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Kirkgate. Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Sympathisers invited.  
*Dublin*—30 Great Brunswick Street. Every Tuesday at 7.45 p.m. W. Morris will lecture in Dublin as follows: April 9. "Aims of Art." 10. "Dawn of a New Epoch" (Saturday Club). 13. "The Political Outlook" (Branch).  
*Edinburgh* (Scottish Section)—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.  
*Glasgow*—Neilson's Hotel, Ingram Street, every Saturday at 7 p.m. Lectures and discussions. All are invited.  
*Leeds*—54, Myrtle Street. Meets every Wednesday.  
*Leicester*—Secular Hall, Humberstone Gate. Every Sunday at 3 o'clock.  
*Manchester*—County Forum. Mondays, at 8 p.m.  
*Norwich*—Gordon Café. Every Monday at 8 p.m.  
*Royston*—"Greyhound Inn." Every Sunday evening at 7.30.  
*Oldham*—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Meets every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m. The Secretary will be happy to give lectures on Socialism to any of the Liberal and Radical Clubs in the town and neighbourhood; address 57 Landsdowne Road, Chadderton, Oldham. Comrade Tod, 73 Book Street, off Ashton Road, will be glad to see or hear from *bona fide* inquirers.  
*Oxford*—"The Temperance," Pembroke Street, St. Aldates. Every Monday at 8.30 p.m.

### OPEN AIR PROPAGANDA.

#### LONDON.

<i>Sundays.</i>	<i>Tuesdays.</i>
Canning Town, 11.	Soho—Broad Street, 8.
Deptford Broadway, 11.	Midland Terminus—Osseltown St., 8.
Edgware Road—Bell Street, 11.	<i>Wednesdays.</i>
Hoxton Church, 11.	Kingsland Road railway arches, 8.
Mill-end Waste, 11.	Clerkenwell Green, 8.
St. Pancras arches, 11.	<i>Thursdays.</i>
Regent's Park, 11.30.	Hoxton Church, 8. Mile-end Waste, 8.
Hyde Park, 3.30.	<i>Fridays.</i>
Victoria Park, 3.30.	Hackney Road—Triangle, 8.

#### PROVINCES.

*Hulme*—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, 7 p.m.  
*Leeds*—Vicar's Croft. Sundays, afternoon.  
*Manchester*—New Cross, Oldham Road. Sundays, 2.30 p.m.  
*Oldham*—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

### MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

THE NORTHAMPTON CLUB (11 Northampton Square, Clerkenwell).—April 4, 8.45 p.m., W. Blundell, "Money, Competition, and Revolution."  
*Liverpool*—THE WORKERS' BROTHERHOOD.—Each Sunday at 7 p.m., in Wood Street Assembly Room.

### WHERE TO GET THE "COMMONWEAL."

#### LONDON.

Old Ford Road—Roberts, 4; Caudle, 139.	High Holborn—Truelove, 256.
Globe Road—Poole, 24; Caudle, 241; Brown, 253.	Long Acre—Hebard, 49 Endsley St.
Mile End Road—174. Haines, 212; W. Cole, 84 New St., Bedford St., wholesale agent; Hendry, Jubilee Street.	Clerkenwell—Berg, 32 Arlington St.; Bartlett, 10 Garnaut Pl.; Lill, 13 Tysoe St.; Lovell, 8 Upper Gloucester St.; T. Jakes, 14 Benjamin St., Red Lion St.; Edwards, 119 Rosoman St.
Commercial Road—C. A. Schweitzer, 43; Viney, 115; Busby Brothers, 184; Long, 234; Briggs, 244.	Holloway Road—Miller, 76.
Whitechapel Road—Kerby, 118; Eades, 219; J. Brown, 18 Bakers Row.	Islington—Gee, 56 Upper Street.
Hackney Road—Miller, 15; Wood, 103; Smith, 182; C. Ell, 443; Hammond, Goldsmith Row; Auckland, 4 Bishops Road; Vale, 4 Bonner Road.	Bloomsbury—Manly, 113 Cleveland St., Fitzroy Square; Bard, 20 Cleveland St., Middlesex Hospital; Mrs. H. Hanstan, 51 Charlotte St., Goodge St., Tottenham Court Road; Mrs. Brown, 4 Charlotte Place, Goodge St.; W. Rawlinson, 12 Castle Street, East; C. Gardiner, 17 Little Windmill Street, W.; Kempton, 68 Great Russell St.
Mare St., Hackney—J. Yates, 4 West Street.	Marylebone—W. Roberts, 18 Bell St., Edgware Road.
Bishopsgate—E. T. Pendrill, 26 Brushfield St.	
Fleet Street—Freethought Publishing Co., 63; Reeves, 185; Cattel & Co., Bouverie St.	
Strand—Pitt, 30 Newcastle St.	
Farringdon St.—Progressive Publishing Co., 28 Stonecutter St.	

Comrade Wm. Blundell, 14, Camden Passage, Islington, N. Agent for Socialist League publications.

#### PROVINCES.

BIRMINGHAM—J. Sketchley, 348 Cheapside.	LIVERPOOL—Landing Stage;
BRADFORD—G. Minty, 3 Crab St. Hall Lane.	Stocker, 27 Vauxhall Road; Tibbs, 11 St. James Place; F. Bacon, Prescott St.
BRISTOL—Morrish, Narrow Wine St.	MANCHESTER—R. Unwin (wholesale) 37 Queen's St., Queen's Road; Watts, 43 Charles St., Oxford Road
DUBLIN—J. J. Lalor, North Earl St.	NORTHAMPTON—W. Brain, 16 Little Cross St.
EDINBURGH—B. Given, 20 Bristo St.; Robinson, Greenside St.	OLDHAM—J. Salway, 64 Falcon St. off Ashton Road.
GALASHIELS—The News Stall, Princess St.	OXFORD—English, 38 St. Ebbe's St.; Miss Foy 5 The Plain, St. Clement's.
GLASGOW—J. Adams, 91, Houston St.	SOUTHAMPTON—E. Binning, 45 Belle Vue Road; Rawlings, 60 East St.
HAWICK—J. Finlay, High St.; J. C. Goodfellow, High St.	
HULL—H. Witty, Suffolk Row, Wincolme.	
Haverhill (Suffolk)—Chevins & Son, High St.	
LEEDS—T. Maguire, 54 Myrtle Street.	
LEICESTER—Secular Hall.	

Mrs. Besant has written in *Our Corner* two articles on Socialism of an educational and elementary kind which will be very useful as they are clearly and simply written: they will also circulate among a group of readers who would often not come across the definite organs of the Socialist party.

A History of the Commune of Paris. By WM. MORRIS, E. BELFORT BAX, and VICTOR DAVE. Now ready, 24 pp., price 2d.



# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 16.

SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## EDITORIAL.

IN laying before the Socialist public the first number of our new departure, we feel that a few special words are likely to be looked for from the editors.

Now, as we understand the policy of the Socialist League, it aims at education and organisation towards action when the fitting moment arrives.

When that action is set on foot it will have nothing less for its aim than the taking over by the workers of all the means of producing wealth, to be used for the benefit of the community, that is to say, for the benefit of each and all of those who compose it; in other words, the realisation of a new society with equality of condition for its basis. Before we can attain to this it is necessary that the mass of the workers should understand this much at least, that nothing short of this will deliver them from the ills they now groan under, that anything short of this though it may change the number of their masters or their position to each other, though it may take from one group of them to give to another, will leave them under masters still, will still leave them slaves to arbitrary authority.

But it will be said to us: "Do you believe in a sudden leap into this new society, as the result of a consecutive and logical change, with no experiments, no attempt at temporary amelioration of the lives of the workers?"

No; we believe in no such an impossibility: a time of transition there must be, and many will accept the incompletest transition as the realisation of their hopes: experiments there will be, and many will refuse to acknowledge their failure even in the teeth of obvious facts. Attempts at bettering the condition of the workers will be made, which will result in raising one group of them at the expense of another, will create a new middle-class and a new proletariat; but many will think the change the beginning of the millenium. All these things will and must be; the question for us is, what share shall we take in them?

Whatever our share in them may be, we believe that these attempts, this transitional condition, will be chiefly brought about by the middle-class, the owners of capital themselves, partly in ignorant good-will towards the proletariat (as long as they do not understand its claims), partly with the design both conscious and unconscious, of making our civilisation hold out a little longer against the incoming flood of corruption on the one hand and revolution on the other.

We believe that the advanced part of the capitalist class, especially in this country, is drifting, not without a feeling of fear and discomfort, towards State-Socialism of the crudest kind; and a certain school of Socialists are fond of pointing out this tendency with exultation, as presaging the early triumph of the Cause of the People, and are looking forward to the time when we shall be "All Socialists" in the sense that Krapotkine uses the phrase in the chapter under that title in his "Words of a Rebel." Well, we also exult in this change of front of the middle-classes, not because we wish to become All Socialists on these terms, but because it is good that the attempts and failures should be made, the new officialism of the transition period foisted on the world by the dominant class, which has no other function but self-preservation. We rejoice to see Bourgeoisdom digging its own grave amidst the blunders and blind stumbling that Socialists might otherwise be driven into.

But though we rejoice in this and though we admit that it is good that partial changes should take place, since they cannot be final, or the condition of things they bring about be long enduring, what have

we to do with helping them on, save by steadily enunciating our principles?

Can we pretend to push forward some measure which we know is impracticable or useless, loudly crying out on practicality meanwhile? Can we who preach the downfall of hypocrisy make friends with the compromise which we despise? Can we who preach freedom, fetter our souls from the outset by cowardly acquiescence with a majority which we know is wrong? A thousand times no!

Again we are but a few, as all those who stand by principles must be until inevitable necessity forces the world to practise those principles. We are few, and have our own work to do, which no one but ourselves can do, and every atom of intelligence and energy that there is amongst us will be needed for that work; if we use that energy and intelligence for doing work which can be done just as well by men who are encumbered with no principles, we waste it; and we had then better confess ourselves beaten, and hand over our work to others who understand better what a party of principle means. Whatever of good may go with the stumbling, compromising kind of Socialism, let it be done at least by those who *must* do it; do not let us do their work as well as our own. We *must* wait and they must act; let us at least not confuse our ideas of what we are waiting for by putting a false issue before ourselves.

But there is another thing besides Bourgeois stumbling into State Socialism, which shows which way the tide is setting, and that is the instinctive revolutionary attempts which drive them into these courses. What is to be said about these? They are leaderless often, and half blind. But are they fruitful of nothing but suffering to the workers? We think not; for besides the immediate gain which they force from the dominant class as above said, they are a stern education for the workers themselves. And however bitter that education may be, it surely is not so much worse than the periods of quietude they have had to endure; the worst thing that we have to dread, though every day now it is less to be dreaded, is that the oppressed people will learn a dull contentment with their lot, and give their masters no more trouble than may come of their dying inconveniently, and being terrible objects to look at or to speak to while they live: the rudest and most unsuccessful attempts at revolution are better than that, though *that* is what is chiefly aimed at by middle-class social reformers.

With all genuine revolutionary attempts, therefore, we must sympathise, and must at the least express that sympathy, whatever risk its expression may subject us to; and it is little indeed if we can do no more than that.

The *Commonweal*, then, will steadily continue to put forward the principles of International Revolutionary Socialism; will deprecate all meddling with parliamentary methods of "reform." Constitutionalism means the continuance of the present system; how can Socialists, therefore, who aim at abolishing the system, support its support? With all revolutionary movements the *Commonweal* will sympathise as it always has done, and will not accuse the people of rashness for doing what they have been forced to do, or of blindness for making the only protest against their wrongs that they are able to make.

In few words, our function is to educate the people by criticising all attempts at so-called reforms, whose aim is not the realisation of equality of condition, but the hindering of it; and by encouraging the union of the working classes towards Revolution and the abolition of artificial restraints on life. The true aim of the people of this epoch is to learn how to live, and to assert their right to do so in the teeth of all opposition.

WILLIAM MORRIS.  
E. BELFORT BAX.

## OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM.

(A reply to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P.)

### I.

In 1884 a sixteen page pamphlet entitled "Some objections to Socialism" was published by Mr. Bradlaugh. This article and its successors will be an attempt to show cause against these objections. My reasons for selecting this pamphlet as my text are the following. In the first place it contains the usual list of questions asked and comments made at the end of every lecture on Socialism. These objections of Mr. Bradlaugh practically exhaust the list of the commonplace opponent of Socialism. If they are answered, far be it from me to say that those who urge them will be satisfied. But at least we may hope that the growing number of anxious enquirers into this subject will find some help in their work.

In the second place, the objections are put by the writer of the pamphlet in their strongest possible form. A skilled debater and a controversialist by birth and breeding, Mr. Bradlaugh naturally states the case against Socialism with more clearness and vigour than the ordinary antagonist. The greater includes the less, and if we defeat him we may hold that with him many others thinking as he thinks are also worsted.

Third, the popularity of the author of "Some objections" makes it the more necessary to deal with them. The recognised leader of working-class Atheism, the victor in a prolonged struggle for Parliamentary rights, the typical representative of that aggressive Radicalism, whose aggressiveness we are anxious to turn against the fundamental cause of our social ills—Mr. Bradlaugh is a power among the labour classes. It becomes therefore, the more imperative when we think he is in the wrong on the most vital of questions to show where and how, as it seems to us, he is in the wrong.

After these necessary preliminaries, let me now deal with the objections. For the reasons just given, it will be difficult to treat them in a wholly impersonal way, but as far as is possible they will be discussed as the utterances of a thinker who is the spokesman for many men.

And first, to make plain what I mean by the word "Socialism." Socialism declares that (1) The basis of society to-day is a commercial one—the method of production and distribution of goods; (2) The evils of our present day society are, in the main, referable to this commercial basis; (3) The only efficient remedy for these evils is a revolution in the method of producing and distributing goods.

Really the most serious (I am inclined to think the only serious) objections to Socialism ought to take the form of controverting these propositions successively. But in this pamphlet, as generally in discussions on Socialism, it is noticeable that the first and second of them are untouched by our opponents. We might fairly ask, nay, we must ask, what is the basis of our social arrangements if it is not a commercial one? Is it a matter of speculative belief, as in Christianity, *e.g.*, or is it a matter of government as by limited monarchy or the right divine of electing a House of Commons? We might equally fairly ask what is the cause of the majority of the evils, such as poverty, prostitution, crime, starvation, of to-day, if it is not the method in which our goods are produced and distributed. But to these questions, as a rule, no answer is forthcoming and certainly none is given in the pamphlet under discussion. In it, no more than in the debate with Mr. Hyndman in St. James's Hall, are the essential questions of Socialism as an explanation of the past and of the present touched upon. The vital point of the origin of surplus-value from unpaid labour is never even approached.

In fact objections to Socialism almost universally are levelled against the third of our propositions and against two parts of it. One of these is the bogey word "revolution," and the other is the phrase "efficient remedy." How impossible it is to deal in full with objections to proposition 3 unless propositions 1 and 2 have been discussed, will be readily understood; and yet that is exactly our fate. We have to discuss objections to the efficiency of a change in the method of production of our goods, without feeling certain that our antagonists know even what that method is, and without feeling certain how far they admit that to this our social evils are, for the most part referable.

And this leads me to that general statement that may be prefixed to the discussion now to be entered upon, and indeed all discussion between Socialists and anti- or non-Socialists. It is this: that every one of the evils that the latter remind us are likely to occur under Socialism, occur with manifold more force under the individualism of our present society. Not one of the difficulties that are put before us is there that does not meet us to-day. To-day they are either not solved satisfactorily or they have been in part solved. And where such difficulties, *e.g.*, as the free expression of opinion meet us, we may fairly urge that their partial solution under the capitalistic system, gives us a sure and certain hope that under a simpler and more righteous one, they will be solved at once more rapidly and more completely. On many questions of detail I shall have occasion as I go on to show that this general principle is true; that every difficulty propounded to the Socialist recoils upon the head of the individualist, and that every question as to how he will do this, that or the other, may be in part answered by the retort: "And in what fashion are you doing it?" To all which must be added the obvious statement that whilst under the Socialistic system it is hard to conceive of difficulties with which we are not already face to face under capitalism, there are certainly under this latter a large number of difficulties peculiar to it, and that will vanish when it vanishes.

In the pamphlet to the discussion of which all the above leads, Mr. Bradlaugh opens with a reference to the "pure-hearted and well-meaning men and women" who have tried to test Socialistic theories by experiment. These "pure-hearted and well-meaning" ones are, of course, dead. Our Parliamentary reports remind us that the same observer recently made quite another characterisation and classification of Socialists in England. They were, in language that I am sure no one now regrets more than the speaker, "poets, fools or worse." This makes the classification of such well-known people calling themselves Socialists as George Bernard Shaw, Annie Besant, Stewart Headlam, none of whom is a poet, a matter of some difficulty.

However, the dead-and-gone English Socialists are "pure-hearted and well-meaning," and their experiments at carrying into practical execution Socialism failed. That "as communities none of those attempts have been permanently successful," is no objection to Socialism. For Socialism to be successful must and will be international. A little island of Socialism in the midst of a vast sea of Commercialism is certain to be swamped. An experiment on a small scale is foredoomed. This it is that gives the answer to that youthful objection usually put in the form of a question: Why does not A. or B. of you Socialists who have a certain amount of means due to the unpaid labour of others, at once cast all these away and try the simpler life? To do this would be worse than suicidal. It would be murderous. As things are to-day under the present method of production of goods, for A. or B. thus to give up all that he has would be, first to increase the quantity of capital available by less scrupulous hands than his for the exploitation of labour; second, to paralyse his own energies in attacking the very system of which he is also the victim.

Let me here quote half-a-dozen lines from the Objections. "In none of these [communities] was the sense of private property entirely lost; the numbers were relatively so small that all increase of comfort was appreciable, and in nearly all the communities there was option of the withdrawal of the individual, and with him a proportion of the property he had helped to create or increase." In this passage many things meet us. First there is the phrase "private property." So many fallacies are rife about this that encountering it here for the first time in this criticism, let us once for all remind our objectors that our fundamental objection is to private property in the means of production. It is by the omission of these last five words that so much confusion comes, so much misrepresentation wittingly or unwittingly occurs. Socialists may not be all in accord as to the precise degree of ownership involved in the phrase "my coat," when the new order of things obtains. But they are all agreed that no man will be able to say, "my machinery, my land," except in the same sense as he may to-day say "my British Museum."

Notice again the phrase as to the smallness of the numbers in the community making increase of comfort a perceptible quantity to each individual. By implication what does that say of our present system? Under it increase of comfort cannot become an appreciable quantity for each individual. That is true enough under the capitalistic system, but the reason is not the relative largeness of numbers. It is the method of distribution of our goods that leads to so partial a distribution of comfort. Given that the Socialistic community is co-extensive with mankind, increase of comfort would become an even more appreciable quantity for each individual than it was *e.g.* in the Oneida attempts.

EDWARD AVELING.

(To be continued.)

## WHAT IS A NATION?

THERE are some persons who profess not to be able to understand what a free Commune means, while the meaning of the word "Nation" seems clear to them, though perhaps it is doubtful whether it is as clear as it seems. Well, the nation has been evolved from the ancient tribe, which looked upon everything outside itself as hostile; in like manner, the special function of a nation is to hold together a body of people in conscious rivalry to all other similar bodies, which rivalry, though in the main sustained for the sake of mere commercial war, frequently leads to military operations. When Socialism shall have destroyed all competition as well between peoples as between individuals, the result will be the establishment of free federated Communes, and then the function of the "nation" will be at an end, and the word "nation" will be a mere geographical expression, interesting chiefly to students of past history.

The above-mentioned persons also seem to have an affection for a "State," which they appear to regard as an eternal if not an immutable institution; they also appear concerned to know the precise population which the Commune is to contain; much as Mr. Bradlaugh in his discussion with Mr. Hyndman in St. James's Hall, was concerned to know the precise number and character of the bottle-washers in the world of the future. No Socialist would pretend to fix any arbitrary limit on either side to the size of the unit of social life; this must obviously be determined by immediate local or temporary conditions. But this much may be said that it will be not a merely arbitrary and senseless geographical or diplomatic expression like "Great Britain," "Italy," or "Austria," but a definite community within definite limits, fulfilling a definite function in the world-federation of such communities.

GOOD NEWS FOR THE AGED.—An employer of labour in Burnley boasts that he never gives work to any man over 34 years of age. W. S.

## STATISTICAL QUACKERY.

*Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Labour Statistics.  
Michigan, 1886.*

A MASS of figures and statements compiled in the interest of the exploiting and governing classes of America and designed like those of our Levis and Giffens at home, to humbug the workers into quiet submission to their fleecers. The dishonest method of comparison constantly used in such papers as the *Echo* and *Dispatch* and in the clap-trap oratory of capitalist Radicals and their hirelings, is to be found abundantly in this volume. The status of the workers is not judged in relation to the amount of wealth produced by the community and the standard of living among the well-to-do, but by comparison with the labourers of Europe; in the same way that our Brights and Bradlaughs contrast the position of the British workman of to-day with that of thirty or forty years ago. The consular reports from England, Ireland, Germany, Italy, etc., are quoted with the evident intention of impressing the workers of America with a due sense of the inestimable blessings they enjoy in living in "the glorious republic of the West." Of course it is quite plain that if an American labourer receives 17 dollars, say, whereas an Englishman or German receives respectively only 12 and 10 dollars, then the former must be a very discontented, suspicious, and ungrateful fellow if he ventures to think he is not getting the full results of his toil. There is, too, another advantage of these statistics. There is always the margin between the highest and lowest of the rates paid in the respective countries for the employers to work upon. Emigration is encouraged, and as time goes on, the condition of the American workers will be gradually assimilated to that of their brethren in Europe. Part II. relates to strikes, which, of course, are very foolish and wicked and seem to have been promoted according to the Report by a few loafers, who with "sophistical arguments of a Socialistic nature," etc., caused the workers to quit their employment against their better judgment. As might be supposed, the whole report is utterly one-sided. It is not likely that men with any spark of independence would care to lay their views before the Commissioner; and so page after page is filled with the "opinions" of sneaks, "scabs," and "rats," who all speak in terms of respect for "the boss," and denounce the wicked, lazy union men who wanted to work only ten hours per day. If my Radical fellow-workers who are being led astray after the will-o'-the-wisp of Labour Bureaus in England, would only "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" such reports as that I have now before me, I fancy the M.P.s now trying to make political capital out of their advocacy, would soon have to look up a new dodge. Of what possible benefit can it be to the workers that they should be taxed to create snug jobs for a few Howells and Broadhursts in compiling these volumes of quack statistics. What it concerns us to know is not the average rate of wages paid in this country or that, or dietary tables to show how little we can contrive to exist upon in the interest of our exploiters. The only figures worth the trouble of compiling are those that will show the workers how they are plundered and bamboozled; and hopelessly dense must be the foolishness of that man who expects a bourgeois government to do that, whether it be Tory or Radical, Monarchical or Republican.

T. BINNING.

## NOTES.

In America we are on the eve of a great fight, whose end no man may tell. The cause of battle is the 8 hours' working day. If America is to fight this good fight, can England be far behind her in the strife?

Harvard University, however, has a Chair of Scientific Socialism. There is no idea at present of founding one at Oxford or Cambridge.

There are three great labour organisations in America. (1) The Federation of Trades and Labour Unions of the United States and Canada, representing 380,000 workers. This was the first organisation to try boycotting. During the past two years it has organised 237 boycotts. 114 are still in action, 99 have led to victories, 24 to defeats. On the day of the issue of this number of the *Commonweal* the Federation goes out on strike for the 8 hours' working-day.

(2) The Knights of Labour; 7,041 sections, with more than 100,000 members, says the report of their last congress at Hamilton, Ontario.

(3) The Socialist party in America, into which in spirit, if not in name all others may one day be absorbed. Three daily papers and one weekly, *Der Socialist*, are in evidence as to its growing power.

Henry Richmond, 52 years of age, had been in one situation exactly one-half his life. Then he made some mistake in his work, of pianoforte making, and was dismissed. Verdict on the dead Henry Richmond: "Suicide whilst of unsound mind." Verdict on the capitalistic system that makes such things possible: "Murder whilst of unsound soul."

There is talk of indicting the leaders in the Tramway strike in New York for conspiracy. There is no foundation for the rumour that the directors are to be treated in the same way for getting so many hours per day of unpaid labour out of every one of their men, under false pretences.

Tramways are quite internationally on the move just now. The North and South Paris Tramway Companies are to be bought out for some 14,000,000 francs. These will, of course, be paid out of the lives of the working-classes. But for the yearly tribute the companies had to pay per

mile to the General Omnibus Company of Paris, it would have paid splendid dividends. So that now its shareholders will receive 14,000,000 francs for doing nothing from the municipality, instead of getting them on the same terms out of their drivers and conductors.

Professor Huxley has joined the noble army of reactionaries. With grief be it said that as a rule our scientists, if they do ever meddle with politics, are the worst of foes to the proletariat. Tyndall and Huxley in England, Vogt and Haeckel in Germany, are sad cases in point. Living comfortably, very comfortably, in their studies and dining-rooms, the cry for Home Rule or for labour emancipation never reaches their ears, or, at least, never wakes an understanding echo in their hearts.

Let us honourably except one, not the least among them, Alfred Russell Wallace. I cannot think of any other that has written or spoken for economic or political freedom, without which intellectual liberty is like capital, only for the good of the few.

HARD TIMES.—At Protheroe and Morris's Rooms, Cheapside, on Monday, April 19th, the following prices for orchids were realised:—*Odontoglossum Alexandræ*, with four flowers, 160 guineas; *Cypripedium Morganianum*, 65 guineas; *Vanda Sanderiana*, 40 guineas; *Cypripedium Faireanum*, 30 guineas, etc.; the sale realising about £1,250.—*Daily News*, April 21st.

Some amusement, of a rather sorrowful kind, may be derived from the fight for the Shop Hours Bill. Its leading advocate is Sir John Lubbock, one of the most unfair and virulent of the opponents to any measure of justice to Ireland. One of its most vigorous antagonists is Mr. Maple, of Tottenham Court Road. By the way, the upholstering exploiter should send the clerk that writes his newspaper letters for him back to the counting house, and get another with more command of his own language, if not of Mr. Maple's.

These Maples, Shoolbreds, Whiteleys, are an awful product of our demoralised age and immoral society. And when they take to having letters written for them in decayed English, on behalf of the small retail traders and against the shop assistants, one feels that while they are mindful of the last rung of the ladder up which they have climbed to opulence, they have forgotten the one at which they started. Stop having letters written for you, Mr. Maple, and go in for Parliament again. You are fit for that.

ED. A.

## TRADES UNION ITEMS.

The London Trades Council is waking up. It has recently issued a circular, addressed "to the workpeople of every industry," against systematic overtime. The circular which is distinctly progressive in character, points out that the advantage to individuals in working overtime is illusory, and results in injury to the whole body of workers, "by making them still more the slaves of capitalists. Every extra hour they work after production equals the requirements of the community, promotes the growth of an idle class, and helps to keep surplus-labour at the command of the employers," etc. The inevitable result of increased competition, still further intensified by the employment of child labour, is also commented upon, and the workers are exhorted "to aim at apportioning the work necessary for the sustenance of the community equally between those desirous of living by honourable labour, as the preliminary to a higher state of humanity."

The committee of the London Society of Compositors have also issued a circular dealing with the same question. The enormous amount paid in unemployed relief is commented on in the spirit of articles which have appeared in the *Commonweal*. It is pointed out that the large sums of money paid out of the earnings of the members of trades unions, keep down the rates in the interests of portions of the community who are hostile to the interests of labour. The committee assert "most emphatically that no trade union was ever established for the purpose of supporting a proportion of its members in enforced idleness." They declare that the action and principle of trades unionists should be to divide the necessary labour of the community so that all should earn their own living, instead of one portion working hard and being taxed to support another portion in idleness.

Talking of unions, an interesting item of news comes from New York to the effect that a Newsboys' Union has been started there. It has a membership of one hundred. They will not sell rat newspapers or those which are boycotted. The American workers do not, like us, support the papers which insult and oppose them.

There is, for instance, that disgustingly brutal vulgar periodical misnamed *Fun*, with its foul slang and execrable drawing, whose very existence is proof of a low and degraded state of society. The other day this champion of so-called "free labour," sought to make "ratting" respectable by depicting Mr. Gladstone in the guise of an Irish "knobstick," with some doggerel setting forth the virtues of the model working man who refuses "to join trades unions and go on strike." The boss rat and his humbler congeners should be left to support their own organ. It is difficult to understand how any workman with any sense of self-respect can contribute even a penny to the support of such a paper.

Why do not the London Trades' Council follow the excellent example of the unionists of New Haven (Conn.), and issue an official organ like the bright, vigorous "Workmen's Advocate", and thereby bring into closer relationship the organised workmen of the metropolis, and by providing healthy food for thought and reflection on their industrial, social and political condition, do something to counteract the evil influence of such papers as the *Weekly Dispatch* and other capitalist sheets, so heedlessly supported by the very people whose real interests they are established to oppose?

T. B.

HOW THRIFT AIDS CAPITALISM.—Recently a naval pensioner asked a Preston capitalist for work. "What is your pension?" asked the capitalist. "Twelve shillings a week," said the worker. "Well, if you will take eight shillings a week, you may go on. You will then have a shilling more than Brown gets." The naval pensioner accepted. The reward of his thrift—pension in his case meaning accumulation of savings from under-payment—being one shilling to himself and eleven to the capitalist.

W. S.





Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s.; six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must not be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

**NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.**—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

QUESTIONS bearing upon the principles propounded and the objects had in view by the *Commonweal*, will be welcomed by the Editors.

WORKINGMEN and women in factories, workshops, stores or mills, are requested to go around among their comrades and get up a list of subscribers for the *Commonweal*, and lend a helping hand in the struggle for labour's freedom.

RECEIVED—England: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record. Belgium: La Guerre Social (Brussels). Canada: L'Union Ouvrière (Montreal). France: Paris: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—Le Révolté—Le Socialiste—La Tribune des Peuples—Revue du Mouvement Social, Le Devoir (Guise)—Le Forçat du Travail (Bordeaux). Germany: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). Holland: Recht voor Allen. Hungary: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Budapest). India: Voice of India (Bombay)—Hindu Patriot (Calcutta)—People's Friend (Madras). Italy: La Question Sociale (Turin)—Il Fascio Operaio (Milan). Morocco: Almoghreb Al-aksa (Tangiers). New Zealand: Watchman. Portugal: O Campino—Voz do Operário—O Protesto Operário (Lisbon). Spain: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social—Acracia (Barcelona)—Bandera Social (Madrid)—El Socialista (Madrid)—El Socialismo (Cadiz). Switzerland: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich). U. S. A.: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country—Amerikanische Arbeiter-zeitung. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal—Index. Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer—Little Socialist—Chicago (Ill.) Alarm—Detroit (Mich.) Labor Leaf—Princeton (Mass.) Word—Cleveland (O.) Carpenter—Chronicle. Cincinnati (O.) Unionist—San Francisco (Cal.) Chronicle—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Petersburg (Ill.) Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Die Parole—Altruist. Kansas (Mo.) Sun—Pittsburg (Pa.) Labor Herald—Paterson (N. J.) Labor Standard—Baltimore (Md.) Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.) Lucifer—Atlanta (Ga.) New Working World—Newfoundland (Pa.) La Torpille—Litchfield (Minn.) Radical—Manchester (N. H.) Weekly Budget—Portland (Oregon) Alarm.

### INDEPENDENT IRELAND.

MR. GLADSTONE'S measure has at last seen light, and it must at least be said of it that under the circumstances it has been accepted joyfully by the people whom it was chiefly meant to serve: the Irish at least are pleased. This is an improvement on the character of most measures of reform, which usually rather err in defect than in excess of that ancient vice and modern virtue, cowardice; and which consequently discourage friends while they fail in conciliating enemies. To find the irreducible minimum has been Mr. Gladstone's aim, and according to the verdict of both friends and foes he has succeeded. A simple-minded man might have expected the Radicals, at any rate, to be pleased at this, but he will by this time be disillusioned. Some of them do indeed eat the leek thus presented to them by the Celtic champion with a tolerably good grace, but a great many insist on being thrashed before eating, which grace before meat they are, I think, not likely to lack.

The fact is these worthies were quite prepared to give Ireland Home Rule so long as Humbug accompanied it, so long as the grant of it did not enable the Irish to manage their own affairs; and they seem to have hoped (not perhaps without some reason) that Mr. Gladstone would contrive this trap for their benefit. It would indeed have been a triumph for modern bourgeois legislation to have been able to say, "We have done what you wanted, we offer you Home Rule, and now you won't take it." And that would have been quite in its manner too. But they have been disappointed and are forced to face a measure which the Irish believe will make them practically independent, and whether the bill passes or not, there is no doubt that they will not now

accept anything less than it. This is grievous enough for our Federation-of-the-Empire friends, but if they are Radicals to boot, what are they to do? Mr. Chamberlain sees that he cannot, as yet, join the Tory-Whig coalition, and consequently, in spite of the almost unanimous agreement of the London Liberal press, including the once anti-Jingo *Echo*, which now sees the error of its ways, he will probably have to content himself with looking on at a Gladstone triumph and a Whig protest, without sharing in either. The bill will pass the Commons either now or after a coalition muddle, or else the Irish will in some way or other rebel.

Under these circumstances it is not worth while to look into the details of Mr. Gladstone's bill, even if such matters could concern Socialists at all. It means the Independence of Ireland and not the sham Federation which the greater part of the Liberal Party intended it to mean. This is clearly shown by the fact that while Radicals cry out on injustice to the Irish in excluding them from the Westminster Parliament, these themselves will by no means accept the honour if they can help it, as they perceive it to tend towards Federation. One remedy at least they might have, of the kind known to the unthirsty horse when brought to water; they need not drink of the stream of honour and consideration flowing from Westminster; in other words they may stay at home and mind their own business, which they will sorely need to do. For the rest, the bill is a specimen of the usual Constitution-building, and is full of safeguards against dangers which, when they come near will send the said safeguards flying into space. We need not heed all that; the Irish people accept it, the Whigs reject it: that is enough.

But what is this new parliament to us Revolutionary Socialists who see no panacea in parliaments of any kind? Well, first the Irish (as I have some reason to know) will not listen to anything except the hope of independence as long as they are governed by England; no, not even to the most elementary propositions about the land, which concern them most and nearest—they can see nothing else than an Ireland freed from that government. They are, as it were, demoralised by a long war, and will likely enough confirm the prophecies of their enemies by floundering woefully amidst their difficulties, when they have their own affairs to manage. But it is only by finding out what a parliament is like that they can know what a worthless instrument it is towards helping the community to a decent life; and they will have to meet those difficulties themselves and be responsible for their manner of dealing with them, instead of letting their responsibilities lapse into the willing hands of England. They will then surely begin to find out that English rule was so disastrous to them, not because of the difference of race between the governors and the governed, but because a crude form of arbitrary authority was practised on the "inferior race"; because England represented landlord and capitalist oppression, which, to say the truth, would not have lacked a representative even if she had not been paramount in Ireland.

Home Rule for Ireland is not of itself necessarily a revolutionary measure, but it will clear the ground for sowing the seed of Revolution; and that all the more as the problem in Ireland is simpler than elsewhere, owing to its being chiefly an agricultural country. The patience and good humour of the people may help its new rulers to stave off the great change which shall make Ireland free by freeing all its inhabitants; and their terrible apprenticeship in misery may help in restraining them from claiming that decent and happy life which it will be easier for them to get for the claiming than it is to most peoples; but the claim will certainly be made, and can only be crushed by a bourgeois England triumphant over its enemy—THE PEOPLE.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

### AN EXPLANATION.

The change of the *Commonweal* from a monthly to a weekly prevents my retaining the responsible position of one of its editors, as the necessary demands of a weekly on an editor's time can only be met by those in relatively more fortunate positions. The amount of time and work given by me to the paper in its new form will be not less than have been given heretofore.

EDWARD AVELING.

THE Government were badly beaten in the Socialist trial, and in fact it is difficult to understand why they persisted in it after their breakdown in Bow Street. Some attempt there was in the bourgeois press to make as little as possible of the defeat, but most people with memories will connect it with the police defeat of Dod Street last summer. The result shows that the general public are not prepared as yet to attack mere opinion, however dangerous it may seem, and should encourage all Socialists to speak plainly to the people; though it must be admitted that those who are fairly enlisted in the cause do not want much encouragement on that side. On the other hand, if our bourgeois have not the heart to resist such very plain attacks it shows how bad their conscience must be.

W. M.

## MRS. GRUNDY'S MISHAP.

(See Cartoon.)

AN old lady, in fear of a terrible foe,  
Ran away from her shadow a short time ago—  
Eighth day—second month—and the week-day was Monday;  
And the old woman's surname was said to be Grundy.

What caused the unlucky old lady to quake?  
And why should her shadow have set her a-shake?  
She was doing her best to look sober and solemn,  
As she passed by the base of Trafalgar Square column.

That she had some large parcels to carry is true;  
And a good many people with nothing to do  
Were waiting about on the chance of a job,  
When poor Mrs. Grundy got mixed in the mob.

Now what were the parcels she had in her hand?  
The load that looked largest was labelled the Land,  
And the labourers living there once had been driven  
Elsewhere to find houses—in hell or in heaven.

Another good-sized one was simply her purse,  
Which no wonder she clung to, for better, for worse;  
But the fact that 'twas heavy with other folks' gold  
Made it slightly unsuitable for her to hold.

She had fastened the folds of the gown that she wore  
With her bonds and her bank-notes behind and before;  
But the cloak that she trusted for hiding her gown  
She found to her horror was fast falling down.

Now in bonds and in bank-notes for clothes to be clad  
Might have well made her nervous, except that she had,  
To defend her from danger of drops or of dust,  
A grand old umbrella whereon she could trust.

A grand old umbrella, two-handled and stout—  
This handle was active when that was worn out—  
And each was adorned with the head of a scamp:  
She called the umbrella her Government gamp.

But just at this juncture, to add to her fears,  
An unemployed urchin's voice struck on her ears,  
And not stopping to listen to what he might say,  
She hoisted her gamp up to hunt him away.

That she thus should be troubled she thought it was hard,  
Having bought her a Bobby of tape and of card,  
Whose duty it was in the name of the law  
To protect the possessions she clutched in her claw.

So she hoisted her gamp up, when what did she see?—  
What a terrible curse a bad conscience must be!—  
She saw very plainly, terrific and tall,  
A brutal black bogey 'twixt her and the wall.

That bogey's black arm was uplifted to smite;  
And gruesome was good Mrs. Grundy's affright;  
For enormous and weighty and knotted and black  
Was the bludgeon whose blow took its aim at her back.

She tottered and trembled—for terror turned pale—  
But such sad situations 'tis proper to veil—  
Yet before she got home she abused like a Turk  
That unemployed urchin who asked her for work.

J. L. JOYNES.

## INSURRECTION IN BELGIUM.

I.

THE events which have taken place in Belgium since the 18th of March, the anniversary of the Paris Commune, and which still continue, although under slightly altered conditions, certainly deserve that we should endeavour to understand and to explain them, in a manner somewhat different from that which has been done by the papers of the bourgeoisie, the very organs of financial, commercial and industrial feudality.

Belgium is certainly the most extraordinary country in the world; everywhere, in other lands, its liberty, its greatness, its riches are boasted of; all the citizens are equal in the eyes of the law, and all offices alike open to them; liberty of conscience is absolute, and no one can be hindered in any manner whatsoever, from freely expressing his opinion upon all subjects, whether philosophical, political, or economical; its constitution, the palladium of all its liberties, is inviolable and has never been violated; all those privileges which were formerly attached

to birth or wealth, have been abolished; in a word, Belgium, that happiest corner of the earth, envied by the gods, has for more than fifty years existed in joy, comfort and liberty, under the protecting ægis of a king who, having nothing to do at home, devotes his leisure to carrying the benefits and blessings of Belgian civilisation to the unfortunate negro savages of the region of central Africa.

We do not know whether after the events which have so suddenly broken out in this earthly paradise, the buffoons who make it their mission to form public opinion in other countries, will still think and write in their journals that little Belgium is the model of a constitutional country; but we believe that for our part we shall find but little difficulty in proving that in Belgium liberty is a bitter irony, that its greatness only resembles a soap-bubble which a mere breath is sufficient to burst; and that its riches are entirely absorbed by an oligarchy composed of an exceedingly small number of people, who, to the great detriment of the large mass of the nation, are living by theft, fraud, rapine and exaction. There is no country in the world where equality between the citizens exists less than in Belgium; where privileges are more scandalously accumulated in the hands of the few; where the social problem presents itself more formidably and where, unless all the symptoms are deceptive, revolution will break out sooner than anywhere else.

Corruption is the greatest foment of revolution; and it may safely be said that in Belgium the governing, aristocratic and middle-classes are all absolutely corrupted. Power, politics, the magistracy, the political press, both great and small, finance, commerce, industry, literature and science—everything is bought and sold, everything is bartered.

Power is for the highest bidder; this régime of political intrigue and constitutional corruption has so deteriorated the character and the heart, that moral and social decomposition exists there without remedy, and will finish by carrying away everything.

The invasion of political functions by financiers of all sorts, has produced there such confusion that one no longer knows whether he has to do with honest but stupid legislators, or with vulgar stock-jobbers. For more than half a century the Belgian bourgeoisie have plunged themselves up to the neck in the mire of finance, in gambling on the exchange; and there is scarcely a minister, a representative or political man whose name has not been stained by some doubtful association, whose fame has not suffered from his being mixed up in some equivocal transaction. The aristocracy of birth, having shaken off its old prejudices, joins hands with the aristocracy of fortune, and both by mixing politics with finance, government with business, have contrived to cover the country with an inextricable net-work of companies, joint-stock, insurance, banking, agricultural and industrial; with coal and iron and stone, and even mud and dirt companies of all kinds, all set on foot by a "Company of General Improvements," which sustains the political power and is sustained by it. Intrigue, stock-jobbing, trading, speculation, are organised from the top to the bottom of the governmental ladder; the Exchange is the antechamber of the Ministry, and the Ministry is the vestibule of the Bank! Thanks to this system, ambitious people destitute of energy or talent, cynical flatterers and shameless courtiers, divide between themselves places, offices, and "honours," and emulate each other in devouring all who are not traffickers like themselves. The magistracy, the press, literature and science, are at the service of these people and complaisantly cajole their improper combinations. No dignity, no shame, nothing but the immoderate love of money. Science is on the same level as civic intelligence; it only exists in order to invent new ways and means of making business. Literature is a sink where all the vices, whether coarse or attractive, are by turns exhibited for the amusement of that gangrened society which is no longer capable of taking strong, healthy and substantial nourishment. The Belgian bourgeoisie is simply a mob, without ideas and without a conscience; it inspires the heart with disgust, not even with indignation.

A society which has arrived at such a degree of moral and social corruption, cannot exist long, and therefore, also, nothing can prevail against the new society which is organising itself slowly but surely. From time to time, one of these formidable revolts, like the one which has just raged in Belgium, comes to interrupt the tranquillity of the bourgeoisie; these signs are the harbingers of the social tempest, the "Mene, Tekel, Upharsin" of modern times, and will break out again here and there, with more or less force, until one day, the cup of iniquity being full, the destruction will be complete and final.

VICTOR DAVE.

(To be continued.)

One of the saddest things in the terrible struggle for life at the present day is the eagerness with which any "employment" however miserable, is clutched at; so that when the Bourgeois conscience awakes to the fact that some occupation or other is so disgracefully carried on that something must be done to amend it, the victims of the abuse themselves are often among the first to cry out against the interference. The case of the pit-brow women is an example of this: they are prepared to fight tooth and nail in defence of their wretched work, and are being helped in their battle by philanthropists and fine ladies whose imaginations are not strong enough to master the picture of their daughters or themselves working day in day out on such terms. When will the workers at least come to understand the meaning of employing women and children to do work which men can do better, which is simply the reduction of the wages paid to the adult male at the expense of the over-work and degradation of the weaker members of the household; a price not too high to pay for cheap labour, thinks the capitalist, since I don't pay it.

W. M.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## "MODERN MONEY-LENDING."

Bombay, Feb. 24, 1886.

Enclosed is a cutting from a Bombay newspaper of this week, showing how the money-lenders thrive on their trade in India. The man lends ostensibly at 2 per cent per month, but as he secures his interest in advance, he really lends only Rs. 1,710 to be repaid Rs. 3,000 in equal monthly instalments in 20 months. If the Rs. 3,000 were to be paid at the end of the term, the interest would amount to 42 per cent. per annum, but as it is to be repaid in equal instalments of principal and interest, the interest is really doubled, amounting to 84 per cent. per annum. Notice that he will only lend upon "good security," i.e., some one in good position is expected to back the bill. I judge from internal evidence that the person concerned is either a government official or a military officer.

D. GOSTLING.

"A correspondent has sent us the following characteristic letter which he has received from a money-lender in a neighbouring town in reply to an inquiry as to the terms on which he would lend a sum of Rs. 3,000. 'For pure, unadulterated villainy,' the correspondent remarks, 'the letter will be in the first rank.' 'With reference to your letter of 29th January, 1886, we beg to inform you that we shall be very glad to advance you money on the following terms which, we hope, will approve you. Bond for (Rs. 3,000) to be repaid by monthly instalments at (Rs. 150) for 20 months. Interest at 2 per cent. per mensem to be paid in advance (Rs. 1,200) leaves (Rs. 1,800). Deduct commission (Rs. 90) at 3 per cent. on (Rs. 3,000). Net amount (Rs. 1,710). Good security must kindly be given. We shall be highly obliged if you will give us 20 cheques, so as to enable us to draw the 20 instalments through your agent in Bombay, and not to trouble you for the same. If you approve the above terms, we shall send you the rough copy of the bond to be written; and, on receiving the bond, we shall send the money by postal order. Hoping you will complete the transaction.'

## "INTERNATIONALISM."

In claiming so emphatically to be nothing if not "international," I beg to raise the question whether English Socialists have arrived at a "scientific" conception of the term. In other words, have we distinctly realised whether "internationalism" utterly excludes "nationalism," or is founded upon and derived from pure nationalism? I am prepared to maintain the latter alternative; and I do so in strict compliance with the elementary conception of social evolution. The coherency or "solidarity" implied in internationalism must advance *pari passu* with, and must depend upon the differentiation or "heterogeneity" involved in national characteristics. This seems clear upon theoretical grounds, and it opens up the way to that respect and sympathy for national types which I believe nobody can entirely ignore, and which I imagine should be cherished upon considerations of art as well as morals.

Humanity without the picturesque traits of national character would become an unbeautiful monotony, and at the same time, by losing the mutually attractive influences of difference, would lack the connective principle of solidarity itself. Sameness is not solidarity. Race-hatred is accursed of course; away with it! But let us not destroy or despise the local colour and the charm of nationalism.

Rather let the nations say to each other frankly, "Be distinctly Dutch, or English or Scotch or Irish, but all the more be brothers." My purpose is attained if I have made clear the plea for nationalism, which arises from the necessity of discovering and respecting "the principle of good in things evil." I think the plea is good in reason and am sure it is wise in policy.

R. THOMSON.

## CONCERNING THE "COMMONWEAL."

A comrade writes to us, on the naming of the *Commonweal* the "official" organ of the League, a letter which he himself summarises thus:

"1. While agreeing with most that appears in the *Commonweal*, I (and I doubt not many others) absolutely decline to be held responsible or to be expected to agree with all that appears in that paper.

"2. The public invariably hold the whole League responsible for all that appears in their official organ.

"3. It is impossible for any man to be responsible for the utterances of another, unless he has previously fully instructed him, which is clearly impossible in the present case.

"4. Therefore, the title should be changed somewhat in this fashion: 'The *Commonweal*, an exponent of Socialism and organ of the Socialist League.'

The propositions 1, 2, 3, would, I think, meet with general assent from the members of the League. I beg to remind our correspondent that all articles are signed, and therefore those that write them are the only persons fully responsible for the opinions in them, but the editors are responsible for their appearance in the paper. The *Commonweal* is called the "official" organ of the League, because the Editors are responsible to it for the whole conduct of the paper, are appointed by the League, who have the power of making them amend or repudiate in the name of the League anything that seems to militate against our principles. Undoubtedly the Editors would not insert any matter with the opinions of which they did not agree in the main, without making some sign of their disagreement. I must add that it seems to me that the difference between "the organ of the League" and "official organ," is one of words only.

W. M.

Society is barbarous until every industrious man can get his living without dishonest customs.—Ralph W. Emerson.

Many politicians are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim.—T. B. Macaulay.

## THE PEOPLE'S PRESS.

[Under this heading will be found a collection of pithy paragraphs collated from various journals published in the interest of the workers. Comrades and friends are invited to forward cuttings from English and translations from foreign labour journals.]

The truest test of civilisation is not the census, nor the size of the cities, nor the crops—no, but the kind of men the country turns out.—*Hastings* (Mich.) *Journal*.

Is money more sacred than human life? If not, when one is drafted to defend the nation, why should not the other be drafted also, in just and equitable quotas?—*Chicago Express*.

The cranks of the present are the men who have an idea, a thought involving a principle in science, in political economy, or in government, which is not comprehended by those who sneer at them. It is better to be called a crank than a blockhead.—*Carpenter* (Cleveland, O.)

The policy of the government seems to be to take care of the Indians because they make trouble. It will be a cold day for any government when the out-of-work white population comprehend this policy, and they will not be slow to act upon it.—*Labor Leaf*.

"In the castle of Labour dwells Riches." True, but why does not Labour dwell in his own castle? Because at the gate of the castle Riches has placed two giants, Custom and Ignorance. These keep Labour out of his rights. While Riches dwells in Labour's castle, Labour must needs find shelter in Poverty's hovel.—*Labor Leaf*.

There is far too much, even in our own ranks, of the worship of so-called "eminent" and leading men. We think it a great thing when one of this class lets fall a few words seemingly favourable to our cause, forgetful that in the vast majority of cases these lights of politics and society and culture have only gained their positions by truckling and toadying to wealth, and not daring to call their souls their own.—*Palladium of Labor*.

Intense feeling, not correct theory merely, is needed to-day. The ever-growing poverty of the many and its terrible results spring from a social disease. Its most dangerous quality is the power to render its victims blind, indifferent, and helpless. To rouse them to their need is the first work. This done there will be no trouble to find the remedy. It is the lethargy of the masses, benumbed by some fatal spell, that makes the situation menacing.—*Our Country*.

Capital like fire and water is a very good servant but a most cruel master. Capital is the creature of labour and so long as it holds a subordinate position to its creator—so long as capital remains the obedient servant of labour—all will be well. But when this natural order is reversed—when capital becomes the master and labour the servant, as we now find them—then look out for trouble.—*Daily Citizen* (Topeka, Kansas).

Vanderbilt is dead, but the corporations through which he made his money still live. And these corporations will go on legally robbing the wealth-producers, just the same as if Vanderbilt was living. And here is the lesson working-men should learn: Our fight is not against men, but against systems. The axe must be laid at the root of this upas tree, this monarchical system of industry. The power to legally rob must be abolished: peaceably, if we can; forcibly, if we must.—*Labor Leaf*.

The special honour of modern Socialism lies in this, that it has fairly destroyed the economic dogma of Liberalism that free competition is the soul of modern society, and that all is well if the strong, acting within the law of the land, drive the weak to the wall. It is Socialism which has taught the world that trade and commerce, society and political economy must rest on a foundation of sound morals, and that without such a basis modern society would end in a tragic conflagration.—*Boston Beacon*.

Many capitalistic newspapers advise the Knights of Labour—for the sake of their good name—to do away with the nasty practice of boycotting obnoxious employers. That would certainly suit them; but the Knights are not such fools as to cast aside the best weapon within their reach, while the struggle against oppressive employers is becoming more intense. The good name capitalists would allow them to carry, would be a luxurious and expensive article.—*Cincinnati Unionist*.

During the late rise in the Missouri river a man was standing watching the driftwood float past, when he called to several coloured brethren standing by, and said he would give them half of all they fished out. The proposition was too good to be rejected, and the sable spectators went to work with a will. They rescued a lot of the driftwood and divided it, the result of their labour being a good thing for all concerned—particularly good for the man who made the generous offer. The occurrence will seem exceedingly funny to most people, but there is a great deal of work done on what is practically the same plan. The men who stand on the bank and make big-hearted propositions are called financiers, and so they are.—*Leavenworth Journal*.

This reminds us of the story of the white loafer and the negro idling on a wood pile at Nantucket. Says white loafer to negro: "Sam, go get a shovel and basket, go down to the shore and dig a bushel of clams and I'll give you half." And the negro did it. This seems very funny—that anybody should be so foolish; but if you will stop and think you will see that the classes which live by usury, speculation and their wits, giving no equivalent in production for what they enjoy, whether they actually say to the workers of the country, "Make your goods and bring them here and we'll give you half," or not, so manipulate matters as to get their half, all the same.—*Our Country*.

A coat does good service to a growing boy, yet when the lad outgrows the coat, it is cast off for a newer and better-fitting garment. In like manner our coat—the competitive system—has done us good service, but we are getting too big for it; it pinches us in every part, and as the time goes by and we find ourselves still growing, we feel increasing pain and misery from the inconvenience of wearing this old garment. We must therefore cast it off; this is necessary to our comfort, our safety and happiness; nay, to our very lives. Rest assured that if we do not quietly cast off this old garment—and that very soon—it will burst into pieces with a shock that will shake the earth to its very centre. Relief we must have; we cannot much longer stand the strain. The new garment—co-operation—is ready and waiting for us, and it behoves us to give heed to the demands of nature, and the whole human race.—*Labor Enquirer*.

Mr. Chamberlain was much exercised at the anti-democratic nature of the Home Rule Bill at Birmingham the other evening. Nor are we Socialists at all concerned to defend its details, as is said elsewhere in this paper; but when he said that it was ridiculous to suppose that the Irish people would accept it, it is really strange that he was not met by a shout of laughter even in the halls of the Caucus, and the fact seems to show that the Birmingham Radicals are deficient in a sense of humour, and Mr. Chamberlain has the same right to be displeased with them as the teller of a Joe Miller has when one of his audience requests a reasonable explanation of the joke. Mr. Chamberlain knows perfectly well that the Irish people have accepted the Bill, because they understand that whatever shortcomings or follies there may be in it, it is intended to give them the management of their own affairs. Mr. Chamberlain's constituents ought to know, and do know unless they are fools, that this is the very reason why Mr. Chamberlain opposes it. W. M.



## RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

## GERMANY.

The Anti-Socialist Law has been renewed for another two years. That this would be the case was a foregone conclusion, but as the Socialists took care to remark more than once, law or no law the movement will, nay must go on. That it had been practically ineffectual in the past was, indeed, admitted on all sides.

The debate, which lasted over three sittings of the Reichstag, and was as exciting and full of "incident" as an "Irish night" in the House of Commons, has been a tremendous success and triumph, not for the Socialists of Germany alone, but for us all. "The doctrine" has never been more admirably, more boldly preached, more thoroughly and with less high falutin'. The Anti-Socialist Law prohibits Socialist meetings; Herr Puttkammer (Minister of the Interior) declared that so great had been the effect of Bebel's speech at a Berlin meeting which he had not prohibited by way of experiment, that for the future, "so long as he had the honour to watch over the execution of this law, Bebel, *except from this tribune*, would not again be allowed to speak in public in Berlin." But "this tribune" is there, and not all Bismarck's Puttkammers can prevent thousands from reading the reports of this debate, and consequently of some of the best speeches ever made, even by Bebel and Liebknecht.

Of course the Commune and the "murder of the hostages" were trotted out. Equally, of course, reference was made to Nihilism, Belgian riots, London riots, etc. Bismarck became quite pathetic about the horrors of a "Communist state of society." In his opinion "life," under these Communist conditions, "will be valueless, and I shall be grateful if you will take mine," he said, "before it comes about. . . . Existence will be wretched . . . before you attain your ideal, shoot me, with all well-thinking men." But even if he wished it very much I don't think we could oblige him in this way. He is too valuable a coadjutor. Then he went on to speak of the bold bad Socialists and their aims. They—these wicked Socialists—have "no higher aims, no nobler strivings; they have no hope in another life, but look upon enjoyment in this as their sole object, and they therefore promise their followers a life of enjoyment; they want to get as much enjoyment out of life as possible, and they want to make that enjoyment *as common to all as possible*. Socialists want equality of enjoyment, and because our present Society does not give this equality they want another Society, in order to bring about this equality of enjoyment." Bismarck must really have been exceptionally drunk or exceptionally sober when he put the question so well.

The old "Communist Manifesto" was largely quoted, especially to prove that Socialists want to "abolish marriage" and "have women in common." Liebknecht thereupon read a passage from the manifesto on bourgeois marriage and bourgeois morality, which I hope the virtuous and moral gentlemen enjoyed.

That good, gentle Christian, perjurer and Jew-baiter, Chaplain Stöcker, was also much to the fore, and helped to enliven the debate considerably. The Socialists reminded him more than once that having been proved to have committed perjury he was not the man to show himself among decent-minded people at all. They also told him he was a "liar," that to be compared to him was "an insult," that he was "one of the most contemptible of creatures," and other pretty things, more accurate than polite. But for my own part I feel grateful to the gentle pastor. As usual, he could not speak without dragging in the Jews, and he bore such testimony to the good work they are doing for Socialism, to the "extraordinary percentage of them" among the Nihilists, that, I repeat, I am personally very grateful to him.

It is to be hoped that the speeches of Bebel (he spoke three or four times) and of Liebknecht and Vollmar will be published in pamphlet form. Bismarck declared the Socialists had no programme, but these very speeches set forth that programme very clearly. I regret that I cannot here give them. The whole drift of them was to point out that this social revolutionary movement is not one that is "made" by any few men, but is a historical development and necessity; that this revolution must come, and that it means the expropriation of the present exploiters of labour, of the bourgeois class, itself the outcome of revolutions; that all this tinkering called "social reform" is of no avail, because if it were genuine it would mean really the same as the dreaded "revolution." Bebel concluded a speech with these words: "Whatever you may do, we have this conviction, our party will grow, it will develop, and we shall force the State and Society to do justice to our demands, till at last in one way or the other a Socialistic State of Society is realised." Liebknecht concluded his speech thus: "We are reproached with wanting to make a revolution. But revolutions are not MADE. . . . We are in the very midst of revolution. Look back for the last twenty years . . . everywhere revolution, upheavals, constant changes. And if you see what has happened in the past, I beg you also to look forward. . . . Of course I can see into the future as little as yourselves, but this I know, *what exists to-day will not exist then*. . . . Every one must be responsible for his own acts. I will only cry this to you. To your pity we do not appeal, the result (on the voting of the law) is indifferent to us, we shall conquer anyhow. Do your worst, it will be for our best! And the more insensate your rage, the more rapidly will it draw towards an end with you; the pitcher goes often to the well, but is broken at last!"

Among other things Bismarck took occasion to state that he "did not know whether Marx had bred murderers, but this he had heard, that the man, of whose shots he still bore the scars, was a pupil of Marx's." To this statement my sister Laura Lafargue and I have sent a short reply to Herr Bismarck, in which we point out that the fright our dead father inspired in him was quite unnecessary; that he never saw poor young Ferdinand Blind after he was 12 or 13 years old; that all the objects Blind could have had in courageously braving death by firing at Herr Bismarck were of complete indifference to our father; that like his master and model Louis Bonaparte, Bismarck was to Marx only a comic personage, useful perhaps as involuntary accomplice of the proletarian revolution; finally that the ridiculous idea that a man like Marx could have spent his time "breeding assassins" only proves how right Marx was to see in Bismarck nothing but a Prussian clodhopper, who despite his cunning is utterly incapable of understanding no matter what great historical movement. E. M. A.

## ITALY.

Last week seven Anarchists were condemned by the tribunal of Massa Carrara to several terms of imprisonment, under the imputation of criminal

association, a formula invented by the Government to reach all those Anarchists, who, although they have not rendered themselves liable for any special offences, are active enough in their propaganda to give umbrage to the authorities.

At Pavia, several thousands of peasants went on strike, asking no more than 1fr. 40c. per day; but the Government, *more solito*, interfered, arrested seventeen leaders (who were treacherously invited to go and explain their reasons to the Municipality, and were retained under arrest), and put by force an end to the strike—at any rate, a temporary end.

At Mantua, during the Easter holidays, a Socialistic Congress will be held. S. M.

## LITERARY NOTICES.

*The Anarchist*, as announced in No. 14, will represent Communist-Anarchism for the future, Comrade Seymour acknowledging in manly fashion the untenability of his former individual viewpoint.

*My Royal Father, a Story for Women*. 3 Vols. (White and Co., Southampton Street).—An evidently intimate acquaintance with South African life, which enables him to look upon "civilisation" from an outside viewpoint, combined with keen insight, render Mr. J. S. Little's novel most interesting as a social study. The artificially false relations between the sexes, the conventional trammels that surround our most ordinary actions, the foul corruption and sycophantic hypocrisy that pass current for morality, are trenchantly laid bare, with some striking revelations of the real depth and sublimity of life. Apart from a slight prolixity, and tendency to labored diction, the work is well written and will repay perusal.

*A Brief Sketch of the First French Revolution, 1789-1794* (W. H. Allen and Co.) is one of those mournful productions which bespeak either malevolent ignorance or shameless venality on the part of their compilers. It is intended, according to a naïve admission in the preamble, "for the benefit of those who have not leisure or inclination to read in full the history of that dreadful time." All the rulers are "good" and "noble," the rebels "human monsters," "infuriated demagogues." Yet the author speaks of the "real solid grievances of the honestly industrial poor" without a word that would tend to show the slightest desire to redress the said grievances save in the "ruffians" and "cut-throats," who throughout are denounced as having no aim beyond "indulging to the full their love of destruction." But it is when the moral is to be pointed and a lesson deduced for the workers of to-day that this inflated fustian becomes most pronounced. The questions are gravely asked "Will the utter ruin of those whose *numerous desires* now furnish you with employment benefit you?" "Abolish the rich, with their tastes and luxuries, and who will buy anything but the plainest of food and clothing?" and the workers are expected to see that the abolition of the parasite class that now prey upon their labour would injure them! The workers are further told, "You think that when money and land are taken from their owners and divided equally, you and your fellows will be placed above the need of employment. Do not believe it." A convenient forgetfulness is here shown of the fact that it is not an indefinite "sharing-up" that is contended for, but the control by the community of the means for production and distribution of wealth, so that to each may be secured the full fruits of his labour.

We have also received *Leasehold Aggrandisement and Freehold Disfranchisement* (Liberty and Property Defence League).—*As Bodas Reaes*, by J. Carrilho Videira (De la Rosa, Lisbon).—*Manifesto of Christian Socialist Society* (Reeves, Fleet Street).—*Indicators v. Book-keeping* (Bale and Sons, Oxford Street).

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

## Notice to Members.

*General Meeting*.—On Monday May 24, at 8.30 p.m. Council meets at 7.30.

*Library*.—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

*Reading Room*.—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. All papers received by the Secretary are sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members.

*Annual Conference*.—Whitsunday, June 13. Attention of Branches is especially called to Rule V. (pages 3 and 4 Constitution and Rules).

All members changing their address are earnestly requested to send notice either to Branch secretaries or to Secretary of the League.

London members not yet belonging to any Branch are informed that a Clerkenwell Branch is in process of formation at the Central Office, to which, or to some other Branch, they must join themselves if they desire to be represented at the coming Conference.

## Notice to Lecturers and Branch Secretaries.

To avoid confusion and mistake, lecturers and Branch secretaries are requested to at once advise the Lecture Secretary of all engagements made by them. Branches will find it more convenient to make their arrangements with speakers through the Lecture Secretary, who will undertake to make all necessary announcements unless otherwise instructed.

## REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

Comrades Lane and Morris were appointed by the Council on March 29, to represent the League upon an International Committee to consider the Belgian troubles. A manifesto in French and Dutch was issued by the committee and a Concert has been arranged, advertisement of which will be found on eighth page.

A new Branch has been formed at Hackney, where there is every prospect of success.

The Bradford, Leeds, and Dublin Branches have been visited during the month by Comrade Morris, an article by whom, recounting his experiences, will appear in next issue.

Norwich has held an "Easter Campaign" with the assistance of Comrades Kit and Mowbray, which has been attended with most gratifying results. Our comrades started work on Friday morning, and right through to Monday night, held two meetings daily. The Sunday afternoon meeting in the market-place was attended by over 1,000 persons. The interest shown by both men and women on all hands has been very encouraging, and will repay our Norwich friends for the great efforts they have made.

Other Branches would find it beneficial to arrange for speakers to visit them at holiday times when excursion trains offer such facilities for travel.  
It is suggested to all Branches that they form committees for the purpose of looking up members who fall in arrears or fail to attend.  
Secretaries of Branches are asked to note day for sending in weekly report, so that it may be inserted in current number.  
A leaflet (No. 9) has been issued entitled, "Shall Ireland be Free?" of which over 5,000 have already been distributed in different parts of the country.  
The Concert which was to have taken place on Saturday 24th April, is postponed to Saturday May 5.  
H. S. S.

One of our comrades of the Mile-end Branch, J. Slodden, has been out of employment for three months, having been discharged because of his article upon "East End Workers" in the July number of the *Commonweal*. A benefit has been got up for him, tickets for which may be obtained at this office or from the Mile-end Branch.

FRENCH AND BELGIAN MINERS.

A Concert in aid of the Fund for the relief of the French and Belgian miners in distress, will be given at South Place Chapel on Saturday May 1, at 8 p.m. Front seats, 5s. Side rows, 2s. 6d. Admission, 1s. Tickets may be obtained at the Office of the League.

"THE COMMONWEAL."

This number constitutes the first of the weekly series, and with it is given a cartoon. In future the *Commonweal* will be ready every Thursday afternoon at 3 o'clock. A special effort should now be made by every one to extend the circulation of the paper. Terms of subscription are favourable and should result in a large increase in the number of subscribers. At the same time, our friends would materially assist us by sending labour and trade notes from their different localities.

LECTURE DIARY.

HALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Sunday Evening Lectures, 7.30.

May 2. R. Banner, "The Fraud of Politics." 9. J. Lane, "Will Land Nationalisation alone benefit the Workers?"

Wednesday Evening Lectures, 8.30.

May 5. W. Chambers, "The Socialist League Manifesto." 12. W. Morris, "Art and Labour."

BRANCH MEETING ROOMS.

LONDON.

- Bloomsbury**—Business meeting at central office every Wednesday at 7.30.
- Croydon**—County Hotel, near West Croydon Station. Sundays at 8 p.m. Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.
- Hoxton** (L. E. L.)—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday evenings at 7.45. May 2. W. Chambers, "Ireland." 9. C. Wade, "Faith, Hope and Charity."
- Hammersmith**—Kelmiscott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m.
- Hackney**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Hackney.
- Merton**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.
- Mile-end**—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. May 4. J. Quintin, "The Over-population Chimera," a challenge to Malthusians.
- North London**—Communications to R. A. Beckett, St. Mildred's House, Poultry, E.C.
- South London**—Business meetings at 103 Bird-in-bush Road, on Sundays at 7.30.

PROVINCIAL.

- Birmingham**—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30. All are invited.
- Bradford**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Kirkgate. Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Sympathisers invited.
- Dublin**—30 Great Brunswick Street. Every Tuesday at 7.45 p.m.
- Edinburgh** (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.
- Glasgow**—Neilson's Hotel, Ingram Street, every Saturday at 7 p.m. Lectures and discussions. All are invited.
- Leeds**—54, Myrtle Street. Meets every Tuesday at 8 p.m.
- Leicester**—Secular Hall, Humberstone Gate. Every Sunday at 3 o'clock.
- Manchester**—County Forum. Fridays, at 8 p.m.
- Norwich**—Gordon Café. Every Monday at 8 p.m.
- Royston**—"Greyhound Inn." Every Sunday evening at 7.30.
- Oldham**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Meets every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m. The Secretary will be happy to give lectures on Socialism to any of the Liberal and Radical Clubs in the town and neighbourhood; address 57 Landsdowne Road, Chadderton, Oldham. Comrade Tod, 73 Book Street, off Ashton Road, will be glad to see or hear from *bond fide* inquirers.
- Oxford**—"The Temperance," Pembroke Street, St. Aldates. Every Monday at 8.30 p.m.

OPEN AIR PROPAGANDA.

(For the week ending Saturday May 5th.)

LONDON.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
S. 2.	Canning Town	11.30	S. Mainwaring	Central.
	Edgware Road—Bell Street	11.30	H. Barker	Marylebone.
	Hammersmith Mall	11.30	C. W. Mowbray	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield St.	11.30	H. Graham	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	R. Banner	Mile-end.
	Regent's Park	11.30	H. Burcham	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	W. Chambers	N. London.
	Hyde Park	3.30	C. W. Mowbray	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	A. K. Donald	Hackney.
	Euston Road—Osseltown St.	7.30	W. Chambers	N. London.
Tu. 4.	Soho—Broad Street	8	T. Wardle	Bloomsbury.
	Kingsland Road Arches	8	H. Graham	Hoxton.
W. 5.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield St.	8	H. Barker	Hoxton.
Th. 6.	Mile-end Waste	8	C. W. Mowbray	Mile-end.
F. 7.	Hackney Rd.—Triangle	8	C. W. Mowbray	Hoxton.

PROVINCES.

- Hulme**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, 7 p.m.
- Leeds**—Vicar's Croft, Sunday morning. Woodhouse and Hunslet Moors in the afternoon.
- Manchester**—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.
- Oldham**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

*Notice to Workmen's Clubs and Institutes.*—The Lecturers for the Socialist League will visit any part of London free of charge. Special arrangements must be made for the provinces. Early application should be made to the Lecture Secretary, at the offices of the League, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

**Bristol**—SOCIALIST UNION (Bristol Section).—Every Thursday night at 8, at St. Philip's Coffee Tavern, 58 West Street. On Thursday April 1, C. Fitzgerald, of London, gave us a lecture, subject, "The Bread and Butter Question; or Why Should the Workers Starve." There was a good audience, and the frequent applause which was given testified to the great feeling of sympathy with all the speaker said. On April 8, H. Rogers lectured on "Rent and Interest the two Vampires of Modern Society." He showed that under these two names the life-blood of the workers is being sucked from them by men who are worse than useless to the community. A good discussion followed, in which a young student from Oxford took part, of course defending the orthodox political economy. At an adjourned discussion on April 15th, our Oxford friend came to open the discussion, and did a bit of special pleading for the existing system. He relied on the over-population theory, but it proved only a broken reed when our comrades Rogers and Sharland replied to him.—R. WEARE, hon. sec.

**Liverpool**—THE WORKERS' BROTHERHOOD.—Wood Street Assembly Room. May 20, 8 p.m., Councillor Threlfall, President of last Trades Union Congress, on "Eight Hours." *Open-air*.—Old Haymarket, Sundays, 3.30.—R. F. E. WILLIS, hon. sec.

**Sheffield Socialists**.—An excellent lecture was delivered by John Sketchley of Birmingham before a good audience at Sheffield on Tuesday March 30; subject, "Why the Workers are in Poverty." The lecturer showed the futility of the current explanations—"over-population," "drink," etc.—pointed out the enormous increase of wealth during the last forty years, and proved convincingly by statistics that if this wealth were only justly distributed, the financial condition of the workers would be three or four times as good as it is now. He also brought further figures showing what a frightful burden the landlord and capitalist classes constitute on the industry of the country, and explained very clearly the value and uses of a paper currency. Mrs. Besant delivered a lecture at Attercliffe on Sunday evening, April 11, entitled, "Why I am a Socialist," which was enthusiastically received, and resulted in the formation of an Attercliffe Branch of the Sheffield Socialists.—E. C.

WHERE TO GET THE "COMMONWEAL."

LONDON.

- Old Ford Road—Roberts, 4; Caudle, 139.
- Globe Road—Poole, 24; Caudle, 241; Brown, 253.
- Mile End Road—174. Haines, 212; W. Cole, 84.
- New St., Bedford St., wholesale agent; Hendry, 6 Jubilee Street.
- Commercial Road—C. A. Schweitzer, 43; Viney, 115; Busby Brothers, 184; Long, 234; Briggs, 244.
- Whitechapel Road—Kerby, 118; Eades, 219; J. Brown, 18 Bakers Row.
- Hackney Road—Miller, 15; Wood, 103; Smith, 182; C. Ell, 443; Hammond, Goldsmith Row; Auckland, 4 Bishops Road; Vale, 4 Bonner Road.
- Mare St., Hackney—J. Yates, 4 West Street.
- Bishopsgate—E. T. Pendrill, 26 Brushfield St.
- Fleet Street—Freethought Publishing Co., 63; Reeves, 185; Cattel & Co., Bouverie St.
- Strand—Pitt, 30 Newcastle St.
- Farringdon St.—Progressive Publishing Co., 23 Stonecutter St.
- Comrade Wm. Blundell, 14, Camden Passage, Islington, N. Agent for Socialist League publications.
- High Holborn—Truelove, 256.
- Long Acre—Hebard, 49 Endsley St.
- Clerkenwell—Berg, 32 Arlington St.; Bartlett, 19 Garnault Pl.; Lill, 13 Tysoe St.; Lovell, 8 Upper Gloucester St.; F. Jakes, 14 Benjamin St., Red Lion St.; Edwards, 119 Rosoman St.
- Holloway Road—Miller, 76.
- Islington—Gee, 56 Upper Street.
- Bloomsbury—Manly, 113 Cleveland St., Fitzroy Square; Bard, 20 Cleveland St., Middlesex Hospital; Mrs. H. Hanstam, 51 Charlotte St., Goodge St., Tottenham Court Road; Mrs. Brown, 4 Charlotte Place, Goodge St.; W. Rawlinson, 12 Castle Street, East; C. Gardiner, 17 Little Windmill Street, W.; Kempton, 68 Great Russell St.
- Marylebone—W. Roberts, 18 Bell St., Edgware Road.

PROVINCES.

- BIRMINGHAM**—J. Sketchley, 348 Cheapside.
- BRADFORD**—G. Minty, 3 Crab St. Hall Lane.
- BRISTOL**—Morris, Narrow Wine St.
- DUBLIN**—J. J. Lalor, North Earl St.
- EDINBURGH**—B. Given, 20 Bristo St.; Robinson, Greenside St.
- GALASHIELS**—The News Stall, Princess St.
- GLASGOW**—R. Ferguson, Ingram St.; W. Porteous & Co., Royal Exchange Pl.; Mrs. Thomson, St. Enoch Sq.; Walter Scott & Co., 4 Bridge St.; J. Tollins, 5 Main St., Bridgeton; W. Stewart, 94 Canning St., Calton; W. Winning, 270 Crown St.
- HAWICK**—J. Finlay, High St.; J. C. Goodfellow, High St.
- HULL**—H. Witty, Suffolk Row, Wincolmllee.
- HAVERHILL** (Suffolk)—Chovens & Son, High St.
- LEEDS**—T. Maguire, 54 Myrtle Street.
- LEICESTER**—Secular Hall.
- LIVERPOOL**—Landing Stage; Stocker, 27 Vauxhall Road; Tibbs, 11 St James Place; F. Bacon, Prescott St.
- MANCHESTER**—R. Unwin (wholesale) 37 Queen's Road, Queen's Park; Watts, 43 Charles St., Oxford Road.
- NORTHAMPTON**—W. Brain, 16 Little Cross St.
- OLDHAM**—J. Salway, 64 Falcon St. off Ashton Road.
- OXFORD**—English, 38 St. Ebbe's St.; Miss Foy 5 The Plain, St. Clement's.
- SOUTHAMPTON**—E. Binning, 45 Belle Vue Road.
- RAWLINGS**, 60 East St.

ABROAD.

- NEW YORK... Julius Bordollo, Labor News Agency, 1267 Broadway.
- PARIS... Courchinoux Fils, 19 Rue Bullant.
- HOTTINGEN ZURICH... Volksbuchhandlung.

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REVOLUTIONARY RHYMES AND SONGS FOR SOCIALISTS. Fifteen selections. 1d.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE, at 13 Farringdon Road, London.

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 17.

SATURDAY, MAY 8, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

In ordinary political matters there are at present but two subjects wherein any one pretends to take any interest in this country—the Irish question and the Greek. The general English public know next to nothing about the first, and nothing about the second. Yet it is not uncommon to find people more interested (even though quite ignorant) in the Greek question than the Irish, probably because they expect, or have expected, the dramatic entertainment of a war for which they will not have to pay. As to the Irish question, the so-called educated classes stick with great fidelity to the opinions of their favourite newspapers, and by this time have learned to conduct an “argument” on the subject by those means—the whole operation being called the “formation of public opinion.”

Meantime that opinion seems to be setting somewhat in favour of Mr Gladstone's Bill, in spite of the shrill and almost triumphant cry of the parliamentary people and their hacks that it was doomed. One is fain to hope that the reason for this is that another and more genuine opinion, or instinct rather, is acting on the leader-made “public opinion,” and that a real undercurrent of popular feeling is at work, and is teaching the people to see through the elaborately-woven veil of pretences to wisdom, foresight, and statesmanship that is hiding a mere lust for conquest and greed of exploitation in the great mass of our “respectable” classes about this Irish business. If this is so it is well, because, as I pointed out last week, it is not the details of Gladstone's Bill that we need note, but whether the Irish people see their independence in it; and the cheerful acceptance of that independence by the English working-class (the opinions of no other class are of any importance to us) would mean a great blow to Jingoism, which is one of the great foes of the Revolution, and which has already been sorely shaken by the disgraces of recent piratical wars waged by the Gladstone as well as by the Tory governments.

One cannot, however, ignore the fact that there is one thing which makes it probable that the democratic side of Liberalism will accept Irish independence—to wit, worship of Mr Gladstone. The enthronement of a temporary and most powerful king, to which (strange irony of history!) democracy, as opposed to Socialism, tends, is certainly all too obvious in this case. Nay, it is not to be thought that the burst of hero-worship which the Irish themselves have expressed towards this G. O. M. is hypocritical: they are clearly touched at so great a man condescending to befriend their contemned race. Who can wonder at this? Individually we are weak, poor, ignorant; as democrats we have not learned to understand the power of combination inspired by principle and a high ideal, or how it can transform the man whom it draws out of the slough of grovelling individualism: therefore we naturally feel grateful to a man on whom all eyes are fixed, if from his pedestal of greatness he will condescend to half-adopt, and half-spoil in adopting, the very ideas which we have forced him to express for us. Democracy while it lasts will never be free from this hero-worship, and all the traps which the heroes (poor devils!) wittingly and unwittingly lead their worshippers into. Socialism alone will give us manly independence of thought, which, again, can alone lead to harmonious action, instead of machine-made policy.

Meantime, all the hints at alternative measures to Home Rule mean nothing more nor less than the retention of our English Poland, whether they are put forward by Conservatives, Liberals, or Radicals. Provincial councils *we*, at least, should not find fault with, if they were intended to be genuine and independent; in that case they would educate people towards the condition of the free federation of free communes, which is the only solution of politics. But these “light and leading” provincial councils are just meant to choke off the demand for practical independence, which naturally is the only thing which the Irish demand. They are not meant to deal with anything on principle; they are, in fact, to be enlarged *vestries*.

Of course this means a desperate attempt to shunt the land question—which cannot be shunted. We may well believe Mr. Wilfrid Blunt when he says that it cannot be put off for even six months; matters, he says, are growing so desperate that the landlords are hard at work evicting, as if with the consciousness that their time is drawing near; and they are using their power even though its exercise rather damages than forwards their money interests. In short, it is high time that Mr. Chamberlain should leave his dreams of a possible

Radical Ireland, and that the Liberal Associations should leave off babbling pedantry about representation and taxation and the “expulsion” of the Irish members (expulsion of a man from prison!), and find out what form the Irish will accept in order to look to their own affairs.

As to the Land Purchase Bill, it provides a monstrous compensation for the Robbers of Ireland; and one would think that landlords would break their necks almost in their hurry to run to meet it; but it does not seem that they will. Perhaps they feel it as such a joke that they should be compensated for the glorious times that they have had at other people's expense, that they cannot help thinking there is something else behind it, and can scarcely believe in the reality of the English money with which Mr. Gladstone is bribing them to take themselves off from Ireland. To us all this matters little so long as in England and elsewhere landlords sit awaiting the compensation which Democracy may one day offer them; while capitalists compensate themselves by the daily and hourly robbery of labour. That the Irish accept in any way this Bill, shows probably that they consider it a mere futile and temporary experiment, which will not interfere with their dealing with the matter in their own way.

Mr. Matthew Arnold's paper in the *Nineteenth Century* is noteworthy, though not for its own sweet sake; for it is not worthy of the author's reputation as a clever essayist with an occasional gleam of insight. It is in fact a piece of Whig commonplace, such as may be seen in any Whig organ by the dozen, but helped out somewhat (not much) by adroitness and neatness of style. But as showing whitherward “Sweetness and light” are drifting, it is of interest, since it is Mr. Arnold's manner of doing what Professor Huxley has recently done more emphatically, to wit, declaring formally for Reaction, as perhaps a pensioner is bound to do in the long run.

If any of our friends may happen to think Arnold's views on the Irish question are original and valuable, they had better refer to the passages in which he openly advocates the suppression of the rights of public meeting, or note his newborn admiration for the King of Pettifoggers, Bismarck. Though perhaps he is not wrong in elevating that “buffoon,” as one of our comrades called him in the *Commonweal* last week, into the rank of the statesmen, when one considers the history of those pests of the human race. Well, it is what was to be expected. Since Mr. Arnold has sorely developed the prig in him since his early days, it is natural that he should at last distinctly put forward the Prig Government: and yet it is sad that a man who once had a genuine, though not copious poetic gift, should narrow himself to the limits of such a poor world of pedantry and hypocrisy as the cultured middle-class is; that culture should greatly ignore the struggles and aspirations of the greater part of humanity, and elect at last to live and die in a flunkey's coat.

As to Greece, it was clear from the first that she was to be coerced into peace if it suited the robber powers of Eastern Europe who use England as a cat's paw. It is not worth while even to think about the dark and tortuous intrigues which have been at work in the matter, further than noting them as part of the general ignominy of European “statesmanship” to which we are forced to submit. The robber powers nearest to these weak Eastern European peoples will of course take any advantage that they can, amidst their first business of keeping down their own populations, of the development of the energies of those peoples. It is to be hoped that intrigue will fail in stimulating them into artificial outbreaks founded on unhappy race prejudices. The true opportunity for the development of Eastern Europe will be found when that war begins which will lead to Revolution: a war which is bound to be the outcome of the blatant scoundrelism of the robbers aforesaid.

Says Mr. Gladstone in his latest address to his constituents: “*The adverse host then consists of class and the dependents of class.*” This might serve as a motto for us, only we should mean something by it that Mr. Gladstone does not: he still imagines a compact Tory party and a compact Liberal one in the main, though the latter may suffer from occasional secessions. He does not see that the march of events towards real freedom is forcing men to declare themselves, that they are being frightened out of their hypocrisy. Yet his sentence is true, and coming from a bourgeois Prime Minister has even a prophetic ring about it. We accept it, but in its literal meaning, which probably is not quite Mr. Gladstone's.

WILLIAM MORRIS.



## THE COMMERCIAL HEARTH.

Throne, the altar, and the hearth—the political emblem, the religious emblem, and the social emblem—have long constituted the mystic trinity to which appeal is made when popular class-sentiment is required to be invoked against influences, disintegrative of the status quo. In the bourgeois world of to-day the first two terms may be sometimes modified. The middle-class man's respect for the throne may be more or less diluted; he may even prefer to substitute for it the presidential chair, but in either case it is the "law"—the legal system of a class-society—which is typified; to the altar he might possibly prefer the "Bible", by which he would wish to be understood Protestant dogmas without the inconveniences of direct sacerdotal domination. Such slight modifications of the original formulæ as these, matter little, however, since in any case the old feudal sentiment for the liege temporal and spiritual has been long since dead. The old formula may, therefore, be conveniently adopted as an impression of the three phases of the modern world, which its votaries are so jealous of preserving. Beneath throne, altar, and hearth, in their present form, all Socialists know that there lies the market. They know that the market is the bed-rock on which the throne, the altar, and the hearth of the 19th century rest, and that once this bed-rock be shattered the said throne, altar, and hearth will be doomed.

Respecting the throne and the altar we have not much to say in the present article. It is with the bulwark of social life, the hearth, otherwise expressed as modern family-life, that we are here chiefly concerned. We refer more especially to the family life whose special architectural expression is the suburban villa. This is the ideal of the middle-class family of a "lower," i.e., poorer degree, while in those of a "higher," i.e., richer degree, its characteristics are exaggerated into the rank luxuriance symbolised in the brand-new country mansion. Let us consider briefly the characteristics of the suburban villa in its daily life and surroundings, much as we would that of some ancient people, as thus:—(1) Household Ways; early morning (item 1) Prayers. (2) Breakfast. (3) Departure of Paterfamilias and sons to business. Journey beguiled by morning papers and conversation resembling for the most part undigested "leaders" from same. (N.B.—The modern journalist is, as it were, the cook who boils down and seasons up into a presentable *entrée* the "dead cats" of middle-class prejudice). (4) At home the wife and daughters, after a possible feint at domestic duties, prepare for "shopping." (5) "Shopping," the main occupation in the day for the middle-class female, being over, luncheon follows, then calls, then afternoon tea. (6) Return of paterfamilias, more or less wearied with his daily round of laboriously endeavoring to shift money from his neighbour's pocket into his own, wearied, i.e., and degraded, with doing no useful work whatever. (7) Evening taken up with sleep, or conversation on the affairs of the family, together with its relations and connections, varied with the indifferent performance of fashionable music and the perusal of "current" literature. The above, we contend, is a fair picture of the type toward which the daily life of the average English middle-class family gravitates. We have said English, inasmuch as the commercial system has been more potent in its effect on English domestic life than on that of any other European people; but the same tendency to vapidness, inanity, pseudo-culture, which is the worst form of lack of refinement, obtains to a greater or less extent wherever a commercial middle-class exists. A few words now on the art, the literature, the sentiment, moral and religious, of the class in question.

First, as to the house decoration. Not to speak of furniture proper, what do we see on the walls? Art embodied in "furniture," pictures, among them oftentimes the terrible counterfeit presentment of connections of the family, which, were there a vestige of taste left in the household management, would never be exposed to the gaze even of the casual visitor. The superficiality of average middle-class culture is painfully illustrated in the complete ignorance displayed by the bourgeois man or woman as to the ugliness or commonplaceness of his or her relations. We quite admit that the ancestors or "connections" of a family may have a certain historical importance for those interested in its natural history, but save in a very few cases the interest attaching to them is limited to this. Now we contend that this does not justify the obtrusion of what is intrinsically disagreeable. There is, undoubtedly, considerable historical interest in Captain Burton's "Arabian Nights," but, inasmuch as there is that in it which is intrinsically unpleasant, the man of sensibility keeps it reserved under lock and key for private perusal. True, "culture" gives a man the power of rising above the standpoint of his immediate interests, and of taking an objective view of things. It may be too much to expect of a man ever to see himself as others see him, but surely he might see his relations as others see them.

Apart from portraits, what other art does our middle-class parlour present? "Reproductions" by processes varying in badness according to the length of the family purse. In some cases these mechanical reproductions may be of the old masters, in which case they are perhaps the best thing procurable in the way of art. But for the artist it is surely a melancholy best when art in the family is represented by such. Again, let us take furniture and household decorations. A visit to any large upholsterer's shop will suffice to show the superficiality of the varnish of "taste" in matters decorative, even where absolute sordidness does not prevail. But the English lower middle-class family-parlour, or the never-entered drawing-room of the next grade! Can the "family" which has produced these things be in any way worth preserving?

If it be thought that its art and furniture are only superficial, local, and temporary accidents of the modern family, it is only necessary to turn to the rest of its products, to be convinced how very constantly everything connected with it hangs together. Its literature may be divided into two classes—the variable and the constant. The first consists in the circulating library three-volume novel, in which one section of middle-class womanhood delights; the second in "books" designed for "family reading" mostly of a moral or religious tendency, got up in bright colors and gilt leaves, and available at every suburban or provincial bookseller's or stationer's shop, in which another section delights. This class of literature, by the production of which many clergymen of insufficient stipend, and spinsters with disordered organic functions, gain a livelihood, was until the last few years the sole kind certain to be available in the typical middle-class "home." Its way of life, it must be admitted, has fallen somewhat into the sere and yellow leaf of late, but it flourishes more or less still, as the publishing firms of Griffith and Farran, Nisbet and Co., the Religious Tract Society, and even Cassell, Petter and Galpin, will testify.

Closely connected with this subject is that of religious practices. Religion in one or other of its forms is a staple ingredient of bourgeois family life in this country. It constitutes the chief amusement of the women of the family, who find in Sunday-school teaching, district visiting, bazaars, etc., a virtuous mode of relieving themselves of the ennui which otherwise could not fail to overtake their empty lives. The singular part of it is that with all the attempts of these respectable unfortunates to enlighten and elevate the "poor," there is an entire absence of all suspicion that they themselves need enlightening and elevating. Of late years, we note, as a sign of the times, that there has been a tendency to modification of the teaching from theology to economy. Evangelicism with its "conversions," its "changes of heart," has fallen decidedly flat of late, even with that half-educated middle-class, which some quarter of a century ago were its most prominent votaries. It is tacitly acknowledged to be out of date. Its catchwords, moreover, now that they have been dragged through the Salvation Army, and had to serve as convenient trade-marks for tea, sugar, and other groceries, and, in fact, make themselves generally useful to the enterprising firm of Booth and Sons, look decidedly the worse for wear. After the appearance in a provincial town (as reported in the newspapers some time ago) of the ingenious advertisement of a Salvation Army meeting, running, "Why give 10d. a pound for mutton when you can get the lamb of God for nothing?" the well-known phrase is perhaps deemed to be somewhat spoiled for the ministrations of the respectable wife or daughter. There is the possible danger of getting "mixed-up" with the "army" and its proceedings. Be this as it may, the fact remains that "thrift," "teetotalism," "industry," and the rest of the economic virtues, are superseding "immediate repentance," "coming to the Saviour," etc., as the subjects for exhortation in the visitation of the poor.

But however unfashionable the old dogmatics may become, there is one institution which will certainly hold its own so long as the bourgeois family lasts, and that is the "place of worship." In contemporary British social life the church or chapel is the rendezvous or general club for both sexes; it is the centre of many minds, round which the melancholy institution of the suburban or provincial evening party circulates. It is the *bureau de mariage* for the enterprising youth who goes to business to qualify for "success in life," and the commercial virgin anxious to be settled, to meet and form connections. Besides all this, it serves the purpose of a fashionable lounge, where the well-dressed may disport themselves and make physiognomical observations if that way inclined. So, all things considered, the "place of worship" may watch unconcernedly the decay of dogma so long as the "great middle-class" maintains its supremacy—in this country at least.

E. BELFORT BAX.

(To be concluded).

## THE BENEVOLENT BOURGEOIS.

THIS is an interesting study from life. The benevolent middle-class man. His works can be seen around us. To him are due the hospitals, workhouses, penitentiaries, and jails, which are the pride and glory of middle-class civilisation. The hospitals are for the workman who has been injured in the factory, or blood-poisoned in the slums, of course by no fault of his kind and indulgent master, and for the workman's wife, so that she may undergo a course of humane vivisection at the hand of the surgeon for the benefit of the young students, that they may understand how to treat the higher members of the human family, the female relatives of the benevolent man.

The workhouse is for the aged workman, borne down, broken before his time by excessive toil and privation.

The penitentiary for the work-girl who has fallen, possibly, through the insufficient wages paid by the amiable philanthropist, who kindly prepares a refuge for one out of every dozen that he has driven upon the streets, a refuge where she is told how wicked she has been to sell herself in order to live, and where she hears lectures from the smug philanthropist on the nobility of virtuous starvation compared with vicious abundance. The benevolent man will tell her that 5s. honestly earned gives far more joy than pounds by doubtful and unworthy means, and that above all she should be contented in that condition to which it has pleased God to call her.

Finally, the jails are for those who have become thieves because of the existence of the philanthropist. As this gentleman lives without work, others are forced to work for, and to keep him and his class in luxury: work is hard to get and hard when got. In a society founded upon theft, where he that steals the most rides in his carriage amid the cheers of thousands, while the worker is looked upon with contempt as something low and stupid, is it wonderful that there should be some who endeavour, though humbly and at a great distance, to imitate the exploits of our philanthropist and his brothers? Our philanthropist foresaw this danger, and therefore he instituted the jail and workhouse to take the place of the whip with which in old times he used to drive his slaves to their work. But this is an age of humanity, and the prison and workhouse are quite as effective in forcing men to toil as the whip he used in the past.

Our friend is also a great believer in expensive and even profitable philanthropy; he will seldom lay up any treasure in heaven or give any order for the erection of heavenly mansions, unless he can get at least five per cent. on the capital invested. Unlike the charitable robber of old he does not take from the rich to give to the poor, but professes to benefit the human race by taking from the poor and giving to the rich, namely, to himself.

It was a gentleman resembling our friend that wrote to the papers soon after Riot Monday, suggesting the distribution among the poor of all the waste and leavings of middle-class households, and stating that he had always found the poor very grateful for the scrapings from the plates of the respectable classes. His letter was entitled "A Timely Suggestion." Another relative of the amiable man who is the subject of this article, said that the workers should become vegetarians, so that their masters might lower their wages and thus be enabled to compete against the capitalists of the world. For cheap living means cheap wages, cheap wages mean cheap goods, and cheap goods drive out dearer ones. Thereupon, he held up before the British workman the delectable picture of the heathen Chinese who lives upon fat pork and rice; possibly in time he may urge them to better that bright example, and live upon the rice without the pork; then, indeed, will the British capitalists be able to have the wealth of the world at their back.

Men of this philanthropic type are not unknown to history. There was the rich man in the parable who allowed the poor one to eat the crumbs that fell from his table, and was good enough to allow his dogs to pay the beggar delicate attentions, and Foulon, who in the time of the French Revolution, advised the starving people to eat grass. These men received but a poor return for their goodness, the rich man went to hell, and Foulon was hung by a misguided people! Let us trust that philanthropists of the same kind may meet with their reward. When one hears these men jabbering, one is tempted to exclaim with Märat to the people, "O Nation of babblers, why will you not act!"

D. J. NICOLL.

## SOCIALISM IN DUBLIN AND YORKSHIRE.

I HAVE to say a few words of another lecture tour, which I hope may be of some interest to our readers. I started on the night of Thursday 8th April, made memorable by the introduction of the Home Rule Bill and Mr Gladstone's speech, which more by token I found awaiting us on our landing next morning at Kingstown. The next day I addressed an audience mostly of "ladies and gentlemen" at the Molesworth Hall, on the "Aims of Art." There were a few workmen scattered among the audience, and our comrades of the Dublin Branch put in an appearance, and two, I think, spoke in the discussion which followed. I fear that the "ladies and gentlemen" were disappointed with what I was forced to lay before them, which, as a matter of course, included advocacy of Socialism as a necessity for the new birth of art.

The next day I attended the "Saturday Club," and opened a debate on "Socialism: what it is." The audience, mostly of working men, was a large one, and naturally somewhat excited by the affairs of the week. I had no reason, however, to complain of my reception. Plenty of assent and dissent was expressed, with cheering vigour on both sides. I spoke for some forty-five minutes, and was well listened to. One slip I unwittingly made by mentioning Sackville Street, which is popularly known as O'Connell Street, a name which the authorities refuse to accept. A great to-do followed this blunder, which, on a hint from the chairman, I corrected with all good will, and so was allowed to go on, with cheers. A rather poor debate followed my speech, for the attackers of Socialism didn't know anything about it, and the first would-be defender claimed it as the "crystalisation of Christian ethics," which opened the door to a great deal of rather rampant theology. This in its turn seemed to excite the audience considerably, and brought out the bigotry which one certainly expects to find in an Irish audience. An incident finished the evening, which, as it was magnified by some of the papers into a "riot," I may as well mention. The chairman closed the debate by calling on me to answer, but the audience had not had enough, or some one was wanting to speak out of whom they expected some sport, so they got out of hand, and made some noise for 600 people; but after singing "God Save Ireland," and finding the chairman firm, they quieted down in about a quarter of an hour, and listened peaceably enough to my answer, which was shorter than it otherwise would have been. Whatever disturbance there was, it was not directed against the representative of Socialism.

On the Sunday I met the members of the Branch at comrade Schumann's rooms, and had a very satisfactory evening. It is clear that at present the religious matter is the difficulty; but I cannot help

thinking that when Home Rule is established the Catholic clergy will begin to act after their kind, and try after more and more power, till the Irish gorge rises and rejects them. The Protestant religious feeling being dogmatic and not political, is hopeless to deal with. Meantime, open-air meetings are not possible for us in Dublin—at least till we are much stronger in numbers. The Branch has taken action very judiciously, through comrade Schumann, in the glass-blowers' strike and the importation by the masters on false pretences of Danish workmen, who have behaved very well in the matter, and shown all appreciation of the solidarity of labour.

On the Saturday I lectured in the hall of the Branch on the "Political Outlook." The audience, mostly working men again, seemed for the most part heartily with me, and the meeting turned out quite a success.

Of course, though I saw many people in Dublin (and many of them, by the way, not far from Socialists), my short stay in one place in the country could not add much to my power of judging of our chances of success there. It is a matter of course that until the Irish get Home Rule they will listen to nothing else, and equally so that as soon as they get Home Rule they must deal at once with the land question. On the whole, I fear it seems likely that they will have to go through the dismal road of peasant-proprietorship before they get to anything like Socialism; and that road, in a country so isolated and so peculiar as Ireland, may be a long one. On the other hand, it will lead them straight to ruin unless they can keep out of the world-market—which they can scarcely do. Undoubtedly the Irish are bent on doing all they can to further Irish manufactures, however artificially, and to that end are sure to drive new railways through the country, and so to stimulate that production for profit which throws the peasant into the hands of the usurer, and makes peasant-proprietorship a miserable make-shift—a piece of reaction leading nowhere, save down the hill. So that after all things in Ireland may go quicker than we now think.

So much for the Irish journey. On Saturday the 17th, I went by invitation of the Leeds and Bradford Branches to Shipley, and there lectured at the Co-operative Hall on "The Political Outlook." The hall was not so full as it should have been, considering that Shipley is a very Radical place; I was unlucky, probably, in tumbling into the middle of the Bradford election; amidst such an audience also, a rational view of the Parliamentary system was not likely to be popular. However, I was well listened to, and with a good deal of assent. I gave myself up as a stalking-horse to some Radical rhetoric at a "free-and-easy" after the lecture, not much to anybody's edification I fancy, flowery vagueness being the staple of these gentlemen's remarks; nor were they so anxious for any information that I could give them as for the enunciation of the venerable platitudes that make the stock-in-trade of a Radical becoming a Whig by the force of circumstances.

The next day, Sunday, I lectured at the Temperance Hall in Bradford to a full audience, very attentive, and who caught the points well, and seemed pleased by the attack on Bourgeoisdom. A few questions were put, but, as usual, clearly not by those who were thinking most of the lecture. In the evening we had a meeting of the Leeds and Bradford Branches, partly convivial and partly business, where I had to try to clear up a few difficulties as to principles and tactics which had occurred to two or three members, though everything went in the friendliest manner possible.

On the Monday I lectured in Leeds, and found the audience rather heavy to "spring," partly, perhaps, because though there were a great many people present, over 600 I should think, the hall was too large for the audience, who were, however, very attentive at least, and cheered heartily at the necessary expulsion of one gentleman (said to be an employer of labour) who (or rather the alcohol in whom) tried to prevent my being heard. Once more those who really wanted to ask questions were prevented by vague or cavilling speeches, quite outside the four corners of the lecture.

I took leave of the Branches in the committee-room here, and had no difficulty in accepting the assurance that though they had not a very numerous membership, their members were all real, and did actual work; indeed, they were clearly working very hard, and in spite of all drawbacks with much success.

In dealing with these centres of the great industry, one is apt at first to be disappointed with the reception of Socialist principles, but it is to be remembered that those that one comes across personally in a hurried visit are the would-be progressive leaders who generally belong to the aristocracy of labour in its most limited sense, foremen and the like, who as to their material needs are comfortably off, and suppose that it will last for ever; such men, unless they have special intelligence and aspirations, are generally the narrowest of Whigs. Again, the constant weight of drill in these highly organised industries has necessarily limited the intelligence of the men, and deadened their individuality, while the system is so powerful and searching that they find it difficult to conceive of any system under which they could be other than human machines. Nevertheless, the average intelligence is high, and when they once find time to understand what the stealing of labour means, that very drill will make them move in a mass, and then—then, Mr. Self-made Man, you must turn to and work once more, an equal amongst equals.

Meantime, we are really getting on in these places. Two years ago, when I lectured at Bradford, the place seemed hopeless to me; the one or two converts whom I—I will not say made, but perhaps helped on that occasion, in conjunction with one or two at Leeds to make, must be congratulated on the results of their steady courage and hard work.

WILLIAM MORRIS.



Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

QUESTIONS bearing upon the principles propounded and the objects had in view by the *Commonweal*, will be welcomed by the Editors.

WORKINGMEN and women in factories, workshops, stores or mills, are requested to go around among their comrades and get up a list of subscribers for the *Commonweal*, and lend a helping hand in the struggle for labour's freedom.

P. TAYLOR (Edinburgh).—A series of articles by E. B. Bax and Wm. Morris, entitled "Socialism from the Root up," will meet your requirements, and will be commenced in next week's *Commonweal*.

J. WILD (Huddersfield).—We regard Socialism as a religion in itself, potent as any other for the safeguarding men from "selfishness and sensuality." Just how far it may be reconcilable with Christianity must be settled by each one for himself.

RECEIVED—*England*: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record. *Belgium*: La Guerre Social (Brussels). *Canada*: L'Union Ouvrière (Montreal). *France*: Paris: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—Le Révolté—Le Socialiste—La Tribune des Peuples—Revue du Mouvement Social. Le Devoir (Guise)—Le Forçat du Travail (Bordeaux). *Germany*: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). *Holland*: Recht voor Allen. *Hungary*: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Budapest). *India*: Voice of India (Bombay)—Hindu Patriot (Calcutta)—People's Friend (Madras). *Italy*: La Questione Sociale (Turin)—Il Fascio Operaio (Milan). *Morocco*: Almoghreb Al-aksa (Tangiers). *New Zealand*: Watchman. *Portugal*: O Campino—Voz do Operario—O Protesto Operario (Lisbon). *Spain*: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social—Acracia—La Justicia Humana (Barcelona)—Bandera Social—El Socialista (Madrid)—El Socialismo (Cadiz). *Switzerland*: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich). *U. S. A.*: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country—Amerikanische Arbeiter-zeitung. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal—Index. *Denver* (Col.) Labor Inquirer—Little Socialist—Chicago (Ill.) Alarm—Detroit (Mich.) Labor Leaf—Princeton (Mass.) Word—Cleveland (O.) Carpenter—Chronicle. Cincinnati (O.) Unionist—San Francisco (Cal.) Chronicle—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Petersburg (Ill.) Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Die Parole—Altruist. Kansas (Mo.) Sun—Pittsburg (Pa.) Labor Herald—Paterson (N. J.) Labor Standard—Baltimore (Md.) Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.) Lucifer—Atlanta (Ga.) New Working World—Newfoundland (Pa.) La Torpille—Litchfield (Minn.) Radical—Manchester (N. H.) Weekly Budget—Portland (Oregon) Alarm.

### BURMAH.

"THE mill of the gods grinds slowly but it grinds exceeding small," says the old proverb. Unfortunately in some cases the grinding would seem to be very slow indeed. The British crime in Burmah has been followed by the first instalment of Nemesis in the shape of cholera. But unhappily the form chosen by the goddess for her visitation does not affect those who profit by, and are responsible for, the cowardly plunder and invasion. What matters it that a few hundred soldiers rot on the banks of the Irawady? Are there not hundreds more at home to supply their places, and further hundreds of unemployed men who, though not now soldiers, would be ready at any time to join the army for the sake of bread? No, truly, in our present society, there will never be a lack of mercenary troops—cholera or no cholera. But the annexation, nevertheless, has not been accomplished with the ease and comfort to the official and the taxpayer that were expected. The "dacoits" have turned out to be the whole population, and "dacoity" only another name for the patriotic impulse of a people "bravely struggling to be free"—free from the intolerable yoke of British place-hunters, swindlers and traders. Mandalay has been burnt, a patrol of five-and-twenty British defeated and slain—"massacred" of course in the cur-

rent newspaper slang. (A British force is always "massacred," and a native or "rebel" force "driven off with great loss," according to the despatches.) Every honest Burmese heart burns with zeal to deliver his country from the ruffians in British uniform, whose conception of "order" consists in the hanging and shooting of brave men who would snatch their country from the claws of that accursed civilisation that threatens it, whose instruments are Prendergasts and provost-marshals.

No man who has even so much as the expiring embers of feeling for real heroism left in him, can watch the unequal struggle now going on in Burmah and not be moved to pity. The struggle for justice and right is here as in all similar cases such a forlorn hope. The harpy had only too long been eyeing its prey. Already in 1880 Colonel Laurie could descant thus with brutal frankness on the desirability of completing the annexation of Burmese territory: "If we can get a controlling as well as a commercial power in a country we conquer . . . annexation is unnecessary. If we cannot get these requisites to civilisation (to further which Destiny impels us forward) without annexation, then what remains to be done?" ("Our Burmese Wars," p. 417.) The answer is obvious: from Colonel Laurie's point of view. "Upper Burmah" strikes him "most forcibly" as "just one of those countries" where, without annexation, "our obtaining any controlling or commercial power of a lasting, useful, and productive character, would be simply impossible. The difficulty, he says, is increased by the fact that Pegu is already a British possession. The annexation being thus half accomplished, the rest must follow as a matter of course.

Thus it will be seen that the Burmese expedition was long in contemplation, and that the terrible pictures painted of King Theebaw by the British press were not without a very definite purpose. According to the latest accounts the property "looted" by the British troops is to be sold to defray the expenses of the expedition. This is interesting news. The sacredness of "private property," so jealously respected in European warfare, it appears, does not apply to Asiatics. British capitalists require Burmah as a market and a trade-route. Their governments lay in wait (after having previously prepared the public mind by imaginary or exaggerated horrors) for the first opportunity of pouncing upon it. The opportunity is rather long in coming, so a bogus quarrel has to be concocted to keep up appearances. The country is invaded and its capital plundered. Not content to pay for his market himself, the so honourable Briton seeks to realise the cost on the goods he has stolen. Such honesty is in commercial souls. The public opinion which sanctions this, be it remembered, is the same public opinion which, as represented by its lackeys of the press, is so revolted at Irish dynamite outrages, at West End riots, and which can shed tears over the injustice of "confiscation," when practised on landlords or capitalists nearer home.

E. BELFORT BAX.

### NOTES.

Of the May 1 movement of the American workers our only record at present is *via* the capitalistic press. That medium is warranted to suppress (as much as in it lies) all that tells in favour of the workers; and the parenthetical qualification certainly gives large scope for suppression.

According to these faithless scribes and telegraphers, 30,000 men marched through Chicago streets and 20,000 met in Union Square, New York City. The speeches were by "foreign Socialists" chiefly—as if there were such a thing as a foreign Socialist! There may be foreigners who are Socialists, but not foreign Socialists.

Still following, for want of more reliable guidance at present, our diurnal mis-leaders of the press, we learn that the eight-hours movement is to be a failure, and that at least a million labourers are idle in America.

The scale of charges made for those who had the honour of seeing the Queen open the Colonial and Indian Exhibition on Tuesday ranged from £1 to £25. I should like to see the face of one of the £25-gentlemen if an employé of his asked for an extra 10s. a-week—a rise of wage that would cost the employé annually about the price of his box to see the Queen.

Even the bourgeois folk are more than hinting at money-jobbery wholesale in connection with these exhibitions—the folk that have no finger in the pie that has turned out so rich in plums, of course. It is quite a wonder that the opponents of Socialism have not instanced the ambiguity as to the management of the funds as an example of the horrors likely to occur under the coming régime. They might forget so conveniently that jobbery of this kind could not be, if for no other reason, for the reason that there would be no possibility of profitably exploiting labour afterwards with the spoils resulting from the speculation.

That last word, in our capitalistic society, ought to be spelt without an "s."



The ordinary working-men's organisations are a sad evidence how blind their members yet are to the real facts of their position. The United Friendly Societies hold on Sunday next their fourth annual demonstration in aid of certain hospitals. Socialists with tracts and leaflets should be with them on the occasion. Very fitly, the procession starts from a public-house (the "Bull and Gate"), and ends at a church (St Pancras). Working-men subscribing to a hospital might almost as fitly subscribe to a workhouse. Let their betters, the aiders and abettors of all four institutions—gin-shop, gospel-shop, hospital, union—be responsible for the maintenance, as they are in the main for the filling, of all these.

The exceeding loveliness of competition is beautifully shown in two controversies now raging. One is the Early Closing discussion. On this the London Chamber of Commerce has spoken quite oracularly against any mercy to shop-assistants. The force of its objection will be gathered from the following analysis of its composition: One barrister, one brewer, one wine-merchant, three ship-owners, one wool-broker, one stockbroker, four various brokers, two bankers, two wharfingers, two wholesale stationers, one Cape merchant, one West India merchant, two East India merchants, three Australian merchants, six various merchants, and only five wholesale warehousemen. It will be seen at a glance how strongly the small shop-keepers are represented here.

The other controversy is as to the employment of women in collieries. The women themselves are opposed to any change. They only work nine hours a day, that is all, so there is plenty of time for domestic work. And if the dress and work are rough and filthy and inhuman, still the average of illegitimate births among the pit-brow women is not higher than that among their cleaner sisters of the factory. Their vested interests, they cry, must not be interfered with, and this is their answer to the colliers complaining that the women competition lowers their wages. Oh, most holy and blessed and glorious Trinity—Capitalism, Competition, and Free Contract!

Mr Mansfield seems anxious to rival Mr Saunders. The case of Marie Böhme against Henry Winderbank, constable, is a case in point. The only evidence against the woman was police evidence (and some of us know the value of that), except a man's, who heard quarrelling in a language he did not understand, and actually heard whistling. Knowing the nature of the average policeman, what a more than average lie he can tell, and what a charming unanimity there is about inspectors and constables when they are backing one another up, I take leave to suspend my own judgment in the case, and to doubt that of Mr Mansfield, who dismissed it.

The great Blundell Maple is still having letters written for him. He is quite pathetic over the deprivation of young people of their means of subsistence. As one of a firm that has been doing this ever since it was founded, he certainly ought to be an authority on the point of depriving people of their means of subsistence.

Mr. Maple objects to a reversion to the "primitive stage of slave-master civilisation." Naturally. Its more advanced form suits him better.

Ninety-one per cent. of the Edinburgh masons are in favour of an eight hours working-day. "Wonderment guesses," in the language of the bone-of-contention book slightly altered, "who are the nine" that are not in favour of it?

There are 37,000 miners in the Southern Division of the West Riding of Yorkshire who have a vote. In these men, and such as these, and in the use of their power, even of the suffrage, lies much of our hope for the future. Truly, as their pastors the Radical papers tell them, to secure fair wages, and to form equitable contracts and genuine agreements with their masters, they must have a wise and strong organisation. But the organisation will have to be of all workers—and that is Socialism.

Such associations as that of the Yorkshire Miners are the future soil for the seed of Socialism. One of these days we shall be wise and strong enough to organise a regular crusade among these men, and to win them from meagre Radicalism to sturdy Socialism. Then they will learn that there is something better worth striving for than any arrangement with masters, and that is the abolition of masterdom altogether.

No arrangement can be equitable into which the word "Master" enters. The very meaning of the thing makes equity an impossibility. ED. A.

## THE PILGRIMS OF HOPE.

### XI.—A GLIMPSE OF THE COMING DAY.

It was strange indeed, that journey! Never yet had I crossed the sea Or looked on another people than the folk that had fostered me, And my heart rose up and fluttered as in the misty night We came on the fleet of the fishers slow rolling in the light Of the hidden moon, as the sea dim under the false dawn lay; And so like shadows of ships through the night they faded away, And Calais pier was upon us. Dreamlike it was indeed As we sat in the train together, and toward the end made speed. But a dull sleep came upon me, and through the sleep a dream Of the Frenchman who once was my master by the side of the willowy stream; And he talked and told me tales of the war unwaged as yet, And the victory never won, and bade me never forget, While I walked on, still unhappy, by the home of the dark-striped perch. Till at last, with a flash of light and a rattle and side-long lurch, I woke up dazed and witless, till my sorrow awoke again, And the grey of the morn was upon us as we sped through the poplar plain, By the brimming streams and the houses with their grey roofs warped and bent, And the horseless plough in the furrow, and things fair and innocent. And there sat my wife before me, and she, too, dreamed as she slept; For the slow tears fell from her eyelids as in her sleep she wept. But Arthur sat by my side and waked; and flushed was his face, And his eyes were quick to behold the picture of each fair place

That we flashed by as on we hurried; and I knew that the joy of life Was strongly stirred within him by the thought of the coming strife. Then I too thought for a little, it is good in grief's despite, It is good to see earth's pictures, and so live in the day and the light. Yea, we deemed that to death we were hastening, and it made our vision clear, And we knew the delight of our life-days, and held their sorrow dear.

But now when we came unto Paris and were out in the sun and the street, It was strange to see the faces that our wondering eyes did meet; Such joy and peace and pleasure! That folk were glad we knew, But knew not the why and the wherefore; and we who had just come through

The vanquished land and down-cast, and there at St. Denis e'en now Had seen the German soldiers, and heard their bugles blow, And the drum and fife go rattling through the freshness of the morn— Yet here we beheld all joyous the folk they had made forlorn! So at last from a grey stone building we saw a great flag fly, One colour, red and solemn 'gainst the blue of the spring-tide sky, And we stopped and turned to each other, and as each at each did we gaze, The city's hope enwrapped us with joy and great amaze.

As folk in a dream we washed and we ate, and in all detail, Oft told, and in many a fashion did we have all yesterday's tale: How while we were threading our tangle of trouble in London there, And I for my part, let me say it, within but a step of despair, In Paris the day of days had betid; for the vile dwarf's stroke, To madden Paris and crush her, had been struck and the dull sword broke; There was now no foe and no fool in the city, and Paris was free; And e'en as she is this morning, to-morrow all France will be.

We heard, and our hearts were saying, "In a little while all the earth," And that day at last of all days I knew what life was worth; For I saw what few have beheld, a folk with all hearts gay. Then at last I knew indeed that our word of the coming day, That so oft in grief and in sorrow I had preached, and scarcely knew If it was but despair of the present or the hope of the day that was due,— I say that I saw it now, real solid and at hand.

And strange how my heart went back to our little nook of the land, And how plain and clear I saw it, as though I longed indeed To give it a share of the joy and the satisfaction of need That here in the folk I beheld. For this in our country spring Did the starlings bechatter the gables, and the thrush in the thorn-bush sing, And the green cloud spread o'er the willows, and the little children rejoice And shout midst a nameless longing to the morning's mingled voice; For this was the promise of spring-tide, and the new leaves longing to burst, And the white roads threading the acres, and the sun-warmed meadows athirst.

Once all was the work of sorrow and the life without reward, And the toil that fear hath bidden, and the folly of master and lord; But now are all things changing, and hope without a fear Shall speed us on through the story of the changes of the year. Now spring shall pluck the garland that summer weaves for all, And autumn spread the banquet and winter fill the hall. O earth, thou kind bestower, thou ancient fruitful place, How lovely and beloved now gleams thy happy face!

And O, mother, mother, I said, had'st thou known as I lay in thy lap, And for me thou hopedst and fearedst, on what days my life should hap, Hadst thou known of the death that I look for, and the deeds wherein I should deal, How calm had been thy gladness! How sweet had'st thou smiled on my weal! As some woman of old had'st thou wondered, who hath brought forth a god of the earth, And in joy that knoweth no speech she dreams of the happy birth.

Yea, fair were those hours indeed, whatever hereafter might come, And they swept over all my sorrow, and all thought of my wildered home. But not for dreams of rejoicing had we come across the sea. That day we delivered the letters that our friends had given to me, And we craved for some work for the cause. And what work was there indeed,

But to learn the business of battle and the manner of dying at need. We three could think of none other, and we wrought our best therein; And both of us made a shift the sergeant's stripes to win, For diligent were we indeed: and he, as in all he did, Showed a cheerful ready talent that nowise might be hid, And yet hurt the pride of no man that he needs must step before. But as for my wife, the *brancard* of the ambulance-women she wore, And gently and bravely would serve us; and to all as a sister to be; A sister amidst the strangers—and, alas! a sister to me.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

Sir Michael Hicks Beach the other day said that he was anxious that the railways should not be so dealt with as to "deprive the public of the benefits of competition." Perhaps something might be said on the other side as to competition; but in the meantime Sir M. H. Beach was in point only using language to conceal thought when he used the word. What he meant was *monopoly*, not competition; and the benefits of monopoly can be studied by us Londoners very satisfactorily in the beastly sewers through which run stink-traps under the name of carriages—the whole of which arrangement is dignified by the name of the Metropolitan and District Railways. This monopoly we may be sure the railways won't give up until they are forced to by more comprehensive measures than Mr Mundella's Bill. W. M.

It is evident that an attempt will be made by the courts to stop boycotting. An attempt was once made in this country to stop the progress of freedom. If fools choose to wrestle with a cyclone, why, let 'em wrestle. Those who in this country sow the wind will some day reap the whirlwind.—*Rochester Sun*.

## INSURRECTION IN BELGIUM.

## II.

*(Continued from page 37.)*

THE insurrection which in a few days spread over half the country, commenced at Liège, on the very day of the anniversary of the Commune. The groups of the Communistic Anarchists in that city, had for some days been circulating an appeal to their fellow-workers, in which they said: "Everywhere the working men are agitating; the crisis—so terrible and lamentable—instead of diminishing, increases from day to day; everywhere also, ideas of emancipation penetrate the labouring classes. In London, Amsterdam, New York, everywhere in fact, the working men are making their voices heard in the ears of the selfish upper class. Shall we remain in culpable apathy? Shall we continue to leave our wives and children without bread, when the warehouses are full of the riches which we have created? Shall we for ever allow the upper classes to enjoy all the rights and privileges, and to refuse all justice and liberty to those who support them—the class of producers? We think not; this is why we appeal to all the victims of the capitalists, to the starving, to all those who have been out of work during the severe winter we are experiencing. Remember, comrades, that on Thursday March 18, fifteen years ago, the heroic population of Paris rose to emancipate the people, and that this attempt at social renovation was drowned in the blood of 35,000 working men."

At the close of the meeting organised by the Anarchists, an imposing procession marched through the principal streets of the city, crying: "Down with the capitalists!" Two companies of the civic guard, a number of artillery and some cavalry, were quickly sent to disperse it. A sanguinary collision occurred in the Place Delcour. Seventeen of the gendarmes, policemen and soldiers were wounded, some of them severely. The commander of the civic militia, the Count de Looz, was disabled. The insurgents traversing the large streets pillaged and ransacked everything on their way. The Rue Neuvice, the jewellers' quarter, was nearly completely sacked. In the Rue Léopold and elsewhere, all the large cafés were demolished; the revolutionary people were masters of the city until one o'clock in the morning. Then the Socialists, overwhelmed by numbers, were obliged to give way. Wagener, the chief orator at the meeting, was arrested at six o'clock in the morning. During the whole of the 19th, extreme agitation prevailed amongst the working men of the city, but Liège had in a few hours been filled with troops. The police made above forty arrests.

The insurrection checked in the city, transferred itself to the collieries round Liège. On the 19th, a strike broke out at the colliery of La Concorde at Jemappes. The workmen insisted on ascending to the surface notwithstanding the orders of their overseer, and left, crying out: "Vive la République sociale!" Lignon, the instigator of the strike, was arrested. The agitation was renewed with increased intensity, and the strike extended every hour. The colliers at Maquet, those at Chant-des-Oiseaux, at Flémalle and Marihaye struck. Cockerill's establishments at Seraing were occupied by the military. Troops sent from Liège and Namur occupied both banks of the Meuse with detachments of cavalry. On the 20th, the collieries at Baldaz, Lahore and Xhoré stopped work. At Jemappes the steam tramcar was stopped by the rioters; all the windows were shattered to pieces; shots were exchanged, the bullets whistling in the ears of the conductors and passengers. These answered by firing into the crowd, and several working men were wounded. In the night, at Seraing and at Tilleur, some pistol shots were fired at the troops; the gendarmes charged the people, and a sanguinary fight took place. The strikers fired their revolvers, a discharge of musketry followed, and a number of wounded were left on the ground. A lieutenant of the gendarmes had his skull fractured. On the 21st at two o'clock in the afternoon, an Anarchist meeting was held at Seraing. Tason, the secretary of the Socialist group at Seraing, made a firm but temperate speech. When the meeting broke up a collision took place between the workmen and the troops, gendarmes and lancers. Many of the strikers were wounded, and a number of others were arrested. But at 10 o'clock at night the people were still in possession of the top of the Rue Moulinay and the small side streets. Then the gas pipes were cut. In the complete darkness the military tried to charge with the bayonet. The people replied with revolver shots, and becoming furious, threw themselves on the carbines of the soldiers, improvising weapons by twirling round pieces of iron tied to cords, or using pikes and tomahawks. During this time on the left bank of the Meuse, another engagement between the insurgents and the troops had occurred.

On the 22nd, all the collieries in connection with Marihaye were on strike, as well as the miners of Patience and Beaujonc at Ans, and that at Bois d'Avray. At Tilleur, the military had charged the people and a violent conflict had followed; one man fell dead and others were wounded; a woman received a bayonet thrust in her thigh. Brekenkamp, a German Communist, was arrested. An agent, named Jacob, opened his window while the soldiers were passing—they shot him dead.

The Minister of War now arrived on the spot; at this time the effective force cantoned at Seraing, and in the immediate neighbourhood exceeded five thousand men.

At Horloz, at the foot of the Mount of Tilleur, there was another affray. The miners at Gosson, having endeavoured to force an entrance, were repulsed with fire-arms, a cross-fire being directed on the heights which dominated the spot, from which the insurgents, armed with carbines, were firing upon the troops. A fierce bayonet charge was

made, and a great many were wounded, of whom several have since died. A number of prisoners were taken and sent to Liège.

On the 24th, the strike became nearly general in all the mining districts around Liège. Montegnée, Sart, Berleur, Gosson, La Nouvelle, Espérance, were all occupied by the military. Nearly all the men at Herstal, Wandre, La Concorde, Bonne-foi, La Haie, St. Marguerite, and Aumonier were out on strike. At La Haie there was a collision with the troops. One workman received a bayonet wound in the chest, another had a sabre cut on the head.

Meanwhile, the Correctional Tribunal at Liège had tried forty-two prisoners, who were sentenced to different terms of imprisonment varying from six to twelve months. Among these was Comrade Wagener, who will also be charged with inciting to pillage, and seditious language, and will appear at the Court of Assize next session.

Gradually the excitement subsided; the men on strike, although they have not recommenced work, are more quiet and peaceable. At the time we are writing, the district round Liège has resumed its normal condition, at least in outward appearance, for at the bottom of their hearts remains the hatred of the oppressed towards their pitiless masters.

The incidents we have just related form only a small part of the events which have taken place in Belgium. From the province of Liège, we will pass to the province of Hainault, where the insurrection assumed much more formidable proportions, and a very different revolutionary character.

VICTOR DAVE.

*(To be continued.)*

## OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM.

(A reply to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P.)

## II.

THE next chief points made against Socialism for England are (1) that it is of foreign origin and (2) that it is especially preached "by persons claiming to be scientific Socialists—mostly middle-class men."

It is quite true that hitherto "Socialistic theory has been specially urged in Germany." But the reasons that our objector gives for this are not sufficient. He alleges as causes of this effect and of the Socialist leaders there having acquired greater influence—the poverty of the people and "the cruel persecution to which Social Reformers, as well as Socialists, have been subjected by Prince Bismarck's despotic government." Here there is a complete ignoring of the main reason for the wider prevalence of Socialism in Germany and for its deeper reaching into the minds of the people.

In the first place, I am not at all sure that the German labouring classes are poorer than our own. Let us always remember that in any comparison of this kind and in all discussions on the position of the working-classes, we must take into account the ignoble army of paupers. Every possible, every would-be worker enters into the calculation, and the interesting averages of statisticians have to be discounted by the consideration of the surplus-labour population conveniently ignored in all their optimistic mathematics.

But in truth neither the poverty of the people nor the Socialist Law is the real cause of the greater hold of Socialism in Germany. The really important point is that the first great preachers of the doctrine have been Germans. There has not been in England any scientific teacher comparable with the German teachers.

It is the old story of our lagging behind in the march of science. In almost any branch of so-called Natural Science to-day we have to turn for our best guidance to Germany. Our best Zoology book is a translation of Gegenbauer; our best Chemistry book is by Roscoe and Schorlemmer, as to the respective merits of whom chemists are not likely to dispute; our Physiology is confessedly based on German models and tuition; our Botany books are English versions of Thomé, Prantl, Sachs. And the same general principle holds in respect to Political Economy. We have not in England any thinker who has dealt with this subject as it is dealt with in "Das Kapital."

With this superiority of teachers goes a like superiority of learners. The German proletariat has to a large extent mastered the scientific principles of Socialism, and understands it as a historical development. Would that this were true of the English proletariat! But to say that it is would be to declare ourselves blind. Our workers feel the pinch of misery not less keenly than their brethren. Not a few among them are as eager as the best of any nation to remove the one great cause of ill. But, not unnaturally under the stress and strain of their wage-slave life, they are something indifferent to the scientific explanation of why things are as they are, and why they must before long be even as these enthusiasts would have them.

After missing these two vital reasons why the Germans are better Socialists than we in this country, Mr. Bradlaugh, in a little paragraph of some six lines, gives us the key to the Radical misunderstanding of our position. "German emigrants to the United States and to Great Britain, speak and write as if precisely the same wrongs had to be assailed in the land of their adoption as in the land of their birth." Exactly. That is the very thing that shows the keenness of their sight; or rather, that shows they have their eyes open in a way that one would call most ordinary, if it were not that the whole crowd of politicians give no indication of it. Exactly the same wrongs have to be assailed in all countries. There is, in truth, one Aaron's rod of a wrong that swallows up all others—or better, one mother evil of which

all the rest are only the teeming spawn. And that is the method of the production and the distribution of goods.

The real question for all serious men and women is not of a peddling extension of the franchise, or a peddling abolition of the House of Lords, or a yet more peddling reformation of it, but of the foundation of society, and that foundation is exactly the same in England, Germany, any civilised land. It is for this reason that the limiting title of the St. James's Hall debate between Messrs. Hyndman and Bradlaugh begged by anticipation the whole question. Against that limiting title Mr. Hyndman very properly protested. "Will Socialism benefit the English people?" Who in the name of all gods and devils are the English people? The point is—Will it benefit the people?

The same narrowness of view comes out in the next paragraph. The revival of Socialist propaganda we are reminded in a pathetic parenthesis has been "largely at the instance of foreigners." The same sort of objection that the ignorant workmen of one country feel to those that speaking another language undersell them—the same incapacity of recognising a common brotherhood, appears again, in the outcry against scientific Socialism as foreign.

And this leads me to the next point. In spite of the laughter or the sneers of our antagonists we claim for our creed the name Scientific. And on the use and meaning of that name I may perhaps speak with just so much confidence as becomes a student of science. Socialism is based on those five foundations on which all science rests; observation, experiment, recordal, reflection, generalisation.

Another pathetic parenthesis reminds us that the "scientific Socialists" are mostly middle-class men. That is true. But the blame of this recoils on the individualistic and capitalistic society that makes this a necessary fact. For the matter of that, anything with the adjective "scientific" in front of it must be to-day "largely middle-class." Scientific students and scientific observers are "largely middle-class." What time has the lower class man (that such names should be possible!) working with the sweat and reek of his body to be a scientific anything? No wonder that if he is a Socialist he is of the suffering and impatient order.

Then comes the word with which so much of the conjuring against Socialism is done—"Revolution." The scientific Socialists—of the middle-class—preach revolution; "a revolution which they say must come in any event, but which they strive to accelerate." There are two mistakes here along with one correct statement. The correct statement is that it must come. Revolution in the method of production of goods is, as Tony Lumpkin says, "a sure thing." Our objector is far too shrewd not to be conscious of this himself. He may object to our methods, to our principles. But I do not for a moment doubt but that he knows as well as we do that the capitalistic method is doomed. It is staggering on its last legs. The most that can be hoped by its supporters is that they may be able to prop it up for their time and die before its final collapse.

One mistake, or rather understating of the case, is made in the words "they say." All things are saying that the change is at hand. The diapason may perhaps close in man, but all the other stops of the organ known as human society are singing or grumbling or wailing to the same tune. The signs of the past and of the present point with innumerable immutable fingers to the inevitable change hurrying on apace.

Do we try to accelerate it? I do not think so. We strive to prepare for it. No man may make this revolution any more than any man may prevent it. Nor can any tell the day or hour or the occasion of its coming. But one thing we dare not do; another thing we must do. We dare not be silent as to its approach. As rightly might one, seeing a railway train rushing down upon a human being, not knowing, be silent as we preach peace when there is no peace. That which we must do is incessantly to cry "The Revolution comes." Could a word of some among us bring it upon us to-morrow, I do not think the word would be spoken. We are not ready. But that we may be ready, let us by education and by organisation prepare ourselves and one another.

EDWARD AVELING.

(To be continued.)

## SOCIALISM IN NORWICH.

ACCORDING to a promise made by the Council, and at the invitation of the Norwich Branch of the League, Comrade Frank Kitz and myself went to that quaint old city to follow up the work begun by a band of earnest workers in the cause of Socialism. We arrived on Thursday, the 22nd, and began a series of enquiries as to the position of working-men and women in the factories and workshops in general. The result of our enquiries was, that we found the workers were in a very deplorable condition. Especially so were the girls in the tailoring trade. One case out of a number that came to our notice was that of a girl who was working at a tailoring establishment, the proprietors of which are "God-fearing" people, receiving as wages the very handsome sum of 2s. 6d. per week. Out of this she had to keep herself and an aged mother. They lived in a room not two miles from the new cathedral which is being built at the expense of the tenants and labourers of the Duke of Norfolk, and paid 2s. 6d. per week for rent. This girl went to work for days without food, until, no longer able to bear it, she fainted, and her case and that of her mother was brought before the Christian guardians of the poor, whom Christ bade feed, clothe, and care for them. By the guardians they were allowed 1s. 6d. per week out of the rates in order that they might not starve. Having found that numbers of cases of this kind are to be seen in this city of 34

churches, we braced ourselves up to preach Socialism with redoubled energy, and on Good Friday morning at 11.30 we addressed a very good and remarkably attentive meeting on St. Mary's Plain, and at three o'clock we made another attack on the enemy in the Haymarket, where our audience numbered about 400. It came to my notice that the expected future ruler of this nation was riding by with a labour exploiter of mustard fame. I thereupon drew the attention of our hearers to the case of the girl on 2s. 6d. per week, and contrasted the relative position of girl and prince and mustard maker. Comrade Kitz afterwards further enlarged on the subject, and explained how this was the inevitable result of the present system. We afterwards adjourned to the "Gordon Cafe," and held a conversation with the branch members on Socialism, and how it could best be spread among the people.

On the Saturday we commenced the day's attack on St. Andrew's Plain, and met with slight opposition from some who, however, had not the courage of their opinions to meet us in debate. We had a very good audience. We commenced our work on the Sunday on St. Catherine's Plain, and had another and very much larger audience. We answered several objections to Socialism, the answers to which were received with cheers, and in the afternoon at three we addressed about 1,000 persons in the Market Place.

On Monday we addressed another meeting in the Market Place, and in view of the fact that a fair was being held not far from us, and that the Salvation Army were having an Eternity Campaign in very fine weather, our audience was by no means small. Having to address a meeting in the evening at the Victoria Hall, we did not hold a meeting in the afternoon, so we rested awhile for the final attack at 8 o'clock in the Victoria Hall, when Mr. Burgess, the plucky editor of *Daylight*, took the chair for us, and began by saying that if what Mr. Morris had said was Socialism, then he was happy to say he was a Socialist. Then having pointed to the rapid march of events towards Socialism, and to the anxiety that existed to-day among fathers as to what was to become of their children, he introduced our Comrade Kitz to the audience, who received him with very great cheering. I must say that by the time our comrade had done with the subject, which was, "A Glance at the Working Classes for 100 Years," the audience was enthusiastic. I afterwards spoke on the "Position of Women to-day and under Socialism." The women (and there were a goodly number in the audience) were extremely well pleased, and were very anxious to know how they could best help on the cause. Our Comrade Reynolds also spoke. Upwards of 2,000 handbills and leaflets, and 1,000 copies of the *Commonweal* were distributed free, and thus we obtained a good advertisement for our weekly *Commonweal*; but, most important of all, we enabled the earnest enquirers after the truth to study the question for themselves.

In conclusion, I should like to appeal to all our country branches to adopt a similar course of action, and to our friends and sympathisers to contribute towards a fund for the especial purpose of spreading the Light in the Provinces. There are surely some among our contributors and subscribers who would be glad to help if they only knew the purpose it was intended for, and they may be assured that this is one way, and a most valuable way also, of spreading the Light of Socialism.

C. W. MOWBRAY.

## RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

### ITALY.

Italy will shortly be in the midst of electioneering excitement, and the Labour Party have decided to run candidates. The Milanese section publish in the *Fascio Operato* a programme of the party, in which they go as far as Socialistic lines as they can venture with any hope of electoral success.

The Italian official looks upon Socialists and Democrats with fear and anxiety; for instance, at Varese the other day, on hearing of a projected conference of the Labour Party, carabinieri were solemnly placed at the two stations to receive the principal speakers, while a company of infantry was held in readiness in case of emergency.

At Brindisi, and one or two towns near by, there have been disturbances consequent on the introduction of flour adulterated with plaster, *by permission of the authorities*. The soldiers charged the crowd, amongst whom some were wounded, and many arrested.

Last Friday the workmen entering Milan on being forced as they came into the town to pay the *octroi* (municipal tax) on the bread with which they provided themselves for the day, resisted; the people joined in and a riot began. The troops charged the people repeatedly, and only dispersed them after a sharp resistance. The municipality hastily abolished the tax on bread brought in by workmen, but the excitement still continues. The people claim the release of their arrested brethren, twenty of whom have been condemned to six weeks' imprisonment, and thirty sent before the assizes.

In these days a Corsican bandit makes a very respectable figure. A correspondent to *Le Révolté* writes with enthusiasm of a banditti family that since 1848 have been living in innocent contentment amid their flocks, their corn-fields, even their manufactures. They give a "safe conduct" to a visitor, and receive him hospitably; but they have balls to receive "him who does not demand hospitality."

MAY MORRIS.

### SPECIAL NOTICE.

The extreme pressure upon our space necessitates the holding over of several items of interest, including some already in type. As we go to press, news reaches us of "riots" in Chicago and elsewhere. In view of the great importance of the subject, an exhaustive account of the American labour troubles will appear in next week's issue.



## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

### Notice to Members.

**General Meeting.**—On Monday May 24, at 8.30 p.m. Council meets at 7.30.

**Library.**—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

**Reading Room.**—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. All papers received by the Secretary are sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members.

**Annual Conference.**—Whitsunday, June 13. Attention of Branches is especially called to Rule V. (pages 3 and 4 Constitution and Rules).

All members changing their address are earnestly requested to send notice either to Branch secretaries or to Secretary of the League.

London members not yet belonging to any Branch are informed that a Clerkenwell Branch is in process of formation at the Central Office, to which, or to some other Branch, they must join themselves if they desire to be represented at the coming Conference.

### Notice to Lecturers and Branch Secretaries.

To avoid confusion and mistake, lecturers and Branch secretaries are requested to at once advise the Lecture Secretary of all engagements made by them. Branches will find it more convenient to make their arrangements with speakers through the Lecture Secretary, who will undertake to make all necessary announcements unless otherwise instructed.

### Free Concert at Farringdon Hall.

On Saturday May 8 a concert will be given by comrade E. Snelling and friends, to conclude with a farce. All are invited.

### "THE COMMONWEAL."

The *Commonweal* will be published in future at 10 a.m. every Thursday.

A series of articles on "Socialism from the Root up," by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris, will be commenced in the number for 15th May.

Members should at once give notice to Manager of all political and other meetings of which they are cognisant, so that arrangements may be made for supplying literature.

Branches desiring to have back numbers for distribution will be supplied with a limited quantity free, they paying carriage.

The cartoon issued with last week's number, will shortly be printed on good paper, for framing. Date when ready, and price, will be duly announced.

Every one should assist, not only in pushing the sale of the paper, but in furnishing it with all information they possess upon any and every point of political and social interest.

H. H. S.

### REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

At the General Meeting of London members on Monday April 26, it was resolved "That the open-air speakers be advised not to desist from speaking when the place can fairly be considered a recognised open-air lecturing-place, but otherwise that they desist and report to the League." The discussion upon comrade Lessner's motion as to political action was further postponed to May 24.—H. H. S.

**MARYLEBONE.**—We held a meeting in the Harrow Road on Saturday evening, for the purpose of selling the first number of the weekly. In spite of very cold weather, the success of the meeting was most encouraging. Our meeting at Bell Street on Sunday morning was very large, and the audience listened attentively to an interesting address from comrade Barker. The meeting in Hyde Park in the afternoon was not quite so successful, owing to the noise created by the useless jabber between the Secularists and Christians. We have to record the sale of eight quires of the first number of the weekly *Commonweal*.—H. G. A.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Meetings have been addressed by comrades Chambers, Nicoll, Beckett, and Burcham. Good discussions have followed; over three quires of *Commonweal* sold.—H. BARTLETT.

**LEEDS.**—On Sunday last two open-air meetings were held: in the morning the usual gathering at Vicar's Croft, and in the afternoon the first of a new series at Woodhouse Moor. The afternoon meeting was very successful, the speeches being listened to with much interest by about a thousand people. At the breaking up of the meeting the snob element, which had been rather restless during the proceedings, indulged in some horseplay and provoked a scrimmage, out of which, however, the Socialists came all right. The Branch has now secured a good-sized lecture-room, and a meeting will henceforth be held every Tuesday night.—M.

**MANCHESTER.**—A good meeting was held at the "Grey Mare" corner on Sunday morning, comrades Parkinson, Snowden, and Unwin addressing an attentive audience of about three hundred. A quire of the *Commonweal* was sold.—R. M.

### LECTURE DIARY.

HALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

#### Sunday Evening Lectures, 7.30.

May 9. J. Lane, "Will Land Nationalisation alone benefit the Workers?"  
16. H. Barker, "The Poor's House."

#### Wednesday Evening Lectures, 8.30.

May 12. W. Morris, "Art and Labour." 19. T. Binning, "Citizen v. Subject."

### BRANCH MEETING ROOMS.

#### LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—Business meeting at central office every Wednesday at 7.30.

**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday, May 9, at 7.30 p.m., Mrs C. M. Wilson, "The Future of Radicalism." Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.

**Hackney.**—The Hackney Branch meets at the Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every Monday at 8 p.m., for the enrolment of members and other business.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m.  
**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday evenings at 7.45. May 9, C. Wade, "Faith, Hope, and Charity."

**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.  
**Mile-end.**—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. May 11. H. Davis, "Labour and Capital: a Criticism." A challenge to C. Bradlaugh, M.P.

**North London.**—Communications to R. A. Beckett, St. Mildred's House, Poultry, E.C.

**South London.**—Business meetings at 103 Bird-in-bush Road, on Sundays at 7.30.

### PROVINCIAL.

**Birmingham.**—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Kirkgate. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

**Dublin.**—30 Great Brunswick Street. Every Tuesday at 7.45 p.m.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Neilson's Hotel, Ingram Street, every Saturday at 7 p.m. Lectures and discussions. Members and friends are invited to assist in selling *Commonweal* at Green (Jail Square) Saturdays, 5 p.m.

**Leeds.**—The St James' Hall Café, Bridge End, Briggate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m. for business and at 8 p.m. for lecture. May 11. J. L. Mahon, "The Wages Question."

**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—County Forum. Fridays, at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Café. Every Monday at 8 p.m.

**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 27 Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Royton.**—"Greyhound Inn." Every Sunday evening at 7.30.

### Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

#### LONDON.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
S. 9.	Canning Town	11.30	R. Banner	Central.
	Edgware Road—Bell Street	11.30	A. K. Donald	Marylebone.
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	H. Graham	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—Beadon Road	11.30	F. Kitz	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	T. Wardle	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	C. W. Mowbray	Mile-end.
	Regent's Park	11.30	D. Nicoll	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	W. Chambers	N. London.
	Hyde Park	3.30	H. Barker	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	H. Burcham	Hackney.
Tu. 11.	Euston Road—Osseltown St.	7.30	W. Chambers	N. London.
	Soho—Broad Street	7.30	D. Nicoll	Bloomsbury.
W. 12.	Kingsland Road Arches	8	C. W. Mowbray	Hoxton.
Th. 13.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	T. Wardle	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	8	W. Chambers	Mile-end.
F. 14.	Hackney Road—Triangle	8	H. Barker	Hoxton.

#### PROVINCES.

**Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, 7 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday, May 9: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m. Woodhouse Moor, 3 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.

**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

### MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

**Liverpool.**—THE WORKERS' BROTHERHOOD.—Wood Street Assembly Room. May 20, 8 p.m., Councillor Threlfall, President of last Trades Union Congress, on "Eight Hours." Open-air.—Old Haymarket, Sundays, 3.30.—R. F. E. WILLIS, hon. sec.

**NOTTING HILL DEBATING SOCIETY,** "Monarch Tavern." Manchester Street (near Latimer Road Railway Station).—May 16. C. W. Mowbray, "Modern Money Lending."

### LIST OF LEAGUE LECTURERS AND THEIR SUBJECTS.

**AVELING, EDWARD.**—Curse of Capitalism—Charles Darwin and Karl Marx—The Struggle for the Working Day—The Labour Christ.

**BANNER, ROBERT.**—The Social Revolution—The Fraud of Politics.

**BARKER, H. A.**—The Poor's House—The Land and the People—The Deserted Village—The Struggle for Existence.

**BAXTER, E. J.**—The Coming Revolution.

**BECKETT, R. A.**—Happiness—Equality—Wealth.

**BLUNDELL, WILLIAM.**—Poverty, Disease, and Crime—Modern Evils and their Remedies—Money and Competition.

**BROCHER, G.**—Icarian Communities—The Familistère.

**CHAMBERS, W. A.**—The Gospel of Discontent—Right and Duty—Clerks—Socialist League Manifesto.

**CHARLES, H.**—State Socialism, Socialism, and Anarchism—Society versus State—Bourgeoisism—Development of the German Labour Movement.

**DONALD, A. K.**—The Conflict of Classes—Solidarity—The Prophecy of Socialism.

**GRONLUND, LAURENCE.**—England's Future in the Light of Evolution—Are the Rich getting Richer and the Poor Poorer?

**KITZ, FRANK.**—Dwellings of the Poor—Socialistic Experiments—Lessons from the lives of eminent Workers—A Glance at the History of the Working Class—Our Civilisation—The Criminal Classes, High and Low.

**LANE, JOSEPH.**—Different Schools of Socialistic Thought—Poverty, its Cause, Result, and Cure—The National Loaf, who earns it and who eats it—Will Land Nationalisation alone benefit the Workers?—Capitalistic Morality versus Socialistic Morality—Socialistic Experiments and their Results—Revolution or Reform.

**LIDDELL, JOHN H.**—Internationalism—Emigration.

**MORRIS, WILLIAM.**—Misery and the Way Out—How we Live and How we Might Live—Work as it is and as it might be—Competition—Art and Labour—Commercial War—How can we Help?—Socialism—The Political Outlook—The Aims of Art.

**MOWBRAY, C. W.**—Development of Revolutionary Ideas—Modern Money-lending—The Land Question from a Socialist Standpoint—Woman, her Position under Socialism and To-Day—Slavery—What is Profit?

**NICOLL, DAVID.**—The Coming Revolution—Socialism and Political Economy—The Charms of Civilisation—Law and Order—The Benevolent Bourgeois.

**SCHEU, ANDREAS.**—The Essence of Freedom and of Servitude—The Source of Wealth and the Cause of Poverty—Some Objections to Socialism—Love and Hunger—Socialism and the Theory of Evolution—The Labour Movement on the Continent—Owen, Marx, and Blanqui.

**SPARLING, H. HALLIDAY.**—Meaning of the Revolution—The Latter-day Devil—Pseudo-Socialism—The Münster Commune—Blind Samson—The Noble Army of Martyrs—Unrest and Unreason—A Larger Hope—Shoulder to Shoulder—"Killing no Murder."

**THEODOR, CHARLES.**—The Wage-worker's Struggle for Emancipation—Woman's Share in Social Revolution.

**WADE, W. C.**—England in the 15th Century and Now—The Cry of the Children—Brotherhood—Free Trade and Socialism—The Riots and the Revolution—Faith, Hope and Charity.

**WARDLE, T. E.**—Society—Civilisation, Religion and Socialism.

**Notice to Workmen's Clubs and Institutes.**—The Lecturers for the Socialist League will visit any part of London free of charge. Special arrangements must be made for the provinces. Early application should be made to the Lecture Secretary, at the offices of the League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 18.

SATURDAY, MAY 15, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

THE kind of news which we have lately received from Chicago could be a surprise to no one who has watched the course of events in America even through the medium of the bourgeois papers. On the one hand the vast number of men out of work, "at least a million," says the *Daily News*; on the other the struggle of the Knights of Labour for the eight hours' day (elsewhere told of in this number of the *Commonweal*) which means really the claim for a rise of wages: on the one hand dislocation of the labour-market and want of "employment," on the other claims for a greater share of the waning profits of the "employers." Such a condition of things is just the one to bring about collision between two parties obviously irreconcilable—the employers, brutal, domineering, short-sighted, seeing nothing but immediate gain or loss of money; the employed, no sheep to be shorn with pleasure and thanks for the removal of a burden. The lightening was bound to flash from two such dark clouds as this drawing near to each other.

As for the immediate events, the fight of May 4th, was one of those pieces of bloodshed which are the natural results of driving oppressed men into a corner: it must have been clear to those taking part in the meeting that the police would take the first opportunity for attacking them, and that even their dispersal would scarcely have saved them from a volley of shot. Men assembled in a great mass under such conditions are not likely to imitate the sham chivalry of the eighteenth century drilled hirelings, and request their enemy to fire first: it was a fight between people prepared to fight.

Meantime, we may note what was the nature of the speech of Samuel Fielden as told of in our bourgeois press, and the report of which brought out the "body of 400 police armed with staves and muskets . . . in extended platoon, which occupied the entire width of the street from house to house." It was just such a speech as is made by any of our speakers at street corners in London on Sundays. It was to guard against dispersal and arrest at the least, and probably also against immediate musket-shot that the revolutionists came armed on this occasion. They were driven into a corner, and they fought, as men of mettle are apt to do when in such a plight.

In short, it seems clear that the dominant class was determined in its fear of revolutionary action, to put down revolutionary opinion with a high hand; nor can it be denied that the Tuesday's fight has given them a good occasion to do so, and they are probably rejoicing even amidst their terror at the outbreak, because of its affording them their opportunity, whether they deliberately provoked it or not. A white terror is certainly setting in, which is likely to be specially ferocious, since in America the tyranny of middle-class democracy is not hampered by any of the sentiment which, half real and half hypocritical, still clings to it in England—till the middle-class shall become quite awakened by fear.

The American press is even suggesting the repression of immigration as a remedy for the spread of Socialism. If they are really in earnest, and succeed in carrying out such a measure, the great uprising will not be long delayed. That such a thing should be even spoken of, shows how swift has been the advance of Socialism. Once the two great Commercial Democratic Countries of the world prided themselves on being an asylum for political refugees: that was in the days when the refugees seemed no danger to commercial tyranny; which, therefore, was not sorry to hold in its bosom a half-hidden threat, for which it was not responsible, against absolutism, its own special enemy. Now, on the contrary, any spurt of fear sufficiently felt may at any time arouse the White Terror, either in England or America; nor will either Democracy, and, as aforesaid, especially the latter, be a whit behind the old Absolutisms in vigour of repression when it is really touched by fear.

The thoughtful middle-class man—the master—sees two prospects before him—the first baleful, the second fortunate. The first is the practical break up of the system which makes him master, and his place void in a society in which the rich and the poor have alike melted into equality. He sees himself no longer what he was—the stern director of healthy compulsion, or the condescending distributor of unpauperising rewards—but a man like other men, working for his

own livelihood, winning his own pleasures, all chance of his keeping a thousand men poor for his pleasure denied to him. This is a dreadful prospect to him; therefore, looking round on the power which he and those like him wield, he comforts himself with another possible prospect. He sees his class, wise in time, suppressing all opinion determinedly, though as slyly as possible; he sees part of the working-classes bribed into being his supporters, and the rest, the true have-nots, rigidly kept down. The old tyranny of the Roman empire is the model of his ideal: the jarring of families and tribes over now; the slaves reduced to sullen silence; the people kept quiet with bread and dog-fights; the rich free—free each man to hunt out his pleasure amidst the form of corruption which best suits his own sordid soul. This is the ideal of our masters of to-day, expressed with more or less hypocrisy, more or less timidity, but always returned to as a solid comfort amidst the fears engendered by the obvious decay of their system.

Well, these two prospects are visible to us as well as to the masters; but there is another which they do not seem to see, though it is more likely to be realised than either of the others. It involves, however, the partial realisation of their ideal. This second *Pax Romana* (peace of the empire) brought about, no corner of the civilised world in which a man can openly proclaim the wrongs of the have-nots; any spoken word which may break the peace of corruption, a crime, a wickedness; for the proletariat the civilised world one vast prison, in short, and no escape from it save death; and then—the upheaval. Since nothing but death will deliver us, there will be men who will choose a death which may bring about at least something. The word which may not be spoken will be whispered, and the whisper will be a gathering sign.

It is the course which will bring about this that the American middle-classes seem to be taking. Already the air is stifling with the sense of repression, and heavy with boasts of the violence of the well-to-do, who see success before them, especially since they hope to detach the mass of their own workmen from the revolutionary camp. And they probably will succeed in this at least, in showing the starved-out proletarians of Europe that they no longer have a city of refuge in America, but will meet there exactly the same oppression which they are used to in Europe. Once more, it is impossible that this should not hasten the coming Revolution all over the world.

Nor it must be said are the ruling classes quite ignorant of the fact that they will at least have rough times to pass through before they can attain to the peace of perpetual universal slavery, the hope of which they so vainly hug. It is a sign of the times that the *Tory Standard* should have an article on the Chicago riots which fairly admits, as it does, the facts of the genuine evolution of Socialism, and which sees that the outbreak is no mere accident to a peculiar form of our present system, but a consequence of the spread of enlightenment, and the results of steady propaganda. In the face of such admissions we need not combat the usual fallacies which the same article puts forward, since although the writer says, "That in the long run the forces of order will prevail in America and in Europe, we do not for a moment doubt;" it is clear from the rest of his article that he does very much doubt it.

Grand Court ceremonies have varied the budget of terrible and doubtful news to hand during the last few days; the same morning which gave the papers the happy chance of describing the hard won police victory at Chicago, gave them the opportunity of a long account of the glories of the costumes of the Drawing Room. In other words, the loads of idiocy with which the Court ladies try to set off their somewhat doubtful charms. One almost wonders that even such empty fools as these are, are not ashamed to play such a farce in the midst of all these tragedies.

Or that farce of all farces, the Queen opening the Colonial Exhibition with a Court ceremonial, crowned by the degradation of a man of genius! It fairly sickens one to think that the man who wrote "Rispa," with all its passion and deep sympathy for the wrongs of the poor, should have been driven by mere yielding to convention, to allow such flunkey doggerel as this Jingo "Ode" to appear with his name tacked on to it. That the Press, including the *Pall Mall*, should puff it is proper and natural, of course; they know that this Exhibition is just a piece of commercial advertisement (who gets the money realised by it, by the way?) and with their tongues in their cheeks proceed to

praise the exemplification it offers of the hopes of the perpetual unity of the empire; and even poor Home Rule must be lugged in to point the moral.

Examples of the last remains of the art of India which our commercialism has destroyed, have been made to do duty as a kind of gilding for the sordidness of the rest of the show, and are a sorry sight indeed to one who knows anything of what the art of the East has been. But let that pass. There are, perhaps, certain exhibits of examples of the glory of the Empire which have been, I think, forgotten. We might begin at the entrance with two pyramids, *à la Timour*, of the skulls of Zulus, Arabs, Burmese, New Zealanders, etc., etc., slain in wicked resistance to the benevolence of British commerce. A specimen of the wire whips used for softening the minds of rebellious Jamaica negroes under the paternal sway of Governor Eyre might be shown, together with a selection of other such historical mementoes, from the blankets infected with small-pox sent to unfriendly tribes of Red-Skins in the latter eighteenth century down to the rope with which Louis Riel was hanged last year, for resisting a particularly gross form of land-stealing. The daily rations of an Indigo ryot and of his master under one glass case, with a certificate of the amount of nourishment in each, furnished by Professor Huxley. The glory of the British arms gained in various successful battles against barbarians and savages, the same enclosed in the right eye of a louse. The mercy of Colonists towards native populations; a strong magnifying-glass to see the same by. An allegorical picture of the emigrant's hope (a) on leaving England; (b), after six months in the Colonies. A pair of crimson plush breeches with my Lord Tennyson's "Ode" on the opening of the Exhibition, embroidered in gold, on the seat thereof. A great many other exhibits of a similar nature could be found suitable to the exposition of the Honour, Glory, and Usefulness of the British Empire.

Rebellion, it seems, will soon be the fashion. Lord Wolseley disdains to deny the apparently preposterous brag of the Orange Chieftain; so it may be supposed there is at least some truth in it. We Socialists are not, of course, going to cry horror on rebellion; but the complacency with which the idea is received forms a curious comment on the outcry made by respectable people against other forms of rebellion. Bourgeois moralists will discover that everything is fair and even beautiful in defence of the sacred rights of property, when they are once seriously attacked.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## THE COMMERCIAL HEARTH.

(Concluded from page 42.)

We defy any human being to point to a single reality, good or bad, in the composition of the Bourgeois family. It is indubitably the most perfect specimen of the complete sham that history has presented to the world. There are no holes in the texture through which reality might chance to peer. The Bourgeois hearth dreads honesty as its cat dreads cold water. The literary classics that are reprinted for its behoof it demands shall be vigorously Bowdlerised, even though at the expense of their point. Topics of social importance are tabooed from rational discussion, with the inevitable result that erotic instances of middle-class womanhood are glad of the excuse afforded by "good intentions," "honest fanaticism," and the like things supposed to be associated with "Contagious Diseases Act" and "Criminal Law amendment" agitations, to surfeit themselves on obscenity. And these are the people who cannot allow unexpurgated editions of Boccaccio or even of Sterne or Fielding to be seen on their drawing-room tables! Then again, the attitude of the family to the word—"damn." Now if there is an honest straightforward word in the English language—a word which the Briton utters in the fulness of his heart—it is this word; and precisely, as it would seem, for this reason it is a word which is supposed never to enter the "family," even newspapers, in order to maintain their right of entrance to the domestic sanctuary, having to print it with a "d" and a dash—the meaning of which euphemism, by a polite fiction, the "wife" or "daughter" is supposed not to understand. But the word is coarse and offensive in itself, the Bourgeois may retort. You have tried to make it so, I reply, by classing it with the filthy and inane phrases, bred of the squalor which modern capitalism creates, but in reality it is good, expressive English. Nay, more, it has "higher claims on your consideration"—to employ one of your own phrases—it bears the impress of Christianity upon it; for is it not to Christianity that we are indebted for the ennobling idea and spiritual significance of the word? The reputed founder of Christianity, if the authenticity of the gospels is to be relied on in this respect, much affected the expression. In fact, in common consistency you ought to reduce the "damns" of your New Testaments to "d—s," to make the work suitable for family reading. You do not do this, and why? Because your real objection to the colloquial "damn" is, as before remarked, that it has a ring of honest sentiment in it against which your sham family sentiment revolts.

Let us take another "fraud" of middle-class family life—the family party. That ever and anon a wide circle of friends should meet together in a spirit of good-fellowship is clearly right and rational; but the principle of the family party is that a body of persons often having nothing whatever in common but ties of kinship extending in remoteness from the definiteness of blood relation to the indefiniteness of connection—that such a motley crew should thus meet together in exclusive conclave, and spend several mortal hours in simulated interest

in each other. Now a cousin, let us say, may be an interesting person, but very often he is not. If he is not, why, in the name of average human understanding, should one be expected every 25th of December or other occasion, to make a point of spending one's leisure with a man who is a cousin but not interesting rather than with another man who is interesting but not a cousin? The reason is, of course, that the tradition of the "family" has to be kept up. A "relation," however remote, is, in the eyes of Bourgeois society, more to a man than a friend, however near. So relations, male and female, congregate together on certain occasions to do dreary homage to this "family" sentiment.

On the same principle the symbolical black of mourning is graduated by the tailor and milliner in mathematically accurate ratio, according to the amount, not of affection, but of relationship. The utter and ghastly rottenness of Bourgeois family sentiment is in nothing more clearly evinced than in the mockery of grief and empty ostentation of tailoring and millinery displayed on the death of a near relation. What is the first concern of the middle-class household the instant the life-breath has left one of its members but to "see after the mourning," as the expression is? Now to a person of sensibility, the notion that the moment he enters on his last sleep his or her relations will "see about the mourning" may well impart to death a terror which it had not before, and thus act as an incentive to carefully-concealed suicide. We believe, indeed, the frequency of "mysterious disappearances" in middle-class circles may be largely explained by this, without resorting to far-fetched hypotheses of midnight murders on the Thames embankment, and the like. No, to signify a bereavement to the outer world (if so desired) by a band of crape on the sleeve or hat, or some such simple emblem, is one thing; to eagerly take advantage of the bereavement for the purpose of decking out the person in trousers designed in the newest cut adapted for the display of the male leg, or "bodies" in which the fulness of the female breast is manifested, is quite another—and nothing less than a ghastly travesty of sentiment.

This, then, is the "hearth," this the family life, the family sentiment which certain writers are so jealous of preserving. In vain do enthusiastic young persons band themselves together, under the benediction of the old man of Coniston, into societies of St George, in the hope that the low level of modern social life, with its vulgarity, its inanity, and its ugliness, by some wondrous educational stimulus, emanating from their own enthusiastic and artistic souls, may undergo a process of upheaval. After some years of Ruskinian preaching, what is the net result? A sprinkling of households among specially literary and artistic circles where better things are attempted, and so far as the elements of furniture and decoration are concerned, perhaps with some measure of success. But even here you generally find the counterbalancing evil inevitably attending a hothouse culture out of harmony with general social conditions—viz., affectation and self-consciousness. No healthy living art or culture has ever been the result of conscious effort. When it comes to saying "go to, now, let us be wise," or "let us be artistic," it is quite certain that the wisdom or art resulting will not be worth very much. The distinction between an artificial culture of this sort, which is cut off from the life of the society as a whole, and the natural culture which grows out of such life, is as the difference between the flower plucked from its root and withering in the hand and the same flower growing in luxuriance on its native soil. For what, after all, has modern art to offer but at best the plucked flowers of the art of the past, which sprang out of the life of the past? Your societies of St George, your æsthetic movements, etc., only touch a fringe of the well-to-do classes: they have no root in the life of the present day; and because they have no root they wither away, and in a few years remain dried up between the pages of history, to mark the place of mistaken enthusiasm and abortive energies. It is surely time that these excellent young people, together with their beloved prophet, descended for a while from their mount of Ruskinian transfiguration, with its rolling masses of vaporous sentiment, to the prosaic ground of economic science, and saw things as they are.<sup>1</sup> They would then recognise the vanity of their efforts, and the reason of this vanity to lie in their disregard of the economic foundation and substructure of all human affairs; they would see the radical impossibility of the growth of any art, culture, or sentiment in the slimy ooze of greed and profit-mongering—in other words, in a society resting on a capitalistic basis. They would see, further, that the end of the world of profit and privilege cannot be attained by enthusiasms, good intentions, or any available form of class culture, but will have to be reached by a very different route—maybe through February riotings, and possibly still rougher things.

The transformation of the current family-form—founded as it is on the economic dependence of women, the maintenance of the young and the aged falling on individuals rather than on the community—into a freer, more real, and therefore a higher form, must inevitably follow the economic revolution which will place the means of production and distribution under the control of all for the good of all. The Bourgeois "hearth," with its jerry-built architecture, its cheap art its shoddy furniture, its false sentiment, its pretentious pseudo-culture will then be as dead as Roman Britain.

E. BELFORT BAX.

<sup>1</sup> [I think that whatever damage Ruskin may have done to his influence by his strange bursts of fantastic perversity, he has shown much insight even into economical matters, and I am sure he has made many Socialists; his feeling against Commercialism is absolutely genuine, and his expression of it most valuable.—W. M.]

The slavery of the poor to the rich is based upon, maintained and perpetuated by force.



## OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM.

(A Reply to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P.)

## III.

I PASS to the objection that Socialists "refuse to be precise as to the method or character of the organisation [of the future], or the lines upon which it is to be carried out." At times this accusation, in the mouths of less skilled antagonists, becomes an accusation of indefiniteness of aim on the part of Socialists. "What is it you want?—what are you driving at?" asks the average man, as if he were quite in despair. To this question—not propounded exactly in this form by our chosen objector—the answer is perhaps as definite a one as any ever given by reformers at any time. Surely "nationalisation of the land and of all other means of production" is a plain and precise reply. There may be doubts as to how this is to be brought about. There can be no doubt as to what it is that is wanted.

It is only by implication that in "Some Objections" we are accused of vagueness. We are accused of incapacity to give details as to the working out of the daily life of man under Socialism. The accusation is unreasonable. No man can give with any degree of certainty the details of the future under a new order of things. And no man who has read history ought, I think, to expect this. To him that attempts it the past gives its warning as to the foolishness of such an attempt, and for him the future is preparing its contradictions. We can say what we think may happen, as Grönlund has in his "Modern Socialism," but we dare not say what must and will happen. Only we can comfort one another with this thought: that if, in all the strife and horror of this time, it is not impossible to conceive the working of a just and kindly scheme of life, such a conception will be easy enough to the ripper minds of a ripper time.

Especially in this connection do our first two general question-answers come in. To one asking for details as to bottle-washing, the making and the getting of the daily newspaper, and the like, we are bound to say, "How is this managed in our terrible society of to-day? In the most effective and equitable fashion, do you think? And do you not believe that these difficulties, over which capitalism is still stumbling, may be surmounted when a scheme of brotherhood replaces one of oppressors and oppressed?"

A pregnant Latin proverb comes to mind. *Solvitur ambulando*, "it is solved as we walk along." That is the reply to all these strange, these unconscionable enquiries—*Solvitur ambulando*. Take care of your principles, and the details will take care of themselves. Be quite clear on the large main idea for which you are working; keep that steadily in front of you, and when you reach it the solution of all these questions of detail will be found lying behind it. *Solvitur ambulando*.

Taking an illustration on this point from the agitation with which Mr. Bradlaugh's name has been most identified—that against religion; no one asks—or at all events no one ought to ask—anti-religionists for the precise details of the system they would substitute for that in vogue at present. And this, although the change we as atheists would bring about is a very, very small one compared with that for which Socialists work. I am certainly not prepared to say exactly what is to be done with the Church revenues, the churches themselves, all the Bibles and hymn-books, and such men as my friend the Reverend Stewart Headlam, whom no amount of revolution in religion would ever induce to give up preaching religion. Nor do I know any one else thus prepared. *Solvitur ambulando*.

The fearful upon this point should turn to the history of the Paris Commune in 1871. With what astounding and encouraging ease did that society of working men at once set about its work! How readily each fell into his place! Within that immortal 75 days, the standing army is replaced by an armed people, "municipal councillors chosen by universal suffrage in the various wards of the town, responsible and revocable at short terms," form the Commune; the police are stripped of all political attributes, and are merely the agents responsible and revocable of the Commune; high State dignitaries vanish and their salaries with them. All public service is done at workmen's wages. Here be details worked out in truth. *Solvitur ambulando*. When for Paris is substituted the civilised world, when the Commune is international, free from traitors within and foes without, and the 75 days have become the thousand years of peace—who can doubt that all things will work together for good to them that love man?

The next paragraph presents this same objection in another phase, and in one that is particularly interesting as showing an unintentional misreading on the part of our antagonist. He quotes the utterances of two men prominently identified with the Socialist movement in England, and quotes them as antagonistic one to the other. Each of the two writers, Mr. H. M. Hyndman and E. Belfort Bax is quite capable of taking care of himself, but I am compelled to point out that in what they have said they by no means contradict one the other. In fact the words of each of them really elucidate, and are necessary to the due understanding of, those of the other. According to the one, Socialism is an endeavour "to substitute an organised co-operation" for present day competition and commercial throat-cutting. According to the other, "no scientific Socialist pretends to have any detailed plan of organisation." Now, these two utterances, as a glance at the words I have italicised shows, are in nowise irreconcilable. The one clearly by its use of the indefinite article "an" is in harmony with the protest of the other against any one having any detailed plan, cut and dried, to fit into the future. He that has such a plan and holds it to be anything more than a suggestion of possibilities, need not be considered seriously. "Trust him not; he is (quite without intent) fooling thee."

(To be continued.)

EDWARD AVELING.

## BLUM.

(By FERDINAND FREILIGRATH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

[Blum was sent on a German delegation to Vienna in 1848, and there shot by the Austrian authorities as a disturber of the public peace.]

IN that great city of Cologne, 'tis forty years ago to-day,  
A child set up a lusty cry as on its mother's knees it lay—  
A babe with glad bright open brow, true omen of its life begun,  
Fit emblem of its father's worth, a stalwart worker's sturdy son—  
So loud a cry that toiling nigh the father paused to hear his child,  
The mother pressed its little lips the closer to her breast and smiled;  
Against her breast, upon her arm she softly sang her son to sleep—  
Such cradle-song the hearers long among their sunny memories keep.

In this same city of Cologne 'mid moaning winds of winter wild  
To-day in deepest organ tones resounds the grave-song of the child.  
'Tis not the mother bowed in grief who sings it o'er her fallen son;  
Nay, all Cologne bewails the death of him whose toil too soon is done.  
With solemn woe the city speaks: "Thou who didst bear the noble dead,  
Remain to weep within thy home, and bow to earth thine aged head.  
I also am his mother! Yea, and yet a mightier one than I,  
I and the Revolution's self, for whom he laid him down to die.  
Stay thou within, and nurse thy woe. 'Tis we will do him honour here;  
'Tis we will watch and requiem sing for thy dead son upon his bier."

So speaks Cologne: and organ notes through her dim cloisters throbbing go  
The pillars of the altar stand enshrouded in the suits of woe;  
The tapers give uncertain light, the clouds of incense denser roll;  
A thousand mourners weep to hear the requiem for a parted soul.  
Thus doth the mother-city pay the toiler's son his honour due;  
Him whom in far Vienna's walls the minions of oppression slew;  
Whom native worth had helped to climb the steep and painful path of life,  
And meet the foremost of the land on equal terms of civil strife;  
The man who, whatso'er might hap, could ne'er the People's cause betray—  
Why grasp ye not your swords in wrath, Oh ye that sing, and ye that pray?  
Ye organ pipes, to trumpets turn, and fright the scoundrels with your breath,  
And din into their dastard ears the dreadful news of sudden death,  
Those scoundrels who the order gave, the cruel murder dared to do—  
The hero leant him on his knee in that autumnal morning's dew,  
Then silent fell upon his face in blood—'tis eight short days ago—  
Two bullets smote him on the breast, and laid his head for ever low.

They gave him rest and peace at last; he lies in peaceful raiment dressed:  
Then sing a requiem round his grave, an anthem of eternal rest;  
Yea, rest for him who has bequeathed unrest to us for evermore;  
For in the dim cathedral aisles, where moving masses thronged the door,  
Methought through all the noise I heard a sound as of a whisper strange,  
"The passing moment is not all; the organs shall to trumpets change!  
Yes, they that now sing dirges here shall seize the sword in wrath sublime,  
For nought but fierce unceasing strife yet wrestles in the womb of time.  
A dirge of death is no revenge, a song of sorrow is not rage,  
But soon the dread avenger's foot shall tramp across the black-stoled stage;  
The dread avenger, robed in red, and smirched and stained with blood and tears,  
Shall yet proclaim a ceaseless war through all the coming tide of years:  
Then shall another requiem sound, and rouse again the listening dead—  
Thou dost not call for vengeance due, but time will bring her banner red.  
The wrongs of others cry aloud; deep tides of wrath arise in flood—  
And woe to all the tyrants then whose hands are foul with guiltless blood!"

In that great city of Cologne, 'tis forty years ago to-day,  
A babe set up a lusty cry where on its mother's knees it lay.  
A man lay on Vienna's dust in blood—'tis eight short days ago—  
To-day his requiem on the Rhine bewails the doom that laid him low.

## CHARITY FROM THE HOUSE-TOPS.

SWEET are the uses of philanthropy, which, though seemingly a losing game, bears yet a precious advertisement dear to the shop-keeping soul! Time was when the cultivated few held the monopoly of philanthropy, and if the poor benefited nothing by it, the rich certainly lost nothing. But understanding spreadeth, and competition changeth all things; and now it comes to pass that the people's distress is made a cheap and effective instrument of advertisement. In the town of Leeds alone three pointed examples have occurred within a month. In the first instance, a theatrical manager announces his intention to engage a number of the unemployed as "supers," by way of winning public support to his show.

Following immediately afterwards, a pork-butcher announces, in view of opening business at a certain end of the town, that he, assisted by a prominent local "book-maker," will distribute 1000 gallons of soup and 1000 loaves of bread to the unemployed.

Saddest scene of all was the one enacted at the local music-hall. An announcement was made that on a certain evening set apart for the benefit of a "serio-comic," twenty old people of seventy years and upwards would be presented with a glass of wine and a piece of cake each, which they would consume before the amused audience. To the credit of the aged poor of the town, let it be mentioned they did not respond in the manner expected. Only three old women put in an appearance, and these were fed and dismissed to the apparent relief of an undemonstrative audience.

In this as well as other ways does the system debase men's moral senses. To put the matter broadly, these people were arrayed in their poverty in order to entertain a set of graceless young barbarians who in the main keep such places going—not to speak of the prostitutes and their supporters, all alike pitiful products of a rotten and declining order of things.

Thus is the philanthropist's occupation travestied: let us hope that like Othello's it will soon be gone.

T. M.

The interests of wage-workers in all countries are allied. Whatever reduced them to poverty in one country, must react disastrously on the wage-workers of all other countries. The true labour reformer takes in the whole world.—*Labour Leaf*.



Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

QUESTIONS bearing upon the principles propounded and the objects had in view by the *Commonweal*, will be welcomed by the Editors.

WORKINGMEN and women in factories, workshops, stores or mills, are requested to go around among their comrades and get up a list of subscribers for the *Commonweal*, and lend a helping hand in the struggle for labour's freedom.

RECEIVED—England: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record. Belgium: La Guerre Social (Brussels). Canada: L'Union Ouvrière (Montreal). France: Paris: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—Le Révolté—Le Socialiste—La Tribune des Peuples—Revue du Mouvement Social, Le Devoir (Guise)—Le Forçat du Travail (Bordeaux). Germany: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). Holland: Recht voor Allen. Hungary: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Budapest). India: Voice of India (Bombay)—Hindu Patriot (Calcutta)—People's Friend (Madras). Italy: Il Fascio Operaio (Milan). Morocco: Almoghreb Al-aksa (Tangiers). New Zealand: Watchman. Portugal: O Campino—Voz do Operário—O Protesto Operário (Lisbon). Spain: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social—Acracia—La Justicia Humana (Barcelona)—Bandera Social—El Socialista (Madrid)—El Socialismo (Cadiz)—La Perseverancia (Huelva). Switzerland: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich). U. S. A.: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country—Amerikanische Arbeiter-zeitung. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal—Index. Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer—Little Socialist—Chicago (Ill.) Alarm—Detroit (Mich.) Labor Leaf—Princeton (Mass.) Word—Cleveland (O.): Carpenter—Chronicle. Cincinnati (O.) Unionist—San Francisco (Cal.) Chronicle—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Petersburg (Ill.) Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Die Parole—Altruist. Kansas (Mo.) Sun—Pittsburg (Pa.) Labor Herald—Paterson (N. J.) Labor Standard—Baltimore (Md.) Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.) Lucifer—Atlanta (Ga.) New Working World—Newfoundland (Pa.) La Torpille—Litchfield (Minn.) Radical—Manchester (N. H.) Weekly Budget—Portland (Oregon) Alarm.

### LABOUR TROUBLES IN AMERICA.

RIOTS and rumours of riots from one end of the States to the other. In Chicago a pitched battle between the police and the populace; workers and rulers alike arming and organising with all speed; the press with one accord clamouring for suppression of the "foreign interlopers," "blatant agitators," and "furious demagogues," whom a lively imagination shadows forth as the sole instigators and fomenters of the disaffection that now manifests itself so forcibly. Such is the position of affairs in America to-day. This land of promise beyond seas, asylum and refuge for the toil-worn and oppressed of all countries, divested of the hampering weight of monarchy and aristocracy, with universal suffrage, democratic-republican institutions, etc., suffers from the same "disease" of discontent as the most effete of the old-world empires.

Readers of the *Commonweal* do not need telling that this all forms part of the world-wide movement against class-rule and the iron chain of monopoly—that such disturbances are but a premonitory sign of the final disruption of the present system; but there may be some who need to be reminded of this in face of the attempt now being made to foist the whole trouble on to the shoulders of "foreigners," an attempt carried so far as even to culminate in a proposal to cure it all by stopping immigration!

In all civilised countries grows the movement—the labour-giant stretches uneasily in his fetters ere he makes the final effort to rive them. In America the universal uneasiness has taken the outward form of, and found expression in, an agitation for the eight hours working-day, in which men of all shades of opinion have joined eagerly, save only that section of New York, that is represented by the *Freiheit*.

In the full belief (by no means unfounded) that the carrying of such a measure would mean a dislocation of the present system that would hasten its downfall, the Socialistic Labour-party and the Red and Black Internationals have been working with the Knights of Labour in support of it, but the latter organisation has been most prominently associated with the agitation.

Constituted upon lines somewhat akin to those of Freemasonry or Good Templary, the Knights of Labour form not only a federation of Trades unions, but include also "mixed assemblies" of men not belonging to recognised union trades, such as clerks, store-keepers, unskilled labourers, etc., only excluding lawyers and publicans. They aim at a universal and complete organisation of labour, productive and distributive, without distinction of race, creed, or colour, and are composed, therefore, of men following the most varied vocations, with very dissimilar habits of life, and strongly marked differences of opinion. Their platform is in part Socialistic, but is so worded as to allow of the adhesion of the less advanced, the framers of it, as well as the present leaders of the order, making the fatal mistake of trying to enlist the support of the "weak-kneed" by veiling the full meaning of their demands, not seeing that as soon as they are compelled by circumstances to speak out, this alleged support will fall away.

The strength of the order lies in its comprehensive reach over all ranks and kinds of labour; but this also constitutes its great weakness. By uniting large numbers of men of all trades, it is enabled to bring an enormous pressure to bear upon any single firm with whom it is at variance; by its great weapon, the "boycott," it has already subdued a large number of hostile firms, but upon such a question as the eight hours' working-day, or any other which deals with the relation subsisting between Labour and Capitalists in general instead of between a particular capitalist and his employés, the various elements which constitute the order begin to draw asunder.

Months ago preparations were openly made for a universal strike to take place on May 1, only to end when victory had been won all along the line, and the foreknowledge of this embittered all the quarrels which inevitably rose from the annual "depression of trade," one of the few certain resultants of our present chaotic methods of procedure. Among the miners, iron-workers, tramway-men, and railroaders, the war has been waged with fierceness and determination. A salient example, the struggle for supremacy on the Missouri Pacific Railroad, and its connected lines, between the arch-monopolist and typical exploiter, Jay Gould, and the Knights, arose from an attempt on his part to increase the hours of labour; some Knights protested and were dismissed, whereupon the Order took up their quarrel, and a strike was ordered. When non-union men were hired measures were taken to persuade, and if need be, prevent them from running the trains. Of course this was promptly responded to by the dispatch of troops to keep the strikers at bay, and awe the "rats" into keeping their engagements. Several collisions took place between the military and the strikers, who were assisted by the bulk of the working-people; "riots" were again and again "suppressed," which is often merely the phrase of the bourgeois press for interference with, and dispersal of, quite orderly meetings of the people, and the irritation upon both sides grew apace, and still continues. It is not improbable that Gould will eventually win, as he is at least solid with himself, and can well spare part of his millions in the hiring of sneaks, cut-throats, and scoundrels to protect the rest of it, while throughout the whole course of the Missouri Pacific dispute, and still more so since the strike-area has been so much widened on May 1, has the tendency to disintegration to which I have alluded, been shown very markedly, the more inert among the membership being inclined to be content with a slight improvement of their condition, or, it may be, only a fair prospect of such improvement, while the more advanced desire to hit hard now that hitting has begun.

Their leaders have been frantically trying to spur forward the one by appealing to the wrongs of labour, and to restrain the other by talking of the "rights of property," but have principally succeeded so far in demonstrating the futility of trying to manipulate, like a homogeneous army, a body of men in support of a measure to the standard of which half of them have not advanced, while the rest have long since passed it by.

Very instructive is the utter frankness with which both sides have put forward an appeal to force as the final arbitrament. Unblinded by the superstition of rule "by the grace of God," being neither "defender of the faith" nor lineal descendant of a notorious thief or lecher, the American plutocrat rests with brutal candour his claim to possession on his ability to get and keep.

There are fewer rungs in the social ladder in the United States than here. Society is divided much more sharply into the haves and have-nots; and as might readily be conceived, the great development of the present system of profit-mongering and speculation, with its logical result, a knot of money-kings who hold at their disposal every resource, every power in the Union, makes the tyranny of King Capital keenly felt and bitterly resented by the people, who are free politically to an extent that rouses envy in the breast of the British Radical, but are still slaves socially to the same extent that we are.

In Chicago the International Working People's Association is very strong, with its allied societies forming a majority of the working population of the city. Here above all places the irritation reached boiling-point. The rule of the city in the hands of a ring of large monopolists, who, not content with their "legal" supply of force, are the sponsors and protectors of Pinkerton's "Thugs"—a band of desperadoes waged and let out to capitalists in need of the article by a speculator in violence; the smaller sharks only too eager to swim in the train of the big ones; a subservient city militia principally composed of people near enough to the working-classes in position to be anxious to emphasise their separation from them,—all these, confronted by a labouring population driven well-nigh desperate by misery, combined to threaten dire vengeance against the men who would bid the slaves unite. Long since was it well known that the first opportunity would be taken by the authorities for a display (if possible, a *use*) of force against a Socialist meeting. So that when the police advanced, in a formation obviously intended to provoke resistance, upon a demonstration not even purely a Socialistic one, taking as excuse for their wanton outrage a speech no more "violent" than has been a thousand times uttered at the same place, or than is being constantly delivered at London street-corners, it is small wonder that the Socialists, knowing from past experience how little difference in the numbers of them to be murdered it would make whether they stood or ran, held their ground for awhile. As to such incidents, whatever may be said as to the loss of energetic men in them, or the reaction that follows them and the consequent estrangement from the cause of timid though honest men, it is clear that under the present conditions of oppression they will happen, and will increase in number and violence as the people become more conscious of their present oppression.

There can be no lasting alliance between Socialists and those who recognise the "rights of private property." The "moderate" and "law-abiding" among the Knights of Labour are winning now for themselves the praise and thanks of the capitalists and their servile hirelings of the press by the bitter denunciations they pour forth against the "lawless anarchists" who have dared to go further than themselves. It must be fearlessly acknowledged that there is no peace, no truce, no halting-place possible until the full, free, and absolute control of all the material resources of a community are in its own hands. Until this is attained every "reform" is a delusion and a snare, for which no Socialist can leave his own, his only work—that of the agitation, education, organization of the people.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER I.—ANCIENT SOCIETY.

In beginning this series on Socialism, we think it necessary to prelude the matter which may appear to interest more immediately us now living, by a brief allusion to the history of the past.

Our adversaries are sometimes forward to remind us that the present system with which we are so discontented, has been made by the growth of ages, and that our wills are impotent to change it; they do not see that in stating this fact they are condemning their own position. Our business is to recognise the coming change, to clear away obstacles to it, to accept it, and to be ready to organise it in detail. Our opponents, on the contrary, are trying consciously to stay that very evolution at the point which it has reached to-day; they are attempting to turn the transient into the eternal; therefore, for them history has no lessons, while to us it gives both encouragement and warning which we cannot afford to disregard. The hopes for the industrialism of the future are involved in its struggles in the past; which, indeed, since they have built up the present system, and placed us amidst its struggle towards change, have really forced us whether we will it or not, to help forward that change.

The modern civilised State has been developed by the antagonism between individual and social interests, which has transformed primitive Society into Civilisation. The conditions of mere savage life recognised nothing but the satisfaction of the immediate needs of the individual; this condition of complete want of co-operation yielded to primitive Communism as the powers of man grew, and he began to perceive that he could do more than satisfy his daily needs for food and

shelter. By this time he had found that he could aid nature in forcing the earth to produce livelihood for him; the hill and forest became something more to him than the place where berries and roots grew, and wild creatures lived, the land became pasture ground to him, and at last amid some races ground for tillage.

But the wealth of man still grew, and change came again with its growth; the land was common in the sense that it was not the property of individuals, but it was not common to all comers; primitive society was formed, and man was no longer a mass of individuals, but the groups of this primitive society were narrow and exclusive; the unit of Society was the *Gens*, a group of blood-relations at peace among themselves, but which group was hostile to all other groups; within the *Gens* wealth was common to all its members, without it wealth was prize of war.

This condition of war necessarily developed leadership amongst men; successful warriors gained predominance over the other members of the *Gens*, and since the increasing powers of production afforded more wealth to be disposed of above the mere necessities of each man, these warrior leaders began to get to themselves larger shares of the wealth than others, and so the primitive communism of wealth began to be transformed into individual ownership.

The Tribe now took the place of the *Gens*; this was a larger and more artificial group, in which blood relationship was conventionally assumed. In it, however, there was by no means mere individual ownership, although, as said above, Communism had been broken into; the tribe at large disposed of the use of the land according to certain arbitrary arrangements, but did not admit ownership in it to individuals. Under the tribal system also slavery was developed, so that class Society had fairly begun.

The Tribe in its turn melted into a larger and still more artificial body, the People—a congeries of many tribes, the ancient Gothic-Teutonic name for which—*theoth*—is still preserved in such names as *Theobald*. This was the last development of Barbarism; nor was there much change in the conditions of wealth under it from those obtaining among the Tribe, although it held in it something more than the mere *germs* of feudalism.

Finally, ancient Barbarism was transformed into ancient Civilisation, which, as the name implies, took the form of the life of the city. With these cities political life began, together with the systematization of the old beliefs into a regular worship. The religion of Barbarism was the worship of the ancestors of the tribe, mingled with fetichism, which was the first universal religion, and may best be described as a state of mind in which the universe was conceived of as a system of animated beings to be feared and propitiated by man. This was transformed into what may be called city patriotism, which summed up the whole religion of the city, and which was the real religion of the Greeks and Romans in their progressive period, and of all the then progressive races of mankind, including the Hebrew. In these cities slavery speedily developed until it embraced nearly the whole of industrialism, the main business of the free citizens being the aggrandizement of their city by war.<sup>1</sup> For the cities were as hostile to each other as the tribes had been.

The course of events towards further transformation was that in the East the cities formed federations which gradually fell under the domination of bureaucratic and absolute monarchies, of which China still remains as an example. The Greek and Latin cities carried on the progress of human intelligence, but did not escape corruption and transformation.

Amongst the Greeks the individual struggle for pre-eminence gradually broke down the city patriotism, and led the way towards the domination of mere military and political intrigue and confusion, till the independence of Greece was finally trampled out by the power of Rome, now corrupted also. For during this time in Rome the struggle of the plebeian order—or inferior tribes of which the city was composed—with the conservative oligarchy—that is, the three most ancient and consequently leading tribes—had developed a middle-class living on the profits derived from slave labour, which broke up the old city republic and led to the formation of a commercial and tax-gathering empire, founded on slavery, whose subjects were devoid of all political rights, and in which the triumph of individualism was complete. Indeed, this same struggle had taken place in one way or another in the Greek cities also. Thus was all public spirit extinguished. The natural greed of commercialism gradually ate up the wealth of the empire: even slave labour became unprofitable. The landlords were ruined; the taxes could not be paid; and meanwhile the Roman soldier, once a citizen religiously devoted to his city, became a bribed hireling, till at last no bribe was high enough to induce a civilised man to fight, and the Roman legions were manned by the very barbarians whose kinsmen were attacking the empire from without.

Thus was ancient civilization delivered over to the Barbarians, fresh from their tribal communism, and once more the antagonism of individual and common rights was exemplified in the two streams of Barbarian and Roman ideas, from the union of which was formed the society of the next great epoch—the Middle Ages.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

A man in debt is not free, for his creditors can squeeze him. A country in debt is in the same position, and its creditors squeeze the government to force certain laws to be passed.—*Labor Leaf*.

<sup>1</sup> The Greeks added to this the practice of the higher arts and literature, neither of which the Romans possessed in their progressive period.



## PIETY ON AN EMPTY STOMACH.

"If every one," said Mr. Pecksniff, "were warm and well-fed, we should lose the satisfaction of admiring the fortitude with which certain conditions of men bear cold and hunger." This appears to have been the sentiment which prompted the publication of *The Working-Man's Text-book*, a small pocket volume containing a Preface by the Bishop of Bedford, and a text on each page. The worthy bishop exhorts working-men to read one verse twice daily, beginning with it first thing in the morning, and ending with it last thing at night. The advice is no doubt well meant and kindly; but it is, nevertheless, nothing short of astounding that pious churchmen should continue to preach this unbelievable Gospel of Piety on an Empty Stomach. The philosopher in the fable, who read a long lecture on the folly of rashness to the youth who was drowning before his eyes, did not act one whit more unreasonably than those who think to compensate the victims of this world's injustice by directing their attention to the felicities of the world to come. It is a poor consolation for a man who is compelled to live on the verge of starvation, to be assured that "the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed," or, that "they who seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good;" yet these are among the texts that we find appointed for certain days. Again, such a verse as "The Lord is my shepherd; therefore can I lack nothing" may offer very suitable meditation for well-to-do prelates, whose condition it so accurately describes; but it does not seem equally appropriate for those who happen to be in need of *everything*. It cannot be denied, however, that there is something distinctly pertinent in some of the arrangements of the Text-book. Was the compiler thinking of the Royal Commission of Enquiry into the Housing of the Poor, when he selected "In my Father's house are many mansions: I go to prepare a place for you"? Those who have had experience of the advantages of "free competition" will appreciate the grim truth that underlies such verses as "Ye are not your own: for ye are bought with a price," or, "Boast not thyself of to-morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth." Finally, on looking with some interest to see what text is appointed for that significant date, the First of April, we find the seasonable advice "Trust ye in the Lord for ever," and are fain to confess that humour, however unconscious, is not entirely absent from this small volume.

The compiler seems to have been unequal to completing the full circle of the year, for after the end of June the readers are referred back to January, and must again meditate daily on the texts which had their full attention only six months before. Perhaps he was haunted by a suspicion that few working-men would be likely to accompany him far enough to discover the deficiency. "Very few and very weary are those who are in, at the death of the Blatant Beast," so Lord Macaulay remarked of a famous allegorical poem; and the same might hold good, in a sense, of *The Working-Man's Text-Book*. Such a book could only be published in a blatant and Pecksniffian age; and we trust working-men are not likely to be deceived by such hypocritical twaddle.

H. S. SALT.

## THE POOR IN INDIA.

From the "Statesman," Calcutta, March 20th, 1886.

THIS extract is an illustration of the acknowledged fact that under British rule in India the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer every year.

The prosperous under our rule are the moneyed classes, traders, brokers, the professions, especially doctors, solicitors, and barristers. The poor tenant-farmer, and the labourer employed by him, have long ago all but succumbed. The wealth of the country districts is by our rule drawn to the towns and accumulated there in a few hands.

"A native gentlemen writes to thank us for again calling the attention of the Government to the condition of masses of our cultivators. His father was 'a Bengal ryot' [tenant-farmer], he tells us, and but twelve years ago he was himself, as a boy, witness to all the privations and sufferings of a ryot's home:—

"I am not going to appear before the public in an assumed garb. Twelve years back, I was a cultivator in the strict sense of the word; and I will try to lay before your readers my bitter experience of what it means. I well remember as a grown-up boy, when I had to work in the fields, careless of sun and rain, that I never had a meal that satisfied my hunger to the full. Throughout the rainy season we had often to sit up almost the whole night to save the thatched roof of our hut being blown away by the storms of wind and rain. We took our supper before dark, not because we liked to do so, but because we had no light in the hut, and did not like eating in darkness by the flicker of hemp-sticks (pat-kati). Never in my boyhood did I know what it was to have two dhoties [waist-cloths round the middle in place of trousers], while the one I wore barely came down to my knees. The others of my family were no better off. I never saw in my father's possession a larger sum than Rs. 5 [10s.]. When our poor cottage was destroyed by a cyclone, we had to take refuge under a tamarind tree. Shoes, shirt, or chudder [a bed-sheet], were not for us. Very fortunate was he who could procure any of these articles. I recall vividly in what misery my poor mother, father, brother, and sister departed from this world of woe and anxiety. When my father and then my grandmother died, I had not an eight-anna piece to buy fuel for their cremation; and when my brother and sister followed them one after another, I had no money to call in medical aid even in their dying moments.

"I tell you these facts in a haphazard way, to give you and your readers of the higher class some idea of the real condition of the Bengal peasant of the present day; and I tell you on my honour that the majority of our class whom I knew were not a whit better off than ourselves.

"You will now understand what the standard of living is among the agricultural masses of Bengal; and if you kindly allow my letter to appear, I have a mind to write to you at more length on the subject."

"And is it really 'war' that should occupy our attention from one year's end to another, with the people in this condition under our rule? It will be seen that the writer confirms to the letter what Dr. Hunter and Mr. A. C. Elliott say as to the people not knowing what it is to have their hunger satisfied. The writer of this letter says that he never remembers a meal that satisfied his hunger when he was a boy in his father's ryot home. It is 25 years since we first began to call attention to the painful testimony of our district officers, that the cultivators were from some cause or other everywhere sinking into pauperism. The late Mr. Marriott, an old Bombay Civilian, first awakened our interest in the matter, and it has grown with the lapse of time. The Government ought not to have rested for a day under such testimony, but inquired into its causes from the first."

## LITERARY NOTICES.

Our Turin friends notify us that from several causes the publication of the *Question Sociale* has been discontinued. The party is, however, making arrangements for issuing a paper at Rome, to which we wish every success.

Our Corner for May is, as usual, full of readable articles. Mrs. Besant's "Modern Socialism" and Bernard Shaw's "Irrational Knot" retain their high level of excellence. The present number is also remarkable for the first serious attempt to "place" Mr. Shaw as a fictionist, an attempt which is here somewhat more than partially successful.

*To-Day*, edited by Fabian Bland, has in the current number the continuation of "Capital" and "Broken Lives," some agreeable verse by Pakenham Beatty and Adeline Sergeant, and a very feeble article upon "Radicalism and Socialism," which evades or misses the real point at issue. H. H. S.

*Le Forçat du Travail* (Bordeaux) airs the workman's grievances with a vigorous pen; one number contains an appreciative article on the 18th of March. Several seizures of Socialist journals in Bordeaux are recorded.

*La Torpille* (Newfoundland), a diminutive monthly sheet, devotes its April number to reports of 18th March celebrations in New York and elsewhere.

*Acracia* (Barcelona) states its principles (Communist-Anarchist) in a short concise heading. It contains several thoughtful articles, notably a short one on the failure of Art to-day for lack of a modern ideal.

The assertion in *El Socialista* (Madrid) that "Collectivism and Communism mean one and the same thing," should have a more conspicuous place than a modest foot-note, considering its importance.

*El Socialista* of Madrid, concludes the manifesto of the Liberal Party, in this week's number. "Political power," "propaganda in Parliament and in other administrative bodies," is the sum of this rather lengthy production.

The current number of *Le Révolté* contains the continuation of Krapotkin's address in the Salle Lévis. Readers are referred to a former number of the paper for the beginning of this interesting discourse. M. M.

General Van der Smissen, alarmed at the circulation of *Ni Dieu ni maître* among the army, has been ordering his commandants to bring the soldiers together frequently and to give them lectures to refute Anarchism, and to show them that Anarchists want to undermine the foundations of society. —*Le Révolté*.

## THE PEOPLE'S PRESS.

There is less freedom in a republic when the public press is debauched by a class, than in a monarchy, where nothing better is expected.—*Our Country*.

Organised labour is learning something, but its lesson is not an easy one, as it will find before its emancipation from the task-master is complete. We see the beginning, but the end no one can foretell.—*Our Country*.

This is an ultimate aim of the labour movement: To equitably divide between those who toil the result of that toil. It is not to rob, or murder, or do any other wrong act. It is simply to see to it that every one who works gets all he produces, and every one who is idle has no power to live off the toil of others. He must work or starve.—*Labor Leaf*.

In China, where you can get a suit for 25 cents, half the population are nude at this moment. In India you can get a suit for 25 cents, yet a hundred million people go naked. I claim that immense power of machinery has not brought the products thereof within the grasp of consumers.—*John Swinton's Paper*.

If it is true, as capitalists assert, that labour is dependent upon capital for support, Adam and Eve must have had a very hard time to get something to eat. There were no capitalists to employ them, you know. But they went to work and created a little capital, and after they had done so they employed it to assist in the production of their necessities. Their capital never employed them. Life is drawn from the earth, not from capital, and men would continue to raise the necessities of life if every cent of money, every bond note, mortgage, etc., were to be destroyed.—*Topeka Citizen*.

When we consider how great an advance the world has made during the last hundred years; how much the opportunities have improved for enjoyment, happiness, and luxury; how much the intellect of man and aspirations for a higher life have grown,—how diabolical sounds the assertion that the poor have no reason to complain, as they are better off than they were years ago. When will the rich learn that nature sends her bounties on all alike—the rain on the just and on the unjust? Never, I fear, until their eyes are opened by force and overwhelming numbers take their rightful share of the good things.—*Labor Enquirer*.

The laws of nature are the only safe guide for, and should be the only directors of, man's actions. To prove this, let me ask you: Did you ever hear of any man-made law prescribing your eating, drinking or sleeping? Or, on the contrary: Did you ever hear of any man-made law prohibiting the eating of strychnine? And yet we eat and we drink and sleep, and we eat no strychnine in spite of the absence of man-made laws regulating these things. It is only for the protection of a certain class of people in the holding of property, which they have wrung from the workers, and upon which they live the lives of luxurious idlers, and for the protection of practices which are directly in opposition the laws of nature and equity, that laws are made by man. All that is needed under a pure, equitable, rational system of society are simple agreements between the people regulating the mode of exchange of commodities and the system of education.—*Labor Enquirer*.

## NOTES.

The cynical indifference of employers as to the lives of their employed never took a more hideous form than in connection with the Merchant Shipping, and the Bill named after this, that Mr. Chamberlain fought for a few months ago. And that indifference, alas! affected the general public, eaten up as it is with the canker of commercialism. Every one knows the awful facts Mr. Chamberlain brought forward, and, the if possible, more awful way in which the ship-owners roared out when their license to murder sailors was threatened. If Mr. Chamberlain, instead of sulking because Mr. Gladstone consulted Mr. Morley rather than him about Ireland, will set to work at the shipowners again, he may be forgiven for his bad temper.

A Board of Trade return just issued speaks even more eloquently than Mr. Chamberlain. It only applies to steamers and the casualties, as they are with capitalistic euphemism called affect, chiefly sailing vessels. In 1883-4 from steamers alone, 614 lives were lost; in 1884-5, 700. The increase is terrible enough. But more terrible still is the proportion of these 614 and of these 700 that died by bad weather and bad seamanship on the one hand, to those that died in consequence of vessels foundering and being missed. It is evident that whilst some of the former category may be preventible, nearly all of the latter must be. Vessels founder or are missed, as a rule, because they were sent to sea in an unseaworthy condition by those that knew them to be unseaworthy.

What are the numbers? In 1883-4, lives lost through bad weather and bad seamanship, 360; in 1884-5, 187. But in 1883-4, lives lost through the foundering and vanishing of ships, 254; in 1884-5, 520—more than double. And yet we shall have the advocates of individualism, with that disgraceful print, the *Weekly Dispatch*, shrieking in the van, protesting against any interference with the liberty of the subject to drown his fellows.

I am not sure of the exact position that the journal just mentioned took up on the question just discussed. It is true that to my sorrow I read it every week. But I only do this, as the Spartans made the Helots drunk, to see and shun the horrible. But, though I am thus uncertain as to the line that Mr. Fox Bourne would take when a scheme so Socialistic as restraint of shipowners was under consideration, I am warranted in thinking it would be that of cruelty by the entirely heartless way in which the *Dispatch* talks about the limitation of shop hours.

Surely the working-man Radical must see what Radicalism is, when on a question that affects the health, the happiness, and even the lives of young working-men and women, the *Weekly Dispatch* is found lying (I use the word in no invidious sense) side by side with Mr. Blundell Maple. All the "arguments" used by the defenders of long hours for shop-assistants are but a pitiful warming-up again of the old objections to the Factory Acts. The howling of such papers as the *Weekly Dispatch* is only the modern echo of the raving against any limitation to the labour of women, young persons, or children.

The regulation of shop hours is an "act of tyranny—a monstrous persecution of humble bread-winners." If Mr. Fox Bourne, foaming at the mouth at this projected tyranny and persecution, would take to foaming about the tyranny and persecution of our method of producing and distributing goods—well, then he wouldn't be Mr. Fox Bourne, and we should not have our drunken Helot Sunday paper.

How Lord Tennyson must writhe at his having to write an ode on commerce, and at the ode when written! An American telegraphs a prayer "God grant it [the ode] may stand a sturdy sea-wall against the tide of disunion and degeneracy." There is no reference in the last word to the poet's style.

Messrs Brinsmead, pianoforte makers, broke a boy's arm the other day by not fencing a piece of machinery. By a strange inadvertence, they omitted to give the notice required by law of the accident. Fine £2. Not a heavy sum for the luxury of having a boy's arm broken.

Had the declarations of Lords Wolsley and Charles Beresford on the Irish question and war been made by a Socialist, prosecution would have been at least talked of. One thing is that this sort of talk is the very thing to get the Bourgeois' back up. He will be a little angry and a good deal frightened. After all, he knows that these professional butchers are paid by money that goes through his hands, and he calls that being paid by him. Snob as he is to these people if they do his work, he will get very cross with them if they forget their place and talk about doing work not ordered by the snob-master of snobs.

The nail-trade is in a deplorable condition. An operative committee is appealing to the masters on the grounds that the average price is now thirty per cent. below what it was in 1879, and many hundreds of families are on the verge of starvation. These families are not those of the masters.

By the sanction at the hands of the Home Office of the shift working system in the Welsh tin-plate trade, boys under 18 can now be employed during illegal hours. The change, we are told, will benefit masters (that we believe) and men (that we do not believe). With judicious reticence, nothing is said about benefit to the boys. ED. AVELING.

## RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

## BELGIUM.

Our friend Anselme—than whom no man has done more for the cause in Belgium—has lately sent a most interesting report to the *Cri du Peuple* on the Co-operative Society "Vooruit" (Forwards) of Ghent. I give a few extracts from his letter: "Vooruit" is a Socialist Co-operative Society, founded in 1880, with a capital of 2000 francs (£80), lent them by the Weavers' Society, from whose ranks most of the Socialists here are recruited.

All workmen who applied to become members were told by us that 'Vooruit' was, and would remain Socialist, that our bakery was not an end, but was to be simply a means of propaganda, of organisation for the women, and of preparing for the class-war; to show that Socialists were neither thieves nor dreamers, but thoroughly able to fulfil the historical part they are called upon to play, i.e., the overturning of the capitalistic system, and the organising of the society of the future. Although several co-operative bakeries already existed, and the bourgeoisie, the priests, and the press attacked us constantly, yet within two years we had between 900 and 1000 members. To-day we number 2300 families. All machinery has had to be renewed, our place enlarged. We have a magnificent restaurant decorated with Socialistic emblems, a concert-room that can seat 1500 persons, and a very pretty theatre. We bake from 24,000 to 25,000 loaves weekly. We have a central and four other offices where members on Saturdays and Sundays buy their bread-tickets; a loaf of one kilogram (2½lbs) costs 35 centimes (about 3½d.). The bread is taken round the town in six large carts to the houses of members; every one gives up as many tickets as he wants loaves. Every six months accounts are balanced. The last half-year gave the Society a profit of 13½ centimes per loaf, so that a 2½lbs. loaf (and bread of the very best quality) cost us 21½ centimes. This profit was divided among the members, each getting 11 cents. per loaf, so that the loaf really costs them 24 centimes. The remaining 2½ centimes per loaf were placed in the reserve fund for the purpose of increasing and improving our material, for supporting strikes, and for Socialist propaganda, through the daily publication of our organ *Vooruit*. The profits are not paid in money, but in bread-tickets, so that all members who take all their bread from us, for over three months in the year get their bread for nothing. Bread is only sold to members. The Society has also a large store . . . where members can make purchases in exchange for their bread-tickets. When the half-yearly "dividends" are given out we always have a fête. To become a member you have to pay 17 centimes (about 1½d.) entrance fee, and at the first paying out on the profits the member receives 1 franc less than the rest, that is all. Every member pays 5 centimes weekly for the mutual benefit fund, which, in cases of illness, gives six loaves a week. Only those can be elected on the committee who have been members for at least one year of a branch of the Socialist party. In 1885, the 'Vooruit' bakery gave 10,000 francs to workers on strike, and about 12,000 loaves for the strikers at Ghent, besides thousands of francs and loaves for Socialist propaganda generally. There could be no mightier lever for Socialist propaganda than such an organisation as this. . . . We have started two dispensaries, where we sell all medicines 100 per cent. cheaper than the other chemists. We are about to start five or six more. . . . In the premises belonging to 'Vooruit' a dozen workmen's societies meet. Some of these societies have large libraries; our own consists of 3,500 vols.; the weavers have 2,500. The use of this library costs 15 centimes a fortnight; members belonging to Socialist societies have the use free, but their societies pay 1 centime a head monthly. . . . We have just started a large printing concern, with large presses. . . . Such is 'Vooruit.' It has always openly declared itself Socialist. On the frontage of their house you read, 'Worker's Union, Co-operative Labour, Socialism, Education, Freedom.' Whenever, in any part of the world, the proletariat raises its voice, the red flag waves above the 'Vooruit' building; at every massacre of the people it is draped in mourning."

Commenting on this most interesting communication from Anselme, the *Social Democrat* points out the great importance of this organisation; bears witness to the excellence of the bread baked by the society, and shows wherein this Co-operative Society entirely differs from the "profit-sharing" concerns patronised by bourgeois sentimentalists. For example, 'Vooruit' is openly avowed a means to the end we all have in view, and it is used for organising and educating the workers, and not for turning them into "profit makers and dividend imbibers on a small scale, and this because (1) only members can deal at 'Vooruit'; (2) because dividends are not paid out in money, and because they have no kind of shareholders, but only members, all with equal rights." As to the workmen employed in the bakeries, it goes without saying that they are paid the highest wages in their trade, and that for the rest they have exactly the same rights and privileges as the other members of the society.

At Verviers and Brussels, Socialist Societies on the same plan are being started, and an excellent one already exists at the Hague.

I give no report of the Decazeville strike and the Paris election, because Paul Lafargue, as soon as the work entailed by that election is over, will send a detailed account of the whole movement. Meantime, I need only point out that the 100,750 votes given for Roche are a splendid victory. These votes mean not only a blow aimed at the Radicals: they mean the solidarity of the Socialists of Paris. On this head, pending Lafargue's letter, I warn our friends that the statements *re* the Roche election of "Headingley" in *Justice* are absolutely contrary to fact. Details next week. E. M. A.

The French Republican Government seems resolved to show in every possible way that they are quite as much the Government of the capitalists as any of their predecessors. Not content with siding with the Mining Company in Decazeville, they now come out even stronger in Lyons. There is a strike at a glass-works there; a few knobsticks continue working, and are lodged inside the works for safety's sake. When the furniture of one of them—a German anarchist of the name of Litner—was removed to the works, the strikers followed it, hooting. No sooner was the cart with the furniture inside and the gates closed, than shots were fired from the windows upon the people outside—revolver-bullets, and buckshot flying about in every direction, and wounding about thirty people. The crowd of course dispersed. Now the police and the judicial authorities interfered. But not to arrest the capitalist and his retainers who had fired—oh no! they arrested a number of the strikers for interfering with the freedom of labour! This affair coming on at this very moment, has caused immense excitement in Paris. Decazeville has swelled the Socialist votes in Paris from 30,000 to above 100,000, and the effect of this murderous affair on the La Malotier Gray at Lyons will be greater still. F. E.

The ex-ambassador of America in France is reported to have said that nothing so cowardly as the killing of the policemen at Chicago, was perpetrated during the reign of the Commune in Paris. He forgot to mention apparently, that after the fall of the Commune acts were perpetrated in and around Paris by the bloody villain Thiers, and the ruffians acting under him in the interests of "order," which slightly surpass in enormity and magnitude in the eyes of unprejudiced persons, even the killing of three policemen. The case stands thus: 30,000 opponents of bourgeois order slaughtered *versus* 3 of its defenders—but that, of course, makes all the difference. B.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

### Notice to Members.

**General Meeting.**—On Monday May 24, at 8.30 p.m. Council meets at 7.30.

**Library.**—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

**Reading Room.**—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. All papers received by the Secretary are sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members.

**Annual Conference.**—Whitsunday, June 13. Attention of Branches is especially called to Rule V. (pages 3 and 4 Constitution and Rules). Any Branch not able to send a delegate from among its own members can appoint any member of the League to represent them.

**Excursion.**—Comrades Cantwell, Gray, and Lane, with Eleanor Marx-Aveling, May Morris, and Mrs Wardle, have been appointed a committee to arrange for an excursion to take place on Whit-Monday, the day after the Conference. The balance remaining in hand from the Christmas-tree will be utilised to provide for a children's outing at the same time; and any one willing to assist in giving the little ones "a day in the country" is asked to send his contribution to one of the woman-members of the committee. Full announcement of place, time, etc., will be duly made in this column.

All members changing their address are earnestly requested to send notice either to Branch secretaries or to Secretary of the League.

London members not yet belonging to any Branch are informed that a Clerkenwell Branch is in process of formation at the Central Office, to which, or to some other Branch, they must join themselves if they desire to be represented at the coming Conference.

### Notice to Lecturers and Branch Secretaries.

To avoid confusion and mistake, lecturers and Branch secretaries are requested to at once advise the Lecture Secretary of all engagements made by them. Branches will find it more convenient to make their arrangements with speakers through the Lecture Secretary, who will undertake to make all necessary announcements unless otherwise instructed.

A meeting of out-door and indoor lecturers will be held on Saturday the 29th of May at 13 Farringdon Road, to make all necessary arrangements for June. The Hoxton Branch (L. E. L.) is requested to communicate with the Lecture Secretary in regard to Kingsland Road and Hackney Road stations. Comrades who can speak or otherwise assist at open-air meetings, are urgently requested to send in their names at once. "The harvest, truly, is great, but the labourers are few." All interested in the cause of Socialism would help greatly by advising the secretary of suitable spots for establishing new stations.—C. W. MOWBRAY.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Marylebone, to March 31. Bloomsbury, Hackney, Hammersmith, Leeds, North London, Norwich, Oxford, to April 30. Manchester, to May 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), to June 30.

## "THE COMMONWEAL."

The *Commonweal* is published at 10 a.m. every Thursday.

Branches are asked to note that each weekly sending of paper should be paid for at the end of the week.

Copies of the cartoon by Walter Crane given with the first number of the weekly issue, can now be had printed on fine hand-made paper for framing, price 6d., postage 1d.; protection roll, if desired, 2d. extra.

## REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

The concert given last Saturday at Farringdon Hall by our comrade Snelling and his friends was a decided success, a fairly large audience listening with marked appreciation to the entertainment given them.

At a meeting of the Council of the London members of the League last Monday the following resolution was voted with acclamation: "That this meeting expresses its heartfelt sympathy with the Chicago Socialists in their resistance to a violent attack on the freedom of speech."

**HACKNEY.**—On Sunday we held a meeting in Well Street, opposite Kenton Road, at 11.30 a.m., addressed by comrade Graham, who took for his subject, "Has Machinery lessened Human Labour?" The meeting was well attended; some slight opposition was made by a Christian. In Victoria Park, at 3.30, comrade H. Burcham spoke on "Socialism." Some opposition from two "sweating" tailors.—J. FLOCKTON.

**MARYLEBONE.**—Our meeting on Saturday evening in the Harrow Road was larger than last week. We had some slight opposition from a working man, which was vigorously replied to by comrade Mainwaring. The people seem very ignorant as to what Socialism means, and several expressed a desire that we should assemble more frequently than once a week. Judging from enquiries that were made by several of the audience, there is every reason to believe that we shall shortly make many new members. At Bell Street on Sunday morning the meeting was addressed by comrades Charles, Arnold, and Burcham. In the afternoon, in Hyde Park, we had a very large and enthusiastic audience, numbering from 1000 to 1500 persons. The meeting was addressed by comrades Mainwaring, Arnold, Wardle, and John Burns; and the stronger and more forcible the language of the speakers, the greater was the enthusiasm of the large assemblage. Several questions were asked, and answered to the evident satisfaction of all,—the meeting terminating about six o'clock. The sale of the *Commonweal* at the meetings has been greater than last week.—H. G. A.

**MILE END.**—On Tuesday, May 4, F. Quintin lectured here to an attentive and interested audience on the "Over-Population Chimera," as a challenge to Malthusians. He traced the history of the theory, and afterwards advanced scientific evidence against it. A good discussion followed, in which comrades Mowbray, Allman, and Gault took part.—On Thursday we had a splendid meeting on the Mile End Waste. Comrade Mowbray, in an able address, dwelt on the evils that surround the worker to-day in England and America, and foreshadowed their removal by the advent of Socialism. Comrade Allman also spoke. There was no opposition.—H. DAVIS.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Good meetings have been held during the past week, and nearly four quires of the first weekly *Commonweal* have been sold. The Tuesday station in Euston Road, though valuable for propagandist purposes, is frequented chiefly by men out of work and others to whom a penny weekly is, unhappily, a consideration. The readiness of our speakers to give orators of the thrift-and-temperance order a fair field appears to operate in our favour.—R. A. B.

**WANDSWORTH.**—If there are any friends in and around Wandsworth who are willing to assist in forming a Branch and pushing the sale of *Commonweal*, please communicate with F. Kitz, 3 Wandle Terrace, Merton, or Czer Rour, 9 Frogmore, Wandsworth.

**LEEDS.**—Successful meetings were held in Vicar's Croft on Sunday morning and afternoon. In the afternoon we were listened to by fully a thousand people. The paper sold well; and our members are deserving of praise for the admirable zeal shown by them at all our open-air meetings. In the evening a debate was conducted by a few comrades at a Conservative debating room.—T. M.

## LECTURE DIARY.

**HALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.**—Lectures every Wednesday at 8.30; Sundays at 7.30. Admission free; discussion invited. Sunday May 16. H. Barker, "The Poor's House." Wed. May 19. T. Binning, "Citizen v. Subject."

## BRANCH MEETING ROOMS.

### LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—Business meeting at central office every Wednesday at 7.30.  
**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday, May 16, at 7.30 p.m., a lecture. Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.

**Hackney.**—The Hackney Branch meets at the Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every Monday at 8 p.m., for the enrolment of members and other business.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmecott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m.  
**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday evenings at 7.45. May 16. T. Wardle, "The Fallacies of Society."

**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

**Mile-end.**—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. May 18. H. Brabazon, "Why Revolutions are made."

**North London.**—Communications to R. A. Beckett, St. Mildred's House, Poultry, E.C.

**South London.**—Business meetings at 103 Bird-in-bush Road, on Sundays at 7.30.

### PROVINCES.

**Birmingham.**—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30.

**Dublin.**—30 Great Brunswick Street. Every Tuesday at 7.45 p.m.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Neilson's Hotel, Ingram Street, every Saturday at 7 p.m. Lectures and discussions. Members and friends are invited to assist in selling *Commonweal* at Green (Jail Square) Saturdays, 5 p.m.

**Leeds.**—The St James' Hall Café, Bridge End, Briggate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m. for business and at 8 p.m. for lecture. May 18. Wm. Morris's "Misery and the Way Out" will be read by M. Sollitt.

**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—County Forum. Fridays, at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Café. Every Monday at 8 p.m.

**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 27 Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Royston.**—"Greyhound Inn." Every Sunday evening at 7.30.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

### LONDON.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 15.	Harrow Road, near Royal Oak Station	7	D. Nicoll	Marylebone.
S. 16.	Canning Town	11.30	C. W. Mowbray	Central.
	Edgware Road—Bell Street	11.30	F. Kitz	Marylebone.
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	J. Lane	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—Beadon Road	11.30	D. Nicoll	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	W. Chambers	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	H. Barker	Mile-end.
	Regent's Park	11.30	T. Wardle	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	H. Burcham	N. London.
	Hyde Park	3.30	A. K. Donald	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	W. Chambers	Hackney.
Tu. 18.	Euston Road—Osseltown St.	7.30	C. W. Mowbray	N. London.
	Soho—Broad Street	7.30	H. Graham	Bloomsbury.
Th. 20.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	W. Chambers	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	8	D. Nicoll	Mile-end.

### PROVINCES.

**Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, 7 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday, May 16: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m. Woodhouse Moor, 3 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.

**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

## MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

**NOTTING HILL DEBATING SOCIETY,** "Monarch Tavern," Manchester Street (near Latimer Road Railway Station).—May 16. C. W. Mowbray, "Modern Money Lending."

**A SOCIAL REFORM CONFERENCE.**—The Fabian Society has made arrangements for a Conference, which will be held at the South Place Institute, Finsbury, London, on three consecutive evenings in June, 1886, in order to afford an opportunity for those interested in the labour question to discuss the present economic system, and the better utilisation of National Wealth for the benefit of the community; and the following is the proposed order of discussion: (1) "The Utilisation of Land" (Wednesday, June 9th, 1886); (2) "The Utilisation of Capital" (Thursday, June 10); (3) "The Democratic Policy" (Friday, June 11th). On each evening the Conference will sit from 5.30 till 7.30, and, after an adjournment for half-an-hour, will continue the sitting at 8 o'clock. Communications should be addressed to the Secretaries of the Fabian Conference Committee, 1 Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.

**Liverpool.**—THE WORKERS' BROTHERHOOD.—Wood Street Assembly Room. May 20, 8 p.m., Councillor Threlfall, President of last Trades' Union Congress, on "Eight Hours." *Open-air.*—Old Haymarket, Sundays, 3.30.—R. F. E. WILLIS, hon. sec.

REVOLUTIONARY RHYMES AND SONGS FOR SOCIALISTS. Fifteen selections. 1d

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 19.

SATURDAY, MAY 22, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

THE Home Rule question is much where it was last week; the beginning of an outrageously dull debate in which the slain are slaughtered over and over again, has only shown what was obvious before, that Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain can no longer row in the same boat, and that Mr. Chamberlain in spite of all his fervid would-be Socialistic sentiment of last year, is quite as ready as other politicians to sacrifice the welfare of a people to his career of leadership.

The Bill, say politicians, will certainly be thrown out: in which case it is probable that a Tory Government will pass a Home Rule measure stronger than the present one, though perhaps with one or two pieces of sham precaution added. Meantime one noteworthy feature of the present locus-pocus is the extreme eagerness of so many of the Radical members to label themselves Whigs, from Mr. Chamberlain downwards, even in the teeth of the fact that the Radical party outside Parliament is mostly Gladstonian. This is accounted for on the face of things by their conscious hope (not without foundation) of their being able to humbug their constituents; but there is a deeper cause than that for the enthusiasm of their ratting, the resistless march of events towards the formation of the Great Moderate Party. These quasi-Radicals fear their constituents much, but they fear the advance of revolution more, and they fear the advance of revolution more, and they are but acting naturally and after their kind.

The official disclaimer made for Lord Wolseley in Parliament was a sufficiently farcical incident in the great farce of the hypothetical Orange Rebellion. Nobody doubts that Lord Wolseley and the other barrack-room fools have been bragging in the usual swash-buckler style as to what they would do if only the circumstances were to hand: they again are but "doing after kind." But it is a little remarkable that the whole Tory press from the sober *Standard* to the romantic *St. James's Gazette*, have taken the matter so seriously, and with one consent have joined to egg on the Orangemen—if that were needed so long as the rebellion is only hypothetical. Has the result of the Socialist trial encouraged our Law-and-Order contemporaries? Anyhow, again we are shown how obvious it really is to all men's minds that physical force is the basis of our Society.

The Bourgeois, both directly through their Governments, and by their joint-stock associations artificially supported by the said Governments, are prepared to act steadily by open force more than ever. Bismarck in Berlin forbids all public meetings; while from Chicago comes this piece of news, showing that the triumphant capitalists are going to make their most out of the present situation and their recent police victory: "The wholesale Clothing Association in this city has resolved upon a lock out against their employes; by this step twenty-seven thousand hands will be thrown out of employment."

The American capitalist is certainly a bold, even a reckless man, and deserves to succeed in a "survival of the fittest" world. But even brutality may be carried too far, and we hereby tender our thanks to the Chicago sweaters, who, if the above piece of news is true, are determined to show the American non-Socialist workers that their cause is one with the revolutionists, whom they are now denouncing under the influence of very natural fear inspired by the White Terror. A few more such brutal attacks on the lives of the workers as this of the Wholesale Clothing Association, and the whole mass of workers in America will see the hopelessness of incomplete and isolated attacks on monopoly by means of strikes and boycotts, and will be forced to set themselves to the one necessary work, the abolition of the classes of privilege.

In this age of fads there is a curious fad labelled by its supporters "Imperial Federation." Now, as we Socialists have learned to suspect all qualifications, even the most simple of us will be likely to smell out the "Imperial" qualification of that good thing Federation. Yet a word or two on the subject may not be untimely in these days of enthusiasm over the huge Commercial Puff at Kensington, besung by Court poets and dry-nursed by the boundless ignorance of Sir Philip Cunliffe Owen.

The point is that while the aim of Federation is the extinction of national rivalries, that of Imperial Federation is their artificial support. Imperial Federation means the bolstering up of the decaying supremacy of England in the world-market with the help of a worthless sentiment called patriotism; which, however, has done rather successful work as regards the leaders in this movement themselves, who can see nothing but through its mist. *E.g.*, the *Pall Mall Gazette* has been compelled by it to join the Hartington-Chamberlain Whigs, and is prepared to dragoon Ireland if she fails to see the beauty of neglecting her own business of making her people happy by allowing them the use of their own land, for the sake of nursing the trade in English shoddy wares all over the world.

The attempt, however, like that of other artificial revivals now current, is not very dangerous, because it is artificial. In point of fact that humbugging phantom, "the marvellous energy of the Anglo-Saxon race," covers at least the average amount of incompetence and laziness common to commercial mankind. The material of which "England" is composed, is doubtless good, since it includes contributions from so many races assimilated at so many periods; but it is not miraculous, nor capable, most happily, of forming a great predominant Empire.

In fact, the matter of the English markets is becoming serious enough to shake our "patriotic" hypocrisy; and some frank admissions of the truth are oozing out. The *Times*, *e.g.*, publishes, and the romantic *St. James's Gazette* reprints what amounts to an attack on our traders for their insolent stupidity, which is not quite the same thing as their stupid insolence, and does not serve their turn quite as well as that has done when war-ships and bayonets accompanied it. The text which this gentleman preaches upon, with a vigour which really inspires confidence, is as follows: "The universal complaint against them, from Auckland to Montreal, from Tokio to Smyrna, is that they are impervious to new ideas, and they act on the principle that it is the business of their customers to adapt themselves to their manufactures."

Yes, and it is the business of our Imperial Federation wise-men to force "our customers to adapt themselves to our manufactures;" and, in fact, we always play that game, Federation or no Federation, when we find it safe to do so.

Well, the *Daily News* also follows suit in a leader on the Consular reports: "Manufacturers are not so quick as they once were in adapting their products to the wants or prejudices of their customers." The truth will out. How long ago was it since the whole bourgeois Press was busily denying the depression in trade? Says the *Daily News* in its leader: "The first thing which strikes every reader of the Reports for the year 1885, is the universality of the depression from which trade and agriculture are suffering." This time last year I caught the following sentence in one bourgeois paper (I admit that it was the *Spectator*): "It is yet to be shown that there is any depression of trade."

Good news all this, good news! The obvious obstacle to the spread of Socialism is the commercial prosperity of England. That is now past praying for. Yet, if the centre of commerce only shifted, it would not help us much. That will not happen, England will not crush other countries as she hoped, as the insane fanatics of Imperial Federation still hope, but she will not be utterly crushed either. There will be no centre; the field will be left free for limitless cut-throat competition between the nations, which will lead the Depression of Trade out at the other end—Revolution.

Good people of Britain! when in times to come you are become modest about yourselves, and neighbourly to all the world (which *may* take place according to the proverb: "*Only the unexpected happens*"), when in those times some flattering visitor praises you, as guests in their kindness are wont to do, and extols the "famous men and fathers that begat you," for their cleverness and enterprise past all other people, will not truth compel you to exclaim: "Sir, and dear guest, you are somewhat mistaken; it was not we who were so clever, *but our coals!*"

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## AMERICAN FINANCE AND ITS RELATION TO THE PRESENT LABOUR TROUBLES.

It is still the opinion of many Radicals that under a Republic financial scandals, and the oppression and degradation of the toiling millions are things altogether improbable, if not impossible; yet we have only to go to the Republic of the United States to see how little the mere form of government has to do with the economical conditions of society. There where there is neither royalty, nor aristocracy, nor State Church, nor a great standing army, we have the economical evils that are hastening the European States to a terrible social upheaval.

The labour troubles of America are partly the result of our modern system of production, and partly the natural outcome of the financial operations that followed the close of the great civil war. Looking at the arrangements made with the so-called National Banks, and with the European creditors, we find nothing during the last half century to equal them in villainy. The Government received in loans a total of 1,300,000,000 dols., although the nominal debt in 1866 amounted to 2,773,236,174 dols., being more than double what the Government had actually received. Up to 1880 the Government had paid as principal 1,200,000,000 dols.; as interest, 2,780,000,000 dols.; there were bonds unredeemed, 1,800,000,000 dols., making a total of 5,780,000,000 dols., being a difference in favour of the bondholders of 4,480,000,000 dols. Since then (1880) more than 300,000,000 dols. have been paid as interest. Taking the accounts for 1883, there had been paid as principal 1,222,144,967 dols., and as interest 2,992,746,079 dols., total 4,214,891,046 dols., on a debt of 1,300,000,000 dols., and yet there remained to be paid 1,551,091,207 dols. What a swindle! And under the name of a Republic!

Take the arrangements with the National Banks, which, like the Bank of England, are national only in name. The banks lent the Government, 197,740,000 dols., for which the Government gave them 410,000,000 dols. in bonds, being a difference in favour of the banks of 212,220,000 dols. The Government paid the banks six per cent. interest on the bonds, which amounted to 24,600,000 dols. per annum. The banks also got the right to issue notes to the extent of 350,000,000 dols., at seven per cent., giving them 31,500,000 dols. The public deposits averaged from 1865 to 1880, 600,000,000 dols., on which they were allowed to make a net profit of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., or 27,000,000 dols. per annum—total, 83,100,000 dols. Now six per cent. on the 197,780,000 dols., the banks lent to the Government, would have been 11,866,800 dols., whereas they were able to realise 83,100,000 dols., which left 71,233,200 dols. in favour of the banks. In the sixteen years ending 1880, the banks realised an extra profit over and above their six per cent. on their own capital, no less than 1,139,731,200 dols. What plunder!

But there was another arrangement with the bondholders even more infamous. To anyone depositing with the Treasury of the United States 100,000 dols. in bonds, the Treasury advanced 90,000 dols. in greenbacks free of interest, while paying him  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. on the whole of 100,000 dols. in bonds. Now suppose the banks had deposited the whole of 410,000,000 dols. worth of bonds, the Treasury would have paid them as interest 14,350,000 dols., and would have advanced them 369,000,000 dols. in greenbacks, on which, at seven per cent., another 25,263,000 dols. would have been realised. Or the banks, with the 369,000,000 dols. in greenbacks, could have bought more bonds, deposited them with the Treasury, and could have repeated the operation till from 150 to 200 per cent. interest per annum had been realised. Need we wonder at the present crisis? All the industry in the world could not for long sustain such a system of wholesale plunder.

But worse still remains. The bondholders stipulated that they should be paid in gold, and to do this the Government had to establish a gold standard as the basis of the currency. The result has been a fall in values of over 60 per cent., even from the values of 1873. By this single operation the debts of the United States have been virtually doubled. Let us see its effect up to 1878-9. Mr. Ewing, speaking in the House of Representatives during the Session of 1879, said that the four years of preparation had practically increased the debts of the country one-third in amount. That the public debt was 3,308,000,000 dols.; railway and canal debts, 2,564,000,000 dols.; and corporation and other debts, 4,000,000,000 dols., being a total of 9,872,000,000 dols. That had been virtually raised to 14,808,000,000, and all private debts in the same proportion. To enable the Government to establish a gold currency, and thus keep faith with the so-called "public creditor," the currency was reduced from 55 dols. to less than 20 dols. per head of the population. Mr. Ewing declared in the House that the four years of preparation for resumption had stripped millions of their hard-earned savings; had turned hosts of willing workers into idle vagabonds; had filled the *Gazettes* with bankruptcies and sheriff's sales, the country with suicides, and the gaols and asylums with the victims of a law more diabolical than had ever before been enacted or enforced. That in 1878 the number of tramps was not less than one million, and those out of employ not less than three millions. That all this was the inevitable result of keeping faith with the public creditor. That the contraction of the currency naturally led to the contraction of trade and commerce, and the consequent loss of work to millions.

We have referred to the arrangement with the national banks. Let us give the arrangement with the European creditors, Messrs. Rothschild and Co. Mr. Robert J. Walker was sent to Europe with United States bonds to the amount of 400,000,000 dols. In return for those

bonds the Government received 165,000,000 dols., making a difference in favour of the bondholders of the nice little sum of 235,000,000 dols. The bondholders, therefore, paid  $41\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the value of the bonds they received. But what the bondholders gained the people lost. During all the years, and until the whole is swept away, the bondholders draw interest, not on the 165,000,000 dols. lent, but on the 400,000,000 dols. in bonds. Was ever such a system of plunder as is carried on by the Governments and financial rings of the present day? The evils of the present system cannot be removed by any compromise, however great. We seek the utter extinction of this gigantic system of robbery, and not a mere modification. The railway public—the general shareholders—were the first to feel the terrible effects of the contraction of the currency, and by 1877 had sustained a loss of £360,000,000 sterling. As for the working classes the wages began to go down by 20, 30, and 40 per cent. at a time. But all classes whose incomes depended on labour felt the evils. At the close of 1879 we read that the farmers of Illinois had mortgaged their farms to the extent of 300,000,000 dols., those of Iowa to 180,000,000 dols., and those of Wisconsin to over 100,000,000 dols. It is in this system of plunder, coupled with our modern system of production, we have the grand causes of the present labour troubles in America. Here we have the grand sources of the extremes of wealth and poverty, the curse and scourge of the human race. And nothing but revolution can free the people from these monster evils. Neither compromise, nor expediency, nor modification, but the thorough extinction of the present system. The press may howl and the pulpit may curse, but usury and production for export and profit are doomed, and cannot be much longer sustained. To the workers we say Grasp hands and spread the Light the wide world over! Down with tyranny, down with usury, and success to the Revolution!

J. SKETCHLEY.

## INSURRECTION IN BELGIUM.

### III.

(Continued from page 46.)

AFTER the 25th of March the insurrection assumed much larger proportions by suddenly transferring itself to the west of Belgium. A strike broke out among the colliers of Ransart, another among the stone quarriers of Feluy, both in the Charleroi basin. Immediately the troops were called out, and commenced their detestable work. The gendarmerie of Seneffe killed one of the men on strike, simply because he would not walk fast enough. In less than two hours, the workmen in shafts No. 7 and No. 8 of the Gouffre collieries at Chatelineau, and the miners of the Bois communal at Fleurus all abandoned work. The Government, trembling and paralysed with fear, not knowing which way to turn, called out the soldiers from all parts of the country. They arrived from Tournay, Namur, Louvain, Antwerp, and Hasselt. The civic guard is called out for the defence of the towns thus deprived of their troops. This does not prevent the workers of Delloye, Montigny, Acoz, Ormont, Bourbier, Marcinelle, and Bois de Cazières from joining their fellow-workmen. The men on strike form themselves into bands of several hundreds in number and traverse the whole arrondissement, everywhere persuading their comrades to unite with them, and threatening those who continued to descend into the mines that they would cut the ropes. At Châtelet, the insurgents destroyed the telephone and cut the telegraph wires. At Roux, and afterwards at Chatelineau, the troops fired, wounding many of the men; the workmen retaliated by demolishing everything on their route. At Lodelinsart, they pillaged everything they passed and put to flight the soldiers, who were powerless to control them. On the 28th, the glass-works at Moudron were destroyed, Binard's brewery, the timber-yard of Piette, at Chatelineau, and Baudoux's colossal glass-works at Tumet became a prey to the flames. Everywhere throughout the whole arrondissement the strike spreads; hourly fresh insurgents come to join their companions in the struggle and in misery, and, a certain proof that they know what they want, they do not fear death. The bands of rebels march through the towns and villages singing the *Marseillaise*, and shouting "Vive la Révolution Sociale!" They are full of ardour and courage, and in several places, as at the establishments of Paris and Providence, they repulse the troops.

At Charleroi a panic seized the inhabitants; all the shops were precipitately closed; re-inforcements of soldiers were everywhere demanded. The Council of Ministers met at Brussels, and decided that all the troops in the capital must hold themselves in readiness to start for Charleroi at the first signal. General Van der Smissen having taken the supreme command of all the forces stationed in the department, gave pitiless orders to the soldiers to fire without hesitation whenever the least crowd collected. The monster suppressed on his own private authority, and in defiance of all custom, the preliminary summons to disperse.

General Van der Smissen, who may with reason be called the Belgian Galifet, is a brute, whom it will be well to describe in a few words. He is the son of that other General Van der Smissen, who, in 1831, was condemned to perpetual banishment, as a traitor to his country, for having attempted, FOR A BRIBE, to sell his country to the Orange dynasty. Allowed by favour and mercy to return to Belgium, he renewed this attempt in 1841, and was this time condemned to death. It must be remarked that it has been *judicially* proved that it was for the sake of money that this wretched man tried to sell his country.

It is the son of this dishonest man who has just distinguished himself by such cruelty in the district of Charleroi. It is the same Hector

who, in 1864, went to Mexico to further the ambitious designs of an Austrian prince, who married the sister of the King of the Belgians, and to crush a free, independent, and happy people, and impose on them at the point of the bayonet imperial and despotic institutions. This audaciously criminal invasion was not only, as a historian observes rightly, an attempt on the liberty of the Mexican people; it was also a series of executions, fusillades, violent deeds, conflagrations, ferocious massacres, assassinations, and infamous horrors worthy of the Vandals and Northern Barbarians; and it is to this series of abominable actions that the sanguinary and ferocious *soudard* who commanded the troops at Charleroi, went to associate himself!

Here the proverb is true: "Like father, like son;" both are vile scoundrels!

Meanwhile, notwithstanding the pitiless orders of this general, the strike continued to extend, and at the end of the month all the industrial region of Charleroi had ceased to work. The troops were in continual conflict with the insurgents. At Roux seventeen workers were killed at one volley, and three times that number severely wounded. At Chatelineau many others fell under the bullets of the saviours of order.

After having set fire to the factories, the insurgents proceeded to carry the incendiary torch to the chateaux of the masters of the factories; these barons of finance were treated just as a century ago the French revolutionists treated the feudal barons. "You see," says an important Belgian journal, "it is a social war, a war carried on by people who fear neither blows nor death." It is said that on seeing the civic guard prepare arms, they advanced baring their breasts to receive the shots, and crying out: "Shoot, you band of cowards! Shoot! we are not afraid of you!"

In the district of the Centre and that of Borinage, the workmen of nearly all the factories followed the example of their comrades in the basin of Charleroi, by striking, and trying to destroy the industrial establishments; but General Van der Smissen, who had immediately occupied the threatened places with numerous troops, succeeded in confining the movement to the Charleroi district. Except at Mariemont, where the insurgents and the soldiers came to blows, the former leaving fourteen of their number on the battle-field, at Tournai, where the quarry-men demolished the house of the director of the quarries, and at Carnières, where in their struggle with the military three of the men on strike were killed and about fifteen wounded, the popular insurrectionary movement did not extend much in the Centre or in the Borinage districts.

During the whole of the contest, and for some time after, the civil and military "authorities" proceeded to make numerous arrests. The prisons at Charleroi and Mons were emptied of their ordinary occupants, in order to receive the insurgents. The number of arrests until now is estimated at a thousand at least. General Van der Smissen, disregarding all the laws which are in force in Belgium, issued a circular, in which he said that in all the localities in which troops were required to maintain order, any one who should publicly utter words contrary to the spirit of the Belgian laws and institutions should be arrested on the spot, and that all Anarchists, not being residents in the locality, who should set foot in any of the places occupied by the military, should also be immediately arrested. This brutal *soudard* doubtless believed himself still in Mexico, at that fine time when, in presence of his officers and at the head of his regiment, he had the inglorious courage to cut off a Mexican's ears! And while the workmen and soldiers were still fighting, the tribunals had already commenced their work, which consisted of avenging the damage which had been done to "property." The magistrates condemned the insurgents with the utmost severity permitted by law. A number of workmen have already been sentenced to from one to five years' imprisonment; and these, by what the judges say, are only the least culpable; the others, who have been directly concerned in "incendiarism and pillage," will be tried at the Court of Assize, and will doubtless be inmates of the prisons for many a long year.

And then—after having effected this good and salutary blood-letting among the workmen, and after having sent to rot in the gaols of the Bourgeoisie those who have been unharmed by the balls of the saviours of property,—then it will be said everywhere that order is re-established! And in truth, if by *order* is meant the most abominable economical disorder that can possibly be imagined, the Bourgeoisie is right—order is re-established. But as for us, who know how to estimate the deadly system of the official maintainers of order and defenders of sacred property, we are quite persuaded that tranquillity only reigns on the surface; that the profound uneasiness which affects the working-classes all over the world will only become greater every day; that the number of unemployed will increase without ceasing; and that only Revolution is able to restore to this corrupt society a new life and fresh fruitfulness.

The governments are incapable of doing anything in aid of work and workers. The example of Belgium will prove this, once more, in an absolutely striking manner.

VICTOR DAVE.

(To be continued.)

The first and most important thing to be learned by every farmer, wage-worker, producer, is that nothing can be accomplished without organisation. The few have robbed the many in all ages by dividing them up into factions and then robbing them in detail. When once organised to a certain end, the ways and means of attaining it can be discussed and the sinews of war can be provided. Let all who are not cringing slaves and cowards at heart, enroll themselves under the banner of organisation, bearing the two mottoes: "United we stand, divided we fall"; "An injury to one is the concern of all."—*Toledo News*.

## A VISION OF CIVILISATION.

I stood last night  
Upon a hill-top, whence afar I saw  
The red glare of the city in the clouds,  
Like lurid blood spilt o'er the cloak of night;  
And, as the dark racks came upon the wind,  
Methought they seemed burdened with a tale  
That made me shudder as they wailed it out:  
"Oh, what a fool is man that he should rear  
The hells that crush him! In the city there  
Men live for gold, yea, though their fingers be  
Dark-wet with blood in seizing it; unrest  
And haggardness brood in their hearts, and strife  
Sits in the clouds and laughs to see his slaves."  
And then methought a wandering crowd of ghosts  
Swept shrieking by; gaunt men with wolfish aspect  
And haggard hunger glaring from mad eyes;  
Pale women moaning over tiny babes,  
Span-long and strangled at the unconscious dawn  
Of life; and others, scarcely women yet,  
But wandering in the dreamy fields of youth,  
Where visions of young love should wait for them.  
But ah, methought the visions that they saw  
And grasped at with all eagerness, became  
Fierce fires to scorch their deep-seared hearts with woe,  
And when they thought to grasp young Love's bright hair,  
Some horrid fiend grinned at them through the dark.  
And little children were amid that crowd—  
Children that should make hell itself seem fair,  
But these were added terrors, for their cheeks  
Were thin and colourless, and their young limbs  
Bent with the premature sad load of toil;  
And so with backs distorted and with eyes  
In which there sat no glimpse of children's joy,  
They made a horrid nightmare horrid;  
And from the throng a sad wail ever rose,  
While from the clouds that scornful voice again  
Rang thus: "Oh, fools, how long, how long, how long?  
These are earth's toilers. See those haggard men,  
They built the mansions where the rich to-night  
Hold sleep at bay and feast with smiling friends.  
They reaped the harvests that prepared that feast;  
These women spun the garments for the lords  
Who, lapped in silken slumber, stretch themselves  
Under a rare and curtained canopy  
Woven by these whose eyes are famine-struck;  
These span-long babes, unconscious fruit of love  
On her part who has slain them, but of lust,  
Foul, bloody lust of some proud titled fool,  
Who, with a careless, jocund air, now sits  
Amidst his equals, hurling nameless jests  
And ribald laughter at her memory  
Who trusted him with her most sacred gift;  
These children, broken with long dreary toil  
In darksome mines and whirring factories,  
Even from these the blood must be drained out  
To gain more gold—more gold for idle pride  
To pamper up with lazy luxury  
Those who would scorn to touch these pallid cheeks.  
How long, how long? When will the dawn arise?"  
And still the long wail broke from that sad crowd,  
And still the hunger stared from out their eyes,  
And still the sorrow brooded round their hearts,  
And all the night seemed full of wails and cries,  
And withered faces ever driving on  
Into the darkness of an awful gulf,  
And still the city's red glare fired the clouds.

FRED HENDERSON.

## CHEAPER.

You wonder why they take such pains  
To turnip our horse-radish,  
To terra-alba all our sweets,  
To make a good a bad dish;  
To logwood wines, to slate our coals,  
Make pepper of dried berries,  
Use cabbage for tobacco-plant,  
For raisins run in cherries?

They strive for gain, they make it pay,  
And men of every nation,  
They "sit up nights," and rack their brains,  
For new adulteration.  
Each time a substitute is found  
They pile it on the steeper,  
For there's nothing in this world so cheap  
But that there's something cheaper.

—*Northwestern Miller*.

The best state of human nature is that in which, while no one is poor, no one desires to be rich, nor has any reason to fear being thrust back by the efforts of others to push themselves forward.—*John Mill*.





Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

QUESTIONS bearing upon the principles propounded and the objects had in view by the *Commonweal*, will be welcomed by the Editors.

WORKINGMEN and women in factories, workshops, stores or mills, are requested to go around among their comrades and get up a list of subscribers for the *Commonweal*, and lend a helping hand in the struggle for labour's freedom.

S. S. G.—Letter on the waste of fuel in present stoves too long for the importance of subject; besides, Count Rumford, whose name is invoked on the question, was only useful in our present condition of artificial famine. It will scarcely be believed that his sordid thrift could ever have been preached when we once begin to live decently.

RECEIVED—England: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record. Belgium: La Guerre Social (Brussels). Canada: L'Union Ouvrière (Montreal). France: Paris: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—Le Révolté—Le Socialiste—La Tribune des Peuples—Revue du Mouvement Social. Le Devoir (Guisse)—Le Forçat du Travail (Bordeaux). Germany: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). Holland: Recht voor Allen. Hungary: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Budapest). India: Voice of India (Bombay)—Hindu Patriot (Calcutta)—People's Friend (Madras). Italy: Il Fascio Operaio (Milan). New Zealand: Watchman. Portugal: O Campino—Voz do Operario—O Protesto Operario (Lisbon). Spain: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social—Acacia—La Justicia Humana (Barcelona)—Bandera Social—El Socialista (Madrid)—El Socialismo (Cadiz)—La Perseverancia (Huelva). Switzerland: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich). U. S. A.: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country—Amerikanische Arbeiter-zeitung. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal. Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer—Little Socialist—Chicago (Ill.) Alarm—Detroit (Mich.) Labor Leaf—Princeton (Mass.) Word—Cleveland (O.): Carpenter—Chronicle. Cincinnati (O.) Unionist—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Petersburg (Ill.) Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Altruist. Kansas (Mo.) Sun—Pittsburg (Pa.) Labor Herald—Paterson (N. J.) Labor Standard—Baltimore (Md.) Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.) Lucifer Newfoundland (Pa.) La Torpille—Litchfield (Minn.) Radical—Manchester (N. H.) Weekly Budget—Portland (Oregon) Alarm—Evansville (Ind.) Neue Zeit—Milwaukee (Wis.) Volksblatt.

### PUZZLES.

ORDINARY human beings, who can only find a limited time for study and self-improvement in intervals snatched from hard daily toil, can hardly avoid a feeling of envy when they think of the happy lot of editors and reviewers, who seem to know everything by instinct, and without even taking the least trouble to understand what they are writing about, are prepared at a minute's notice to instruct the world on any subject coming within the range of human knowledge or speculation. There is one slight drawback, however, to the possession of such encyclopædic knowledge as the gentlemen referred to no doubt possess, and that is the tendency to over-estimate their own powers, and condescend to particulars on some subject which they only know by intuition—probably thinking that as it had not come within the range of their studies it was not worth knowing—when they inevitably betray their ignorance. Again, as very eminent mathematicians have, it is said, been unable to add up a column of figures correctly, so also some bright and shining lights of journalism seem to be very imperfectly acquainted with the meaning of the simplest words in the English language. Both these reflections arise on perusing an article in the *Spectator*, entitled, "A Puzzle for Socialists;" a production which it would be an insult to the readers of the *Commonweal* to treat seriously, were it not presumably a fair sample of what passes for reasoning on Socialistic questions amongst the "cultured" classes who read—and write—such reviews. As such, and as representing the style of objec-

tions which Socialists may expect to meet with, it may not be entirely waste of space to devote a few lines to an examination of it.

There are puzzles, and puzzles, but in the majority of cases they are only so because of the ignorance of the person to whom they are addressed; that is to say, the puzzler knows the subject, and the answer, whilst the puzzle does not, as when a schoolboy of twelve with an air of great profundity asks his little brother just out of the nursery, If a herring and a half cost threehalfpence, what will six cost? But when a person totally ignorant of the subject in hand puts what he thinks a poser to one who understands it, we do not usually term it a puzzle. For instance, supposing our schoolboy friend asked his French professor whether "son frère" signified *his* brother, or *her* brother, the question would hardly, by anyone who understood either French or English, be dignified with the title of "A Puzzle for Frenchmen." Yet this is very much the character of the *Spectator's* Puzzle for Socialists. No one would be rash enough to assert that there was any subject in heaven or earth (especially the former) which was unknown to the editor of the *Spectator* or any of his staff, but when he out-Dogberries "Dogberry" by writing himself down an ass, we must even in deference to his superior knowledge accept him at his own valuation. That he has done so must be abundantly evident to anyone who will read what his puzzle is. It is, to use his own words, how to get over "the impossibility of preventing intellectual strength from asserting its claim to special reward." But that is no puzzle to Socialists, because they deny any such claim at all, and the writer himself gives the proof that it is no puzzle in the fact which he cites from the *Times* of the editor of *Le Peuple*, in Brussels, although he is a clever writer, and is making the paper a great success, taking no more salary than any of the compositors. The *Spectator* has the candour to admit that this "is a realisation of the ideal," but adds, "one has to inquire how long this perfect arrangement will last? The answer can only be, 'Just as long as the editor pleases.'" And again, "He cannot be prevented from fixing his share by any external force, and he will in the end fix it according to his enlightened self-interest or otherwise. but at all events he will fix it. . . . He is at least the equal in profit-producing power, and therefore in right to a share in profits of all the remainder (of the staff of workmen) put together." Thus we have a writer enlightening the world on Socialism, whose great difficulty is how *the profits* are to be divided.

Before passing on to the next illustration given, it may be as well to give in short the answer to the question he puts so forcibly, "How long this perfect arrangement will last?" Simply as long as the editor is a Socialist; and if he ceased to be a Socialist he would no longer be worth in such a position even compositor's wages. The *Spectator* might easily fill a puzzle column week by week for a long time by putting similar conundrums; as, for instance, a puzzle for military men: What would happen in a campaign if all the generals were Quakers? Puzzle for naval officers: How would a ship be navigated if all the sailors were sea-sick at once? Puzzle for medical men: How could London accidents be healed if all the hospitals were removed to more healthy localities on the Scotch moors?

After pointing out that the editor's case, although apparently exceptional, is not really so, Dogberry proceeds to take another instance, that of a large brewery, organised, as he says, on a Socialistic scheme, and says that the chemist, whose skill is indispensable to the success of the concern, would demand fifty times as much as any of the other workmen. As before, he forgets that in a Socialistic society the chemist would be as much a Socialist as any one else. So that to sum up the matter in a sentence, this profound puzzle, though nominally addressed to Socialists, who would see nothing puzzling in it, is really applicable to capitalists, and is the one they are constantly striving to solve, viz.: how, in a *capitalistic, competitive* system of society, to obtain the services of an able editor, or a skilled chemist, for the wages of a compositor or a drayman. It does not seem to have occurred to our setter of puzzles that he is going right in the teeth of other opponents of Socialism, according to whom the difficulty would be, not to find editors and chemists, for when education was open to all alike, every one would prefer such occupations—but to find draymen and stokers, who according again to one of Mill's *dicta* on the subject of wages, would have to be paid higher on account of the more disagreeable nature of their employment.

It is to be hoped that next time the *Spectator* sets a puzzle for Socialists, it will be one more worthy their attention—there are plenty to be solved yet—but, meanwhile, it might seriously consider whether, with all its ability, it would not be wiser to give up attempting one which has hitherto been deemed insoluble, viz.: to write rationally on a subject of which you know nothing.

FRANK FAIRMAN.

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER II.—MEDIÆVAL SOCIETY.

WE have now to deal with that Mediæval Society which was based on the fusion of ideas of tribal communism and Roman individualism and bureaucracy. The fullest, and one may say the most pedantic type of this society is to be found in the Mediæval German Empire; it was modified somewhat in other countries; in France by the fact that several of the other potentates, as, *e.g.*, the Duke of Burgundy, were theoretically independent of the King, and practically were often at least as powerful. In England, on the contrary, the monarchy soon gained complete predominance over the great barons, and a kind of bureaucracy soon sprang up which interfered with the full working of the feudal system.

The theory of this feudal system is the existence of an unbroken chain of service from the serf up to the emperor, and of protection from the emperor down to the serf; it recognises no absolute ownership of land; God is the one owner of the earth, the emperor and his kings are his vice-gerents there, who may devolve their authority to their feudal vassals, and they in turn to theirs, and so on till it reaches the serf, the proletarian, on whom all this hierarchy lives, and who has no rights as regard his own lord except protection from others outside the manor that he lives and works on; to him his personal lord was the incarnation of the compulsion and protection of God, which all men acknowledged and looked for.

It is quite clear that this system was mixed up with religious ideas of some sort; accordingly, we find that the Middle Ages had a distinct religion of their own, developed from that early Christianity which was one of the forces that broke up the Roman Empire. As long as that Empire lasted in its integrity, Christianity was purely individualistic; it bade every man do his best for his future in another world, and had no commands to give about the government of this world except to obey "the powers that be" in non-religious matters, in order to escape troubles and complications which might distract his attention from the kingdom of God.

But in Mediæval Christianity, although this idea of individual devotion to the perfection of the next world still existed, it was kept in the background, and was almost dormant in the presence of the idea of the *Church*, which was not merely a link between the earthly and the heavenly kingdoms, but even may be said to have brought the kingdom of heaven to earth by breathing its spirit into the temporal power, which it recognised as another manifestation of its own authority. Therefore, the struggles of the Temporal and Spiritual Powers, which form so large a part of the history of the Middle Ages, were not the result of antagonism of ideas between the two, but came of the tendency of one side of the great organisation of Society to absorb the other without rejecting its theory; in short, on the one hand the Church was political and social rather than religious, while on the other the State was at least as much religious as it was political and social.

Such, then, was the theory of Mediæval Society; but apart from whatever of oppression on life and thought was inherent in it, the practice of the theory was liable to many abuses, to which the obvious confusion and misery of the times are mostly referable. These abuses again were met by a protest in the form of almost constant rebellion against Society, of which one may take as examples the organised vagabondage of Middle Europe, the *Jacquerie* in France, and in England what may be called the chronic rebellion of the Foresters, which produced such an impression on the minds of the people, that it has given birth to the ballad epic known by the name of its mythical hero, Robin Hood. Resistance to authority and contempt of the "Rights of Property" are the leading ideas in this rough but noble poetry.

Besides these irregular protests against the oppression of the epoch, there was another factor at work in its modification—the Gilds, which forced themselves into the system, and were accepted as a regular part of it.

The ideas which went with the survivals of the primitive communism of the tribes were, on the one hand, absorbed into the feudal system and formed part of it, but on the other, they developed associations for mutual protection and help, which at first were merely a kind of benefit societies according to the ideas of the times. These were followed by associations for the protection of trade, which were called the gilds-merchant. From these the development was two-fold: they were partly transformed into the corporations of the free towns, which had already begun to be founded from other developments, and partly into the craft-gilds, or organisations for the protection and regulation of handicrafts—which latter were the result of a radical reform of the gilds-merchant, accomplished not without a severe struggle, often accompanied by actual and very bitter war. The last remains of these craft-gilds are traceable in the names of the city companies of London.

It should be noted that this tendency to association was bitterly opposed in its earlier days by the potentates of both Church and State, especially in those countries which had been more under the influence of the Roman empire. But in the long-run it could not be resisted, and at last both the gilds and the free towns which their emancipated labour had created or developed were favoured (as well as fleeced) by the bureaucratic kings as a make-weight to the powerful nobles and the Church.

The condition of one part of mediæval life industrial was thus quite altered. In the earlier Middle Ages the serf not only did all the field-work, but also most of the handicrafts, which now fell entirely into the

hands of the gilds. It must be noted also that in their best days there were no mere journeymen in these crafts; a workshop was manned simply by the workman and his apprentices, who would, when their time was out, become members of the gild like himself: mastership, in our sense of the word, was unknown.

By about the year 1350 the craft-gilds were fully developed and triumphant; and that date may conveniently be accepted as the end of the first part of the Middle Ages.

By this time serfdom generally was beginning to yield to the change introduced by the gilds and free towns: the field serfs partly drifted into the towns and became affiliated to the gilds, and partly became free men, though living on lands whose tenure was unfree—copyholders, we should call them. This movement towards the break-up of serfdom is marked by the peasant's war in England led by Wat Tyler and John Ball in Kent, and John Litster (dyer) in East Anglia, which was the answer of the combined yeomen, emancipated and unemancipated serfs, to the attempt of the nobles to check the movement.

But the development of the craft-gilds and the flocking in of the freed serfs into the towns laid the foundations for another change in industrialism: with the second part of the mediæval period appears the journeyman, or so-called free labourer. Besides the craftsman and his apprentices, the workshop now has these "free labourers" in it—unprivileged workmen, that is, who were nevertheless under the domination of the gild, and compelled to affiliation with it. The gildsmen now began to be privileged workmen; and with them began the foundation of the present middle-class, whose development from this source went on to meet its other development on the side of trade which was now becoming noticeable. In 1453 Constantinople was taken by the Turks; the art of printing was spreading; Greek manuscripts were being discovered and read; a thirst for new or revived learning, outside the superstitions of the mediæval Church and the quaint, curiously perverted and half-understood remains of popular traditions, was arising, and all was getting ready for the transformation of mediæval into modern or commercial society.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

## TRADE DEPRESSION.

THE Cobden Club is not exactly the sort of body that one would expect to find publishing arguments that simply reduce our industrial system to an absurdity. Such, however, is the case, as we shall very soon show.

In a tract on Trade Depression, written by Augustus Mongredien, and lately published by the said Club, we have an array of facts and figures that, if they mean anything at all, mean that blessings are calamities, that abundance is an ill, that there is nothing like scarcity to make trade good. We will just give a brief summary of Mr Mongredien's arguments, and then draw a conclusion or two of our own.

During the four years previous to 1884, Mr Mongredien tells us, our imports and exports together averaged £710,293,000; in 1884 they suddenly sank to £685,147,000, making our foreign trade in 1884 £25,146,000 smaller than the average of the four previous years, and £45,894,000 smaller than it was in 1883. The cause of this contraction was the very good harvest of 1884, which exceeded the average harvest of the previous years by 15½ million pounds sterling. The result of this was that we required to import 15½ million pounds worth of grain less in 1884, and consequently we had to export a proportionally less quantity of other goods. Thus, then, through having so good a harvest in 1884, our foreign trade contracted directly to the extent of 30 millions sterling. It really contracted more, as Mr Mongredien shows from the Board of Trade returns: the figures we have given, however, are sufficient to show the gist of his argument, and that is all we are concerned with here.

Mr Mongredien's position is further borne out by a reference to the trades that have suffered most severely during the present depression. It is apparent that a diminution in our foreign trade would affect shipping in a very direct manner, for there is so much less to carry to and fro. Ship-builders would also be affected, dock-labourers, and those industries connected with shipping. Now a reference to the facts shows that these are just the industries that began to feel the present depression first. In Mr Mongredien's own words: "On examination we find that the industries which really did most suffer during the 'recent and present' depression are precisely those which we have enumerated above. The loudest and most justifiable complaints of distress have proceeded from the ship-owning interest—the ship-builders and their artisans, the iron and coal industries, the dock-labourers, and a few other classes more or less dependent on foreign trade."

Such, then, is the explanation given by the Cobden Club of trade depression—and a very good explanation it is, once it is rightly interpreted.

The reason that the good harvest of 1884 led to bad trade is because it enabled us to get such commodities as we required easier—that is to say, it lessened the amount of work that we had to do to supply the market with commodities. The demand for labour being thus lessened, a great many people were thrown out of work and suffered all sorts of privations. They were hungry because nature was too bountiful—because she had yielded so plentiful a supply of food! Work was scarce because there were more things made than we could use; and because there were more things made than we could use, a great many people had to go without even absolute necessities. A fine state of matters this for an enlightened age such as ours!

Why have we starving men and women and children? Because work is scarce. And why is work scarce? Because there are more commodities already made than can be consumed. Our warehouses are full of goods, our docks are full of idle ships, acres of good land are lying throughout the country out of cultivation—all because we have such abundance of everything that can be used. And people have to starve because of this abundance. This is an incredible truth!

What is there except work that is scarce? Why, if anything else were scarce work would no longer be scarce, for employment would be opened up for people to make whatever was scarce. God has, apparently, not cursed the ground sufficiently. Nature is too good—too good, at any rate, for our present industrial system.

Of course, improvement in our methods of production have the same effect as a good harvest. The cleverer work-people are, the more efficient they are, so much the worse is it for them. Instead of having a rest when they have made all that is wanted, they are thrown aside to starve. It behoves workers, under such malign conditions as these, to fritter away their time, to do their work badly—to do it so that it will not last very long,—and then they will have to do it again, and thus be saved from starvation. That is, supposing they are determined to keep up the present régime.

R.

### THE INTERNATIONAL OCTOPUS—MORE SUCKERS THROWN OUT.

PROBABLY few of our readers will know where Harrar is. We did not ourselves until we had consulted the atlas. For the benefit of those who are in a similar position, we may mention that Harrar is a district of Africa lying a little to the south-east of Abyssinia. This place, after being evacuated by the Egyptian garrison last July, was left under the control of a native prince. The Italian capitalists and their government, on the look-out for markets in this region, some months back fixed their eyes on Harrar as an eligible morsel. An expedition was accordingly sent by the Italian consul at Aden to reconnoitre. The sequel is obvious. The Emir and the Harrarenes alike prefer their independence to having their country made the dust-bin of Italian shoddy, so the “expedition” meets with a “warm reception.” Some one is found to tell a horrible story of the “massacre” of said expedition. A leading Italian capitalist print, the *Rassegna*, shrieks for vengeance, while the brother organ of German capitalism, the *Cologne Gazette*, publishes a lengthy communication from its correspondent at Aden, evidently “inspired” by the Italian consulate, which depicts in glowing colours the horrible state of affairs in Harrar, and includes all the stock phrases, such as, “The present condition of Harrar is a scandal to England and a disgrace to all civilisation,” etc., etc. “England” ought, in the writer’s opinion, instead of ordering the evacuation of the territory, to have occupied it, and so kept it warm for Italian, German, or any other traders that might want it. The rédaction of the *Cologne Gazette* appends a note to this precious document (which, it appears, was written before the reported massacre of the “expedition”), couched in indignant phraseology, and urging upon Drepretis, the Italian minister, to take advantage of the present position of affairs to raise the Jingo wind, and float his ministry on a wave of patriotism and pillage. The “expedition” of Count Porro, which avowedly had for its object to survey the ground for the erection of factories and trading-stations, has met the fate which all such “expeditions”—be they English, French, German, Italian, or Russian—only too richly deserve, but seldom meet with. Did all barbaric powers treat traders and traders’ agents in the summary manner of the Emir of Harrar, though it could not save them in the long-run, it might at least give them a respite by warding off the inrush of vultures for the time being.

Thibet is to all appearance doomed. An expedition “for commercial purposes” is being fitted out at Darjeeling, which is to proceed with all pomp and circumstance to Lhasa, there to overawe the native authorities into accepting British cheap goods, and possibly negotiating for the surrender of any lands that may be worth having. It remains to be seen whether the Thibetans will permit Mr. Maucaulay and his band to reach Lhasa, or compel them to divert their attentions from the undiscovered kingdom of the Lhamas to another undiscovered kingdom, which is not of this world, there in conjunction with the late Count Porro and his associates of Harrar fame, to endeavour to persuade the “great majority” to conclude a commercial treaty, with Mr. Sinnett as chief agent. The idea is worth thinking of, when the world-market is getting so rapidly worked out. We fear that the belief of the Bourgeois in the existence of another and a better world must have worn very thin, or he would certainly have taken some serious steps ere this to ascertain whether this other world could not be turned to account as a market. In fact, to speak truth, this is conclusive evidence to us that he has no belief in it at all, in any other sense than as an occasional field for State-aided emigration and the relief of surplus population, when, as in the case of the Paris Commune, the surplus population grows troublesome.

E. B. B.

Better for the many to remain rude, independent fighting barbarians, than to be civilised into mill hands and factory people, if they must work in stifling rooms day after day all their lives, live in squalor and wretchedness, hopeless of improvement either for themselves or their children—and yet in constant dread of having their miserable existence cut short by accident or disease, or rendered still more miserable by a discharge or the “shutting down” of the mill or factory, and without the spirit to resent a wrong or even seek to better their condition.—*Hayes Valley Advertiser*.

### INSTRUCTIVE ITEMS.

**LANDLORDISM AND HARD TIMES.**—Every ton of iron manufactured in England pays a royalty of 12s. 6d. per ton. In Belgium the royalty is only 1s. 3d. per ton. The Hematite Steel Works at Barrow, Lancashire, last year paid £26,000 in wages to £126,000 in royalty. Fair-traders and Free-traders should look at home.

W. S.

Messrs Rothschild are said to have invested 205 millions of francs in the new French loan. Except the Bourse Syndicate, they were the largest subscribers. As all the financial agents who bought did so on commission, the loan must have given them a good haul.—*Globe*.

**FORCE A REMEDY!**—A most instructive comment upon our leading article of last week is afforded by some utterances of the *N. Y. Nation*, a weekly paper which holds a position somewhat akin to that of the *Spectator*. After dealing in its own fashion with the struggle of organised labour with the exploiters, it says, with delicious naïveté: “As a matter of fact no large strike of unskilled or slightly skilled labour in this country would succeed for two days in stopping any kind of business, but for the prompt appearance of wicked outsiders to kick and cuff and maim and murder the persons who take the place of the strikers, and to break or harm or in some manner damage the machinery or utensils or stock-in-trade of the employers.” May the workers lay this to heart!

H. H. S.

We hear much of the superior position of the American workman as compared with his European fellow labourer. No doubt the average level of comfort is higher in the United States than in Europe generally, and even than in England. But it seems to be rapidly sinking to the European level, and the poorer operatives are not a whit better off in the States than with us. Take, for instance, the working-women. In the report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labour for the State of New York, it is said of their condition in 1885 that it calls loudly for legislative interference. The Report speaks of “their excessive hours of labour,” their “beggarly wages,” and their “terrible condition,” which is a disgrace to humanity. In another part of the Report the Commissioner gives a description of New York tenement houses, which shows that, in overcrowding and defective sanitary arrangements they are as bad, if not worse, than anything brought to the notice of the recent Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor. It is true that among the men wages are higher; but their hours of labour are longer and holidays fewer. Nor must it be forgotten that their wages represent a smaller relative purchasing power than those of the English workman.—*Echo*, May 14th.

In the Protection debate last night Mr Samuel Smith said that though we are losing trade with the protected countries on the Continent, and with the United States, we are gaining trade with the colonies and in neutral markets. Not relatively. One of the most ominous signs of the times is the growing trade of the foreigner with our colonies. The last three years for which we have returns show that the consumption per head of British produce and manufactures has decreased in every important British colony, with the exception of the Straits Settlements and Hong Kong. It is the same in India, where, in one important trade (beer), the German is already almost abreast of us. So with the neutral markets. Take China: the Americans are gaining ground on us; or Brazil or Sweden, the Germans are distancing us; or Egypt, where we are barely holding our own. Where is the set-off? Burmah, according to Lord Randolph Churchill, was to do much for British trade; but it has yet to do it, and the outlook can hardly be said to be promising.—*Echo*, May 15.

LEEDS has not hitherto been very seriously affected by the Trade Depression; partly because of the great variety of occupations, but chiefly because it is the town where the lowest wages are paid, even in busy times. The consequence of a low rate of wages in one town is, of course, to enable the masters in times of keen competition to undersell the masters of other towns. But even here there has been a great deal of distress, and the worst has yet to come. The iron trade is steadily getting worse, one large engineer shop having recently paid off several hundred hands. A large flax mill will soon be stopped altogether, the trade having gone to America. In this mill several hundred girls and women are employed, and their case gives us a forcible example of the criminal working of the present industrial system. In a few weeks their occupation will be (literally) gone—the very machinery they tend being carried over the Atlantic. What is to become of these creatures is a question which has never disturbed the minds of their employers. There is no other channel of trade in want of their labour; they need not travel elsewhere in search of work as long as the depression lasts—they go simply to swell the ranks of “the great unemployed.” If some of the lazy ladies of the town think of earning cheap fame by getting up a charity movement on their behalf, then may these victims of the profit-grabber feel truly thankful. As it is there is no other outlook for them but charity from the class that has robbed them, or—the streets.

J. L. M.

Two hours added to the working-day of the miners at Furness have led to a strike, likely to spread to other districts.

Report after report of association after association of workmen tells the same sad story of deep, hopeless depression of trade. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers reported that 1885 has been the worst year since 1879. 1879 was the worst since 1866. 3240 unemployed per month; £12,845 less income than in 1884; £188,277 spent on benefits; income £144,639; expenditure £188,277; deficiency left £43,638—are signs of the times.

The notice of ten per cent. reduction of wages posted at Clough Hall Iron-works, Kildesborough, North Staffordshire, expired on Saturday. The men have struck, to the number of 17,000. The masters talk of closing the works, as they have been carrying on the works at a loss. And yet none of the masters or their families are starving or likely to starve, and probably not a few of the workmen—alas!—will be ere long in this condition.

The foolish virgins and their male companions at Liverpool were gaping at the Queen, whilst at Manchester the unemployed were parading and resolving:

“That this meeting of unemployed men views with alarm the enormous multitude now out of employment in this and other towns throughout the United Kingdom through no fault of their own. It therefore calls upon her Majesty’s Government to compel the municipal and parochial authorities to open useful public works at fair remuneration, and thereby to save honest toilers from the present poor-law relief, viz., half-starvation, and the useless, degrading labour-test now being imposed upon those who desire to live by their labour.”

Ed. A.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

## WHY DON'T THE WORKERS FREELY ADOPT SOCIALISM?

A correspondent from Norwich writes:—

Having spent several years in the building trade, and having laboured in those years with hundreds of my comrades, I will endeavour to point out some of the reasons why they don't rally round a cause the justice of which they must admit:

1. They have been so often sold in the political associations they have joined, and from which they have turned with disgust, that they are tired of being used to suit the purposes of a few wire-pullers, and are, therefore, chary of joining any new movement.

2. The active working-men politicians can scarcely realise their position, that they have worked years in a cause, the result of which has ever been to enrich the already rich, and to leave them in their poverty doing the dirty work of their associations.

3. Their minds are poisoned against the word Socialism by the vile vituperations of a hired capitalistic press, every ready to do the bidding of its mercenary and unscrupulous employers, who know but too well that when the workers become thoroughly acquainted with the principles of Socialism, their national robbery, by exploiting the workers, must cease. As evidenced by their action in not allowing the *Commonweal* in our Norwich Free Library, hoping by such dirty means to keep our literature from the reading public.

4. The great reason to which the others are subordinate, is that the workers do not realise their true position. This age of Capitalism has so bewildered them and paralysed their reason, that they forget that all this splendour they behold, but do not share, is the result of their industry; they forget they are the very salt of the earth.

How long are my fellow-workmen going to stand idly by, and see their offspring reared in poverty, misery, and degradation? Poor, puny wasters, they are a living reflection on your claim to be called men! Wake up, and assert your manhood! Tell the idle and voluptuous class that no longer shall they prey upon your very vitals, but that as producers of this enormous wealth you have a first claim, and as a small instalment of that justice you demand, as the only condition upon which you will tolerate rich men, that every worker shall be well fed, well clothed, well housed, and well educated.

C. R.

[The Editors regret that by inadvertence some notes, which certainly seem to be a personal attack on Mr. Fox Bourne, should have been allowed to appear in the *Commonweal*, and tender their personal apologies to him. A letter from Mr. Fox Bourne, which has been received too late for this week, will appear in our next issue.]

## RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

## AMERICA.

The striking switchmen on the Lake Shore railroad were brought face to face with "law and order" on April 20 in the person of Governor Oglesby. First, the Governor went to Chicago, where he was joined by the sheriff and several deputies, and by the principal officers of the railway, with whom he held a *secret* conference on the strike. These worthy plotters were soon joined by two of Chicago's millionaire merchants, who came to confer with the Governor as to the action of the military in case of a general strike in the city. A special train conveyed the party in the afternoon to the scene of the strike, where "Uncle Dick" made a speech to the "boys," full of "bunkum and soft sawder," which has been mercilessly shown up by "Cato" in the *Labour Enquirer*, some extracts from which are here quoted:—

"The Governor commenced his harangue with the usual sop: 'You are all American citizens—citizens of this state and of the United States.' That term—'American citizen'—has, as yet, an alluring sound. In some vague way it seems to invest the inhabitants of the western continent with a glory which, however unsubstantial, satisfactorily atones for any amount of actual poverty and injustice they may endure. 'To be an American citizen is greater than a king,' has been dinned into the ears of the American working-man so persistently that he has never thought to inquire into the political difference between himself and a more kingly 'sovereign.' Still in his deluded eyes, drudgery, poorly-paid labourers, men who dare not say their souls are their own for fear of losing their jobs, men tramping and begging in vain for a chance to earn a living, men who are chased out of towns, 'run in' by policemen and kicked and hustled about everywhere, because they are homeless—are still 'greater than kings' because they are 'American citizens'! . . . 'The people make the laws, and they elect men whose duty it is to enforce those laws.' Men are easily flattered with the idea that they have something to do with forming this incomprehensible but awe-inspiring thing called 'law.' They are willing to bear the hardest kind of toil and poverty while glowing with the consciousness of bearing this fictitious dignity. The labouring man does not know when or how he does it, but he is told by great men that he helps 'make the laws' and it must be so. Perhaps he 'walks in his sleep,' or a certain law-making element emanates from his body without his knowing it. . . . 'You know that the man who puts his hand in your pockets and steals your purse, violates a law, and can and should be punished.' But the man who does not allow your money to get into your pockets in the first place, who steals five-eighths of all you produce, does not violate a law and cannot be held accountable. Break a legal enactment and you are a criminal, but do what you please outside of this, and you are all right, though your 'lawful' transactions make countless thousands mourn. 'I dislike trouble of any kind and you probably think as I do. One trouble begets another, etc.' Of course he dislikes trouble. Nothing is trouble, however, unless it interferes with the methods by which wealth is accumulated from the products of labour. Long hours of toil, miserable tenement houses, unhealthy homes, wretched food, wearisome lives, care and grinding poverty are not 'troubles' to men like him. Only open revolt against these things, is recognised as 'trouble.' He spoke wiser than he knew when he said, 'Trouble begets trouble,' as he may find before he is much older. We thank Governor Oglesby for telling the people that the 'law will come fully armed and equipped.' Perhaps it will teach them that this same law is none of their creation—that it is their enemy when it comes to deal with their most vital necessities, and that they, the people, must prepare to meet it! 'I would like to see the labouring man get 5 dols. or 10 dols. per day. He gets low pay, but the law does not

bring that about.' And we were told a moment ago that these same labouring men made the laws. Is it possible that 'making laws' after all cannot effect the most important consideration of their lives? What in the name of common sense does a man want with a power that cannot help him where he most needs help? . . . While the governor was speaking an attempt was made—as previously planned—to run an engine; but some of the strikers immediately boarded it, and a few words to the engineer was sufficient to take it back to the round-house, amid tremendous cheering. No doubt his excellency was very much surprised at this exhibition of unruliness on the part of the switchmen. A few moments after the close of the speech several of the strikers entered the car for the purpose of getting a nearer view of a real live governor, and as each man entered the car and stood before 'the presence,' he doffed his hat out of respect to the governor—not the man—which caused one burly fellow to yell, 'Keep on your hats, boys, he aint no king.' We may be sure that the organ of reverence in that man was wanting, though it will probably be brought out by a policeman's club unless he cultivates discretion."

At the non-partisan anti-Chinese convention held at Sacramento, March 12, John Bidwell, the Chicago millionaire, openly declared "that the laws were made and interpreted at the dictation of the 'respectable' classes," and threatened that "boycotting should be made a felony." On the 13th the Nicolans (California) boycotters were arrested and jailed by the United States marshal. At the same convention "Hon." A. A. Sargent, millionaire, ex-United States senator and state minister to Germany, "warned" the body that "Congress could easily restore us to slavery by giving the ballot to 125,000 Chinese, who would vote as 'respectability' demanded." The convention carried the boycott, however, and the game goes merrily on.—*Labour Enquirer*.

There is considerable talk among the printers of the country about the manner in which they are being used by the capitalist press as tools to heap abuse upon the working-men and their cause. The printers are only a part of the great body of the working-people, among whom only they find their friends, and they are becoming restive at being utilised by their enemies to prejudice the people against a cause in which all wage-earners are so deeply interested. It is probable this question will be brought up at the next meeting of the International Typographical Union to be held in Pittsburg in June next, when it is hoped measures will be inaugurated that will induce a certain class of newspapers to adopt a more respectful tone toward the most important question of the day.—*Labour Enquirer*.

It will be remembered that bloodhounds were put upon the tracks of the bridge-burners and train-wreckers near Marshall. But the papers gave no account of where those blood-hounds followed the trail. The reason for this silence is that the trail led to an officers' car upon the side track at Marshall. The blood-hounds were taken off under the notion that a mistake had been made; but, when again put on the trail, they brought up once more at the same place, proving clearly that those who set fire to the bridge did it at the instigation of the railroad officials. The facts show plainly that the villainy charged to the strikers was committed at the instigation of the railroad officials, to create public sympathy.—*Houston Labor Echo*.

## "THE VOICE OF INDIA."

Extracts from Vernacular Papers on Affairs in Burmah.

The *Maharasttramitra*, of Satara (Marathi Weekly, February 18) states that the disclosure of facts in the Blue-books, lately published, does not substantiate the charges against King Theebaw.

"Burmah is now made a British province. For the sake of humanity we wish that the dacoity movement will cease to exist. If it ceases to exist, then doubtless we shall not hear of any bloody executions of the so-called dacoits. When we read the account of these executions in the Bombay dailies, our hairs stood on their ends. We heartily wish that we shall be spared the unpleasant treat of the account of the executions of the so-called Burman dacoits. The martial law will be in full force till at least the coming November, and this information makes us greatly uneasy, because the information of the unhappy executions is sure to be inflicted upon us. The unhappy people are to be left to the tender mercies of the military authorities and have an experience of them. We feel sympathy for those, who will have the sword of the martial law hanging over their heads."—*Dnyan Prakash* (Anglo-Marathi Bi-weekly), Poona, March 8.

The *Sarsudhanidhi*, of Calcutta (Hindi Weekly, March 1), remarks that Conservatives or Liberals—they are both alike to us. Our anticipations have not been realised. The Annexation of Burmah has been confirmed, and even the cost of the war thrown upon India—and all this comes from the Liberals!

The *Aftab-e-Panjab* (Urdu Weekly, Lahore, March 10), says that from the way in which the Committee is appointed to inquire into the state of Indian finance, native public opinion and the needs of India are not cared for. What can India expect from such a Committee? From one side famine is hanging over India, and on the other hand our Secretary of State is going to load tax-ridden India with 50 lakhs of rupees on account of the expenses in Burmah. This is a matter worth considering.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

## Notices to Members.

*General Meeting*.—On Monday May 24, at 8.30 p.m. The following resolution, of which notice has been given by Joseph Lane, will come up for discussion:—"The monthly meeting of London members of the Socialist League recommends to the Branches the adoption of the Constitution as drawn up by Lane and Charles, with such alterations as the majority of members may deem fit."

*Library*.—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

*Reading Room*.—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. All papers received by the Secretary are sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members.

*Annual Conference*.—Whitsunday, June 13. Attention of Branches is especially called to Rule V. (pages 3 and 4 Constitution and Rules). Any Branch not able to send a delegate from among its own members can appoint any member of the League to represent them.—*Agenda*: Delegates assemble at 10.30 a.m. and adjourn at 1.30 p.m.; resume at 3 p.m., and continue till business is disposed of. First sitting, 10.30 p.m.: (1) Appointment of Chairman; (2) Appointment of Scrutineers and Secretary; (3) Reports from (a) Executive Council, (b) Treasurer and Financial Secretary, (c) Secretary, (d) Editor, (e) *Commonweal* Manager; (4) Report of Branch Delegates for their respective Branches. Second sitting, 3 p.m.: (1) Appointment of Chairman; (2) Motions of which notice has been given, (a) by

Lane and Charles on Constitution of the League, (b) by Leeds Branch on Rules; (3) Election of Officers; (4) Discussion on Policy and Tactics.

**Excursion.**—Comrades Cantwell, Gray, and Lane, with Eleanor Marx-Aveling, May Morris, and Mrs Wardle, have been appointed a committee to arrange for an excursion to take place on Whit-Monday, the day after the Conference. Members desiring to take their children with them are invited to do so. The balance remaining in hand from the Christmas-tree will be utilised to provide for a special children's outing at some later time. Any one willing to assist in giving the little ones "a day in the country" is asked to send his contribution to one of the woman-members of the committee. Full announcement of place, time, etc., will be duly made in this column.

All members changing their address are earnestly requested to send notice either to Branch secretaries or to Secretary of the League.

London members not yet belonging to any Branch are informed that a Clerkenwell Branch is in process of formation at the Central Office, to which, or to some other Branch, they must join themselves if they desire to be represented at the coming Conference. H. H. S.

### Notices to Lecturers and Branch Secretaries.

To avoid confusion and mistake, lecturers and Branch secretaries are requested to at once advise the Lecture Secretary of all engagements made by them. Branches will find it more convenient to make their arrangements with speakers through the Lecture Secretary, who will undertake to make all necessary announcements unless otherwise instructed.

A meeting of out-door and indoor lecturers will be held on Saturday the 29th of May at 13 Farringdon Road, to make all necessary arrangements for June. The Hoxton Branch (L. E. L.) is requested to communicate with the Lecture Secretary in regard to Kingsland Road and Hackney Road stations. Comrades who can speak or otherwise assist at open-air meetings, are urgently requested to send in their name at once. "The harvest, truly, is great, but the labourers are few." All interested in the cause of Socialism would help greatly by advising the secretary of suitable spots for establishing new stations.—C. W. MOWBRAY.

### Executive.

#### EXPULSION OF MEMBER.

The Executive Council of the Socialist League, having fully deliberated, and received evidence, upon certain charges of furnishing information to foreign governments and the bourgeois press, of which due notice had been given the accused, did, at their regular weekly meeting on May 17, pass the following vote: "That Charles Theodor (Reuss) be expelled from the Socialist League, and that this be published in the *Commonweal*." H. H. S.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Marylebone to March 31. Bloomsbury, Hackney, Hammersmith, Leeds, North London, Norwich, Oxford, Dublin, to April 30. Manchester, Bradford, to May 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), to June 30. P. W.

### The "Commonweal."

The *Commonweal* is published at 10 a.m. every Thursday.

Branches are asked to note that each weekly sending of paper should be paid for at the end of the week.

Copies of the cartoon by Walter Crane given with the first number of the weekly issue, can now be had printed on fine hand-made paper for framing, price 6d., postage 1d.; protection roll, if desired, 2d. extra.

Boards for the use of newsagents can be supplied to Branches at 1s. each.

H. H. S.

### Branch Reports.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

**MARYLEBONE.**—On Saturday evening we held our third meeting in the Harrow Road (near the Royal Oak Station). After speaking for some time, we were visited by three policemen, who, in a bullying manner, told us that the inhabitants had complained, and that we should have to move off at once. This action of the police gained us many sympathisers, and we moved to another turning and went on with our meeting. On Sunday afternoon we took up a position near the Teetotalers' Demonstration, and comrade Donald commenced to address a large crowd; but the demonstrators interfered, knocked the speaker off the platform twice, and we were somewhat roughly hustled, but in the end managed to get out of it pretty safely. The police drove three of our comrades and two of the Federation away from the gates, and followed us for some distance. In the evening we held a meeting at the corner of Seymour Place, Marylebone Road. While comrade Burcham was speaking an attempt was made by a drunken ruffian (who, we ascertained, had been hired for the purpose) to break up our meeting.—H. G. A.

**MILE END.**—On Tuesday, May 11, H. Davis lectured on "Capital and Labour," a criticism of Mr. Bradlaugh's lecture at Northampton of the same title. He very ably dealt with it, showing the absurdities of the latter, and that Socialism was the only cure for the present evils. There was a very fair audience. No opposition was offered. Members of this Branch are requested to attend a meeting on Saturday, May 29, at 7 p.m. sharp, for the purpose of appointing a delegate for Conference.—J. FISHER.

**BRADFORD.**—On Sunday, May 16, at the Newmarket Hotel, comrade Bland read a paper on "The National Debt," in the course of which he showed that it was simply a huge example of one form of the robbery of labour, past and present. The paper formed a suitable introduction to some thoroughly Socialistic speeches by comrades Mintz, Mitchell, and Henderson.—F. P.

**GLASGOW.**—We have, after much trouble, secured suitable premises for a reading-room and library. They will be opened immediately, and the Branch will now be in a position to carry on a vigorous propaganda. An open-air meeting of unemployed was held on the Glasgow Green, on Monday (May 10th), for the purpose of demanding work from the Corporation at wages that would enable men to live, and to protest against the stoppage of outdoor relief to the destitute. Although the meeting was held at the early hour of 10 a.m., over 1000 persons were present. A pithy letter from our friend William Morris, denouncing the system that permitted men to starve, and pointing out that little good could be done until workmen became their own masters, was read and applauded. The result of the meeting was that the magistrates agreed to keep open the soup-kitchens for a week longer, but refused to start relief works of any kind.—J. B. G.

**MANCHESTER.**—Two successful meetings were held on Sunday evening by comrades Snowdon and Unwin, one at "The Grey Mare" corner, the other at the Lamp, Gorton. There seems to be much sympathy with Socialistic teaching amongst the workers in this district. If we can find a room there is little doubt but that we shall make members. Some interesting discussion was raised at Gorton.—R. U., sec.

### LECTURE DIARY.

**HALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.**—Lectures every Wednesday at 8.30; Sundays at 7.30. Admission free; discussion invited. Sunday May 23. A. K. Donald, "The Prophecy of Socialism." Wed. May 26. F. Kitz, "Sketches from the Lives of Famous Working-men." 30. Mrs C. M. Wilson, "The Future of Radicalism."

### LONDON BRANCHES.

**Bloomsbury.**—Business meeting at central office every Wednesday at 7.30.

**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday, May 23, at 7.30 p.m., Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, "Christian Socialism." Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.

**Hackney.**—The Hackney Branch meets at the Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every Monday at 8 p.m., for the enrolment of members and other business.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m. May 23. Edith Simcox, "Sober Socialism."

**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday evenings at 7.45. May 23. H. A. Barker, "Land, Labour, and Capital."

**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

**Mile-end.**—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. May 25. D. Nicoll, "Law and Order."

**North London.**—Communications to R. A. Beckett, St. Mildred's House, Poultry, E.C.

**South London.**—Business meetings at 103 Bird-in-bush Road, on Sundays at 7.30.

### COUNTRY BRANCHES.

**Birmingham.**—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30.

**Bradford.**—Soot's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

**Dublin.**—30 Great Brunswick Street. Every Tuesday at 7.45 p.m.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Neilson's Hotel, Ingram Street, every Saturday at 7 p.m. Lectures and discussions. Members and friends are invited to assist in selling *Commonweal* at Green (Jail Square) Saturdays, 5 p.m.

**Leeds.**—The St James' Café, Briggate (end of Swinegate). Meets every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m. for business and at 8 p.m. for lecture. May 25. T. Maguire, "Equality."

**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—County Forum. Fridays, at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Café. Every Monday at 8 p.m.

**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 27 Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Royton.**—"Greyhound Inn." Every Sunday evening at 7.30.

### Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

#### LONDON.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 22.	Harrow Road—opposite the "Prince of Wales" Stratford—near the Church...	7	W. Chambers	Marylebone.
		7	A. Barker, Banner, and Lane.	
S. 23.	Canning Town.....	11.30	H. Barker	Central.
	Edgware Road—Bell Street.....	11.30	F. Kitz	Marylebone.
	Hammersmith—Beadon Road.....	11.30	T. Wardle	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street.....	11.30	C. W. Mowbray	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste.....	11.30	A. K. Donald	Mile-end.
	Regent's Park.....	11.30	H. Burcham	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches.....	11.30	W. Chambers	N. London.
	Hyde Park.....	3.30	F. Kitz	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park.....	3.30	T. Wardle	Hackney.
	Merton—High Street.....	7	A. K. Donald	Merton.
Tu. 25.	Euston Road—Osselson St. ....	7.30	W. Chambers	N. London.
	Soho—Broad Street.....	7.30	R. A. Beckett	Bloomsbury.
Th. 27.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street...	8	D. Nicoll	Hoxton.

#### PROVINCES.

**Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, 7 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday, May 16: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m. Woodhouse Moor, 3 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.

**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

### MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

**NOTTING HILL DEBATING SOCIETY,** "Monarch Tavern," Manchester Street (near Latimer Road Railway Station).—May 23. William Wynne (S.P.E.L.), "Will Socialism Benefit the Working Class?"

**Birmingham.**—On Sunday morning Wm. Morris delivered an interesting lecture on "The Aims of Art," and one in the evening on "Socialism." In speaking of Art, the lecturer did not mean the arts of painting and sculpture, but everything which adds to the happiness of life. Why men cherish art, and why they spend their lives in the pursuit of art, is to increase the joy of life and to add to the sum of human happiness. Art has been continuous in all ages of the world's history; all men have practised art. The meaning of history is not the overthrow of this king or dynasty, but the happiness of the people in being able to work from the inner man to the things which delight the eye and charm the sense with their innate beauty. The lecturer then contrasted the age of art with the age of commerce, and depicted Rouen and Oxford as they were forty years ago and as they are to day. All the glory of each is fast passing away to make room for the shoddy-built brick villas, which are a disgrace to the century. The art of the Middle Ages was progressive. The mediæval craftsman was free in his labour; his time was his own, and of little value; whereas the mechanic of to-day was more of a machine, and his time was reckoned and paid for by minutes. Slavery lies between us and art to-day. The lecturer then gave an interesting sketch of the optimist and pessimist views of life, and concluded by appealing to those present to assist in promoting the altruistic life of Socialism. There were two or three interesting questions asked at the close, and the audience was highly pleased with the replies. D. W. R.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 20.

SATURDAY, MAY 29, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

AN employer of labour is apt to think as little of truth in dealing with his workmen as a would-be member of Parliament in speaking to his would or wouldn't-be constituents, or, shall we say as a lawyer in pleading for a verdict. Plainly speaking, masters do not tell the truth as to the goodness or badness of trade whenever any rise of wages is asked or a reduction of them proposed, and generally, the workmen are warranted in not accepting on masters' evidence any statements as to the condition of any particular trade.

This general proposition has had in Glasgow of late a particular application. An iron firm has just submitted a statement of affairs, showing assets nearly £100,000 over liabilities. The stock of pig-iron at their works was 3000 tons more than that for which scrip had been issued, so that their iron has been selling well. And yet this firm was for going bankrupt because of the high wages it was paying the workmen, and the greed of these last for some portion of that excess of £100,000 or of the 3000 tons of iron, that were both equally the produce of their unpaid labour.

It is so rarely that we have to record a case of a threatened strike producing any good result, that our readers will be almost shocked with surprise to hear that at the Barrowford Mills, in Lancashire, a demand for advanced wages was met by an advance of 5 per cent. The name of the head of the firm was an apt one—Wiseman.

The 17,000 or 18,000 men at Kidsgrove, to whom reference was made last week, are still out, and the employers are still holding out for the 10 per cent. reduction. They know their power, for Kidsgrove and its villages are wholly dependent on these works, and even the bourgeois papers declare "that in the present state of the labour-market, the men will stand but a poor chance of finding employment elsewhere."

The Leatherseller's Company have granted £100 towards the Beaumont Trust Fund for the establishment of a People's Palace in East London. Which, being interpreted, means that incorporated capital has given an infinitesimal fraction of the surplus-value due to the unpaid labour of the workers of London, to a scheme for attempting to pacify them, and to postpone their demand for honest and fair treatment.

For forging and making a chain of fifty links, wages 1d. Even a county court judge holds it to be monstrous that wages should be paid at such a rate. Doubtless the masters in the nail trade think so also, but with a converse reading of the same phrase. Only six masters, at all events, out of forty or fifty, are willing to grant the request of the workmen for better dealing. The constant reductions of wage have brought the nailers and their families down to starvation point and beyond. Yet the Chairman of the Employers' Association cannot hold out any hope "with the nail trade in its present state."

£6500 paid to its members during one winter by one coal-miners' association; £8000 by another. That is the use to which the "thrift" of the workers is put.

The *Weekly Dispatch*—to "give the devil his due"—has in its last week's issue a clever arrangement in paragraphs. It prints a paragraph on the meeting of the National Association for Promoting State-Directed Emigration, with an account of resolutions "urging the Government to undertake a system of State-directed emigration on the lines submitted by the Association, and convening a home and colonial con-

ference to consider the question", which were proposed and carried unanimously. Immediately above this it prints the following from the *South Australian Advertiser*:

"The state of affairs is dreadful. The cry of the hungry is heard in our streets, and, despite the works which have been started from time to time, the unemployed are still far too numerous. At length the labour markets of other colonies seem fully supplied. From New Zealand, New South Wales, Western Australia, comes the cry that work is scarce, and from Victoria, too, comes the warning that there is a difficulty in absorbing the thousands that are pouring in. The demand for labour has almost ceased in South Australia, and is rapidly coming to an end in the other colonies."

At the meeting of the National Association for the promotion of State-Directed Emigration, a lord, a duke, a marquis, a cardinal, and several M.P.'s spoke. Certainly these various titles make one long for State-directed emigration—of one kind.

The Shop-Hours Regulation Bill contains no provision for Government inspectors. Past experience of Factory Acts tells us that without such provision the Bill will be a farce. ED. A.

## DOMESTIC SERVICE.

THE girls of Australia have not made a favourable impression upon the mind—I won't say the heart—of George Augustus Sala. As Mr. Sala is noted for his kindly feelings towards the sex, it is interesting to learn what flaw in the character of our Australian sisters has chilled his fancy. Young women in Australia, he tells us, have a strong antipathy to domestic service; and those who do become domestic servants are very fond of going to rural merry-makings at evening, which prevents them from attending to the comfort and convenience of their masters and their masters' guests, as Mr. Sala thinks they should do. He also thinks the female servants in hotels are much too high-spirited, and do not show that deference to their "superiors" which is so charming a characteristic of the "slaveys" at home.

Now there are two classes of people at least who will be disposed to esteem as a virtue what Mr. Sala regards as a fault—the young artisans of Australia and the Socialists all the world over. A girl who possesses a consciousness of the dignity of her own person, and feels the ugliness and baseness of hiring it out to pander to the laziness and pride of others; who dislikes being considered the inferior of any one, and who loves healthy recreation and enjoyment; such a girl is likely to prove much more attractive as a maiden, and much more desirable as a wife, than the poor creature who feels she is placed in this world merely as an appendage to the rich and great, and that her body and soul are given her to minister solely to the pleasure of others.

The absurdity of the present system of wage-slavery in the departments of production and distribution, may not, owing to its many economic complications, be at once apparent to the workers; but the folly of a system, that, not only permits but compels their sisters and daughters to leave their own homes, where their service is so much required, to go to the homes of strangers and work and care for them, should surely be manifest to the humblest intelligence. How common it is for a mother with half-a-dozen little ones—the care of which worries her from morning to night, and prematurely mars the comeliness of her womanhood—to send her eldest girl of, say 14 years, to serve and assist some other mother, who has, it may be, only one child or even none at all. Or can any one fail to see the absurdity of a young woman, who has to dress and work for herself, having besides to do these things for three or four other young women, all to save them the ignominy (as they think) of doing for themselves what she has to do for herself and them also. Surely the spirit of freedom and independence, which the working-men of this country are reputed to possess, is as shoddy as the stuff they are employed to manufacture for starvation wages, when we permit a system to endure which constrains them to send their sisters and daughters into the most ignoble, if in some cases not the most severe, form of servitude.

Under a Socialistic system every one, male and female, will be expected to mutually help one another personally as much as possible; and mere family relationship will certainly not circumscribe the ex-



change of assistance or solicitude amongst the members of a community. But such mutual help will be in nowise akin to the domestic servitude of to-day. To-day the help is not mutual or reciprocal. It is not the habit of the rich to send down their daughters to wash, cook, and serve in the dwellings of the poor; although some well-meant but helpless philanthropical experiments on the smallest scale have been made in this direction. To-day such service is given not as between neighbour and neighbour, or as between friend and friend—not because it is needful or reasonable, and certainly not because the girls of the poorer classes feel impelled by a sense of duty to assist the richer classes in their household drudgery,—but it is extorted by a social despotism as cruel and relentless as ever barbarian conqueror exhibited in herding the captive daughters of his foes to slavery and concubinage.

Need I point out how much easier the lot of married women of the working-class would be, even under the present system, if their daughters and sisters now hired out to serve superfine rich people, could be retained at home to lighten and enliven their own necessary toil. And when we recollect that Socialism will not only bring back to their own homes the tens of thousands of women and girls now engaged in domestic service, but also the tens of thousands engaged in industries unsuited to their constitution and character; and when we also recollect how much simpler domestic life itself will be made, surely we have a promise that the burden of toil will be made as light for women as it will be for men.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

### GIVE UP DRINKING!

ONE of the commonest opponents of Socialism is the teetotaler. "The question, What is the cause of poverty? is so easily answered! Don't you see public-houses at every street corner, and all of them full of working men and working women, who spend their money there as fast as they can earn it? Look at the police reports of crime! It is nearly all due to drink. The curse of Britain is drink; abolish drink; make its manufacture and sale criminal, and then, and not till then, will you have no poor people, and no criminals." So saith the teetotaler. Certainly drink walks hand in hand with poverty, but is it the cause of poverty? Drink is the curse of England, the reason of the poverty of Englishmen! What about France, Italy, Spain, Turkey? They are not drunken countries, and the people, according to the teetotal argument, should be well off. This is not the case. In France they are always on the brink of a revolution. In Italy the workers are far worse off, economically speaking, than they are in drunken England. Deeper down is the cause of the producers being poor—in England, and in every other country—because throughout the world their economical position is the same. Here a little more *money wages*, there a little less, but substantially the civilised world over the *real wages*, the amount of food, clothes, shelter, and luxuries is the same; just enough to keep the body in working order to produce wealth for the masters, and to produce children for the masters' children to fleece when the present generation has been laid in the dust. The people are poor because the products of their labour are nearly all taken from them by the masters. "But still you must admit that if they did not spend so much of what was left in drink they would be better off," says the teetotaler. No, I reply. This is the position: at present the wages of the people include a certain amount of beer-money, because the habit of beer-drinking is pretty nigh universal; beer is considered as necessary a part of the people's diet as bread. All people, then, working for wages have a certain sum, as it were, allowed for drink—but all do not spend it. Some find they can do without drink, and save the money, and hence they become a little better off than the mass of their neighbours. Now, suppose they all stopped drinking. They would certainly save their drink-money, which means they would be able to support life on a lower diet than before. A new factor must now be introduced. There is going on at the present time a great competition for employment, and the man that takes the lowest wages is generally the most acceptable. There is a large army of unemployed always offering their labour cheap, and so tending to bring down wages. On our supposition the mass of workers have resolved to do without drink. The unemployed are, of course, included in the mass of workers, so now they are able to work for less money than ever. So they offer their services at the old rate of wages less the amount now to be saved owing to their not drinking.

The hands in the factories are working for the old wages, which includes drink money. The masters learn they now can get men at less wages, so the men inside are told they must either submit to a reduction or lose their places. In any case down come the wages; the drink-money that the workmen fondly hoped to save now goes into their master's pocket. The drinkers are the teetotalers' best friends. Because they drink, the others can save. In a crowd a few men on stools can see over the heads of the men on the ground, but let the men on the stools keep preaching, "Oh! you will all see like us if you get on stools!" Now they are all on stools, and lo! it is as if they were all on the ground! The teetotaler is on the economical stool to-day, but let him convert all his fellows to do as he does, and then, certainly he will find his vantage-ground gone.

The teetotaler makes a mistake. Men are not poor because they drink (take many of our "nobles and gentry" for proof of this, who drink a deal and are as rich as ever), rather they drink because they are poor, and they want to drive away the thoughts of that poverty; and because their lives are miserable, they fly to drink to drug

their careful hearts. Place men in a free economical position, where what they produce is their own, then their poverty will cease and their sad hearts will become gay, and drink will no longer have dominion over them.

ALEXANDER DONALD.

### INSURRECTION IN BELGIUM.

#### IV.

(Continued from page 58.)

SUCH were the events which happened in Belgium during the latter part of last March. Since then, the popular excitement has subsided, the muskets of Galiffet van der Smissen have re-established order and tranquility. Everywhere silence reigns,—the silence of the tomb! It cannot, however, be said that everywhere the men are at work; on the contrary, the distress from want of work is even greater than it was before, and the economical crisis which is so cruelly severe in Belgium will not give place to a new era of prosperity and abundance, simply because *the authorities have killed sixty-five workmen, wounded more or less severely a hundred and eighty others, and imprisoned five hundred and eighty-five of the rebels.*

For our part, we do not expect anything from the intervention of governments in the solution of social questions, neither in Belgium nor elsewhere; all governments are of the same value, that is to say, they are of no value at all. They are a permanent obstacle in the way of progress and equality; the very essence of the governing principle is to resist all expansion of human nature towards liberty; therefore, we oppose the very principle of the governmental institution; in other words, we are Anarchists. Let us prove what we have just enunciated by the example of Belgium.

On the 30th of March, while an entire Belgian province was still in a state of siege, while blood was flowing and while manufactories were burning, the Belgian Government, by the mouth of M. Beernaert, the chief of the Ministry, hastened to make in the Chamber of Deputies a declaration in which it tried to justify itself for the ferocious measures which had been adopted, but in which it did not give to the country a single new idea, or hope, or promise, but, on the contrary, openly opposed the claims of the workmen who had been roused to revolt by an industrial crisis, unprecedented in the annals of Belgium. And M. Frère-Orban, the chief of the Liberal Opposition in the Chamber, did not by a single word endeavour to recall the government to a feeling of shame, and to the exercise of its duties! He contented himself with appealing to law, authority, and brutal force; as if force could dispel the profound causes of an economical situation which is without precedent, and apparently without end! Both the representative of the Government and the representative of the Opposition found it advantageous to pronounce some ungenerous words against the so-called "instigators" of the revolt, and after that, their economic science was exhausted. As if every one did not know that the true instigators are the upholders of that avaricious capitalism, which is never satiated, and of which the financial despotism weighs down and ruins the country; those men who profit by everything, even by the most frightful crises, in order to confirm their intolerable supremacy over the other classes; for it cannot be denied that the existing crisis in Belgium, by getting rid of all those who have not enormous capitals at their disposal, increases the power of those who possess colossal fortunes, and tends to concentrate more and more in their own hands all industrial pursuits.

The Belgian Government, after having to its everlasting shame made this declaration to the Chamber, which was really nothing but an avowal of its own impotence and incapacity, next endeavoured to raise itself in public estimation, and after fifteen long days of study, on the 15th of last April it made a grand effort, and instituted a *Commission of Enquiry, to investigate the situation of the working-classes in Belgium!* It is not the first time that this sinister and grotesque comedy has been played in that country. On the 7th of September 1843 a Commission of Enquiry was nominated, charged with exactly the same duty. This commission finished its work five years afterwards, in 1848, published three large volumes containing the result of its investigations, cost the country in expenses about a million francs, and then was peaceably buried. The Government did nothing, absolutely nothing. In 1869, a fresh enquiry was again felt to be necessary, because they wished to soothe the sufferings of the working-classes. The enquiry again squandered away an enormous sum, which the naive public paid as a matter of course, and then nothing more was heard of it. The Government on this occasion, as on the first, did not introduce the least reform, so little was it in favour of the colliers. Now, for the third time, the same farce has begun again, and it will be with the same result; unless, indeed, the Belgians, tired at last of being always the dupes of their so-called masters, do not destroy once for all both investigations and investigators, and attend to their affairs themselves.

The composition of this Commission of Enquiry is in itself an unparalleled piece of hypocrisy; it is composed of deputies and senators, large manufacturers like Balisau, Montefiore, Simonis, d'Andrimont, etc., or great financiers, directors and managers of joint-stock companies, such as Malou, Jacobs, Pirmez, etc.; of Government officials like Arnould, engineer-in-chief of mines, Prins, general inspector of prisons, of priests, journalists, lawyers, and lastly of four professors at the universities. Naturally, the Government has taken good care not to appoint on this Commission those who alone would have been able to give it certain moral weight and authority, namely, *working men.* The

financiers will manage the affair much better; the workmen know nothing about it.

But if the working-men are not included in the Commission of Inquiry, to make amends the Government has also thought of them. The Minister of Justice, a certain De Volder, who was formerly an advocate of twentieth rank, has just brought forward several draughts of laws directed pointedly against the workmen. One law on explosives, another enlarging the law against carrying arms; a third increasing the vote for the gendarmerie, and finally, a new article of the Penal Code, which is absolutely scandalous, punishing by a fine of three thousand francs and three years' imprisonment, any incitement to crime or to any political offence, *even if not followed by its commission*. This last law at one sweep strikes out from the wide-famed Belgian Constitution the right of union and the freedom of the press. Evidently, governments only take these senseless measures when they feel that they are lost. The prosecution of the press, and the repression of offences of opinion, caused the downfall of the Restoration, of the Monarchy of July, and of the Second Empire in France, and in Belgium, in 1830, of the Dutch rule; just as they are now bringing about the ruin of Bismark's Germany and the Bourgeois Republic in France. We need not therefore complain immoderately; the Belgian Government is committing suicide, and we ask for nothing better.

VICTOR DAVE.

(To be continued.)

## MARAT'S RETURN.

(By FERDINAND FREILIGRATH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

NIGHT darkens o'er the dismal sea;  
The sea-mew screams through fog and cloud;  
Pale gleams the strand of Normandy,  
Foam-flecked, and wrapt in misty shroud.  
O desolate expanse of night!  
One lonely boat lies just in sight,  
By some few wretched sailors manned,  
Who try their rotten bark to trim,  
With panting breath and vision dim,  
And hum a song, and hug the land.

While on the shore, with cheek and hair  
Wet with the foam that o'er him flies,  
Is sitting on the shingle there  
A slight spare man with piercing eyes.  
He gazes o'er the gloomy scene,  
Scanning the clouds with glances keen,  
And springs with clenched fist from his seat,  
To chide with accents stern and loud  
The waves, as though an angry crowd  
Were surging round the speaker's feet.

Then down he sinks with knitted brow;  
What is it that he hears and sees?  
What else but sail and mast and prow,  
And hissing waves, and hushing breeze?  
He looks on other waves than those—  
On eager friends and angry foes,  
On folk aroused to wrath by wrong.  
He sees the crowd whose hopes and fears  
He oft has moved—he sees, he hears  
Tumultuous Paris round him throng.

He sees the squares, he sees the streets—  
Like breakers there in ebb and flood,  
The mob advances and retreats,  
Where seethes the furious Gallic blood—  
And steel pikes brandished in the air,  
And red caps on dark locks of hair,  
Torches and trumpets, swords and brands,  
And spears that children point and poise,  
And rattling drums with dreadful noise  
Beaten by frenzied women's hands.

From tower and steeple clang the bells;  
And hark! the sound of bursting bars  
The grim Bastille's destruction tells.  
Lo, murder on the field of Mars,  
Thunder of cannon, crack of gun,  
Red banners streaming in the sun—  
And who is she that leads them on?  
On cannon, see, she sits astride,  
With sword and musket at her side,  
The Mericourt, the Amazon!

To stir such flames as these to heat  
He thundered louder than the shots,  
In clubs and corners of the street,  
Ringed with his trusty Sansculottes.  
'Tis this that seethes before his eyes;  
And see, Camille and Robespierre rise,  
And Danton with his lion strength—  
A stool and table serve for stage—  
He too, transfigured by his rage,  
Pale Passion's self made man at length.

And this the sea whose breakers oft  
His passion's furious blast has stirred,  
O'er which he daily launched aloft  
His storm-test danger-daring bird,  
The "People's Friend"—through hail and rain  
Its grey leaves fluttered forth again,

Like sea-mew's flight the waves above,  
To rouse and warn and stab and sting,  
And yet to seek one only thing,  
The olive branch of peace and love.

'Tis Marat! Yes, the great, the good!  
The noble Tribune! Yes, 'tis he!  
Hunted by hate through waste and wood,  
He rests him by the Norman sea.  
Mistrusted, cursed, pursued with shame—  
'Tis past, he has renounced his aim;  
The way he wends with woe is dark;  
To England will he cross the wave,  
Though heart-break hunt him to the grave,  
All's one—there lies the smugglers' bark.

The anchor rises through the foam;  
He springs on board: "Now, sailors, speed!"  
One single look toward his home—  
That strong soul bows like broken reed!  
He signs them weeping to the strand,  
He cries, "Put back, put back to land!  
And shall the child its mother shun?  
Come what come may!" He falls to earth,  
To kiss the land that gave him birth;  
"O Revolution, take thy son!"

And now, his foes upon his track,  
And now, through roads and fields astray,  
The traitor's knife behind his back,  
Home, home, the long and lonely way!  
And he must hide in standing corn,  
And creep through hedge and thick-set thorn,  
Till—whence with penalty and pain  
The city drove him forth yestreen—  
He burst again upon the scene,  
And enter Paris once again.

What is it he goes hence to meet?  
Ah yes, his fate is fixed; we know  
What destiny will dog his feet—  
First August tenth must come and go;  
Convention then, and Terror's reign,  
And then a king amongst the slain  
To scaffold haled from guilty state;  
The Girondins on guillotine,  
Then Charlotte's knife-thrust sheer and keen—  
See there! he goes to meet his fate.

## GUNS.

(From the *Workmen's Advocate*.)

"WHAT! is the *Workmen's Advocate* going to recommend a resort to arms?"  
Keep cool, friends; we simply mentioned the word, Guns—plural for Gun.  
We had in mind, not "Great Guns," nor indeed old-fashioned guns called muskets. No, nothing of the kind.

Of course we do not oppose the possession of force, though under certain circumstances we might deplore the use of it. But that isn't what we were going to say.

We were thinking of the humiliating treatment of poor, discouraged, and half-starved working-men in the Hocking Valley; of the poor miners in Pennsylvania; of the unarmed and undisciplined crowd of workmen in East St. Louis, fired at by a little band of armed murderers called deputy-sheriffs. These pictures were before us when the thought occurred that the murderers hired by capitalists possessed two things which the workmen lacked: rifles and discipline. Not that we should recommend the workmen to shoot even murderous deputy-sheriffs—Oh, no! But don't you think, innocent reader, that if the workmen possessed each a rifle with suitable ammunition, and discipline, that there would have been no necessity for bloodshed? Don't you think that when a deputy-sheriff was sent with a message to a striker he would approach respectfully and with a certain amount of caution if he knew that the striker was as accomplished in the art of explosive pyrotechnics as his murderous self? And, on the whole, don't you think that capitalists would be more likely to pay good wages and deport themselves in a gentlemanly manner in the presence of Labour, if they knew that the police would not be ordered out to club their fellow citizens, because the fellow citizens might take a liking to brass buttons; neither would the Governor order out the militia, for that would only tend to create a disturbance, and the mere fact that an employer was scared or wanted to use the government forces to vent his spleen with, would not be sufficient cause for risking a serious outbreak.

Now, in all this, not a life would be lost, nor a cartridge exploded, simply because both sides would be equally prepared for an emergency which would not be likely to arise because of the equality of power.

But, good gracious! Mr. Capitalist, you look as white as a sheet! Oh, recovering, are you? Thought you were going to be hurt. Well, we are glad you have recovered; we only had an idea, and from the very nature of the subject it "went off."

Wage-workers should allow no thought of nationality, colour, or religion to separate them.

CHANGED HIS OPINIONS.—1876. Reputable Citizen: "Eh! who are the Socialists? Oh, a few crazy cranks—don't amount to much." 1880. R. C.: "Who are the Socialists? Why, a lot of d—d scoundrels who talk of burning property, massacring honest folks in their beds, and dividing up the money of the rich. Dangerous, sir; dangerous, and ought to be suppressed." 1886. R. C.: "Who are the Socialists? My dear sir, where have you been? Why, everybody is talking about them. Ministers defend Socialism from their pulpits. The newspapers and magazines are full of it. The country is full of Socialists, and they are increasing at a great rate. Many of their doctrines are sound, sir, sound, and though I can't subscribe to everything they say, yet I am something of a Socialist myself."—*Labor Enquirer*.



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

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#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

QUESTIONS bearing upon the principles propounded and the objects had in view by the *Commonweal*, will be welcomed by the Editors.

RECEIVED—England: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record. Canada: L'Union Ouvrière (Montreal). France: Paris: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—Le Révolté—Le Socialiste—La Tribune des Peuples—Revue du Mouvement Social. Le Devoir (Guisse)—Le Forçat du Travail (Bordeaux). Germany: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). Holland: Recht voor Allen. Hungary: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Buda-pest). India: Voice of India (Bombay)—Hindu Patriot (Calcutta)—People's Friend (Madras). Italy: Il Fascio Operaio (Milan)—La Lotta (Ancona). New Zealand: Watchman. Portugal: O Campino—Voz do Operário—O Protesto Operário (Lisbon). Spain: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social—Acracia—La Justicia Humana (Barcelona)—Bandera Social—El Socialista (Madrid)—El Socialismo (Cadiz)—La Perseverancia (Huelva). Switzerland: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich). U. S. A.: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country—Amerikanische Arbeiter-zeitung. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal. Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer—Little Socialist—Chicago (Ill.) Alarm—Detroit (Mich.) Labor Leaf—Princeton (Mass.) Word—Cleveland (O.): Carpenter—Chronicle. Cincinnati (O.) Unionist—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Petersburg (Ill.) Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Altruist. Kansas (Mo.) Sun—Pittsburg (Pa.) Labor Herald—Baltimore (Md.) Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.) Lucifer Newfoundland (Pa.) La Torpille—Litchfield (Minn.) Radical—Manchester (N. H.) Weekly Budget—Portland (Oregon) Alarm—Evansville (Ind.) Neue Zeit—Milwaukee (Wis.) Volksblatt.

#### OUR REPRESENTATIVES.

The past week of parliamentary and party strife has been sufficiently barren of interest to the ordinary observer. No one has expected anything new to be said about the Home Rule Bill, and no one has been disappointed. The Disarming Bill was carried, as every one knew it would be, and the votes pro and con were very much what was expected. Accordingly, the thing which usually happens in a dull interval of an exciting period has happened now. People having few additional facts to go on have been turning guesses at facts into facts, and disputing about them as vigorously as if they had really happened.

As an addition to this amusement, a violent sham quarrel about nothing at all has been got up by the *Pall Mall Gazette* against Mr Chamberlain. That journal is almost entirely on Mr Chamberlain's side in the Home Rule matter; it has been one of the most unsparing opponents of the Bill; and might have seen, if it did not, in Mr Chamberlain a thick and thin supporter of its favourite fad of imperial federation and the deification of the central parliament of the empire. But all this is not enough, and an attack must be made on him on grounds difficult enough for a simple person to see. Mr Chamberlain's conduct in the Irish business is attackable enough from various sides; but that the most spiteful attack should come on him from a friend, or at least an ally, is quaint indeed. If it means anything more than a newspaper sensation, it must point to the utter want of faith in the Liberal-Radical party, whose leaders in the press and in Parliament are hitting out wildly in the hopes of attracting some applause somewhere from some section or other of that once respectable drilled phalanx.

Nor can Mr. Chamberlain be congratulated on any success in keeping his temper. His attack on the meeting of the Liberal and Radical Council seems to show that their hint of censure has been taken as a deep cause of offence; though, perhaps, like the servant-maid in Dickens, he has only been "showing them what kind of a temper he keeps"—a mode of striving for his own way familiar enough to the ex-master of the Caucus. For the rest, his appeal in his letter for political gratitude for past services, to shield him from censure on present blunders, would be feeble argument indeed if the rank and file had not got so used to leadership—by the nose.

Quarrelling among once allies has been diversified by a good deal of watering down of strong utterances against enemies when the latter have raised too much of a storm around the speech-makers. Lord Salisbury having put forward some alternative to Home Rule, found no difficulty in proclaiming the necessary Tory scheme of coercion, carried on, if necessary, to extermination of the rebellious race. But, frightened at the sound of his own words, he has tried to explain all that away into paternal government for Ireland, and the attainment for it of all the blessings "which in this island we have for a long time been privileged to enjoy." We? Landlords and fundlords, it must be supposed, who indeed have had no bad time of it in Ireland either.

Of course there is nothing in this vague nonsense; but that his lordship thinks it necessary to explain away his tall talk does mean something: he is looking towards the Whigs and Whigizing of Radicals. It is but part of the same operation as the quarreling of the old allies—namely, the tendency for all reaction to run together into the Moderate Party. Sheer Toryism can now only work through hypocrisy—that is, Whiggery, alias dying Constitutionalism confronted with young Revolution.

Even the bold Major Saunderson was anxious to "explain," much as if a man using the word "damned" with reference to an adversary, were to point out that he did not intend a theological assertion. Lord R. Churchill, however, stood to his guns, and asserted the constitutionalism of rebellion in the teeth of the "sacro-sanctity of assemblies" ingeniously enough, whatever may be said about his ingenuousness. Poor Constitutionalism! that has to be supplemented by Revolution!

The respectabilities that followed Lord R. Churchill—Gladstonite and other, including Mr. Gladstone himself—did not accept this view of Constitutionalism; their respectability rang hollow enough since they were driven into using war-like metaphors in the usual unreal and meaningless manner; in spite of which all that was said made clear once more that brute force is the real cement of all sham society, and that it will breed force as a solvent of its tyranny. It is a pity indeed that such a discussion should have had no better occasion than the carrying on on one side of the old habit of refusing the Irish the rights of citizenship, and on the other an attempt to put the Irish landlords in the right, whatever means they may try for the upholding of their monstrous oppression.

The "negotiations" for patching up that broken jug, the Liberal Party, and all the lies, half-lies, contradictions, evasions, and the rest of the brood of party tactics may be passed over in unrespectful silence. Thus the game of "representation" goes on, and outside it the people live and die—live miserably and die before their time, and the veil of words, and sham intentions, and half intentions, and the self-interest of the rich now grown mild and fatherly—in words—dulls the sound of that

"Lamentation and an ancient tale of wrong,  
Like a tale of little meaning though the words are strong;  
Chanted from an ill-used race of men that cleave the soil,  
Sow the seed, and reap the harvest with enduring toil."

How long will it last? "Our time" think our Representatives. Well, some of them are old men, but some scarcely middle-aged, and "he who lives will see."

WILLIAM MORRIS.

"Count Samuel Teleky is organising an expedition for the exploration of Central Africa. The fitting out will be completed by the end of May, and one hundred well-armed men will reach Zanzibar in the course of June. Captain Hänel, of the Austrian navy, will take part in the expedition, and two boats will be taken out in pieces. It is believed here that the expedition will not confine itself to scientific explorations only."

The last sentence is really almost superfluous: "scientific explorations" is only "markets writ large."

"The collar manufacturers at Troy, New York State, have ordered a lock-out owing to the demands of their employés. Eight thousand persons are consequently thrown out of employment."

"Væ victis!"—Woe to the vanquished!—is a saying that holds good still. American workers, hold your tongues and bear it all—if you can do nothing else.

W. M.



## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER III.—THE BREAK-UP OF FEUDALISM.

THE period of change from the feudal system into that of commerce is so important, and so significant to our subject, that it demands a separate chapter.

The beginning of the sixteenth century found, as we have said, the craft-gilds corrupted into privileged bodies holding within them two orders of workmen—the privileged and the unprivileged—the two forming the germ of a society founded on capital and wage-labour. The privileged workmen became middle-class; the unprivileged, proletarians.

But apart from the gilds, the two classes were being created by the development of commerce, which needed them both as instruments for her progress. Mediæval commerce knew nothing of capitalistic exchange; the demands of local markets were supplied by the direct exchange of the superfluity of the produce of the various districts and countries. All this was now being changed, and a world-market was being formed, into which all commodities had to pass; and a huckstering class grew up for the carrying on of this new commerce, and soon attained to power, amidst the rapid break-up of the old hierarchical society with its duly ordered grades.

The fall of Constantinople, which was followed in thirty years by the discovery of America, was a token of this great change. The Mediterranean was no longer the great commercial sea, with nothing beyond it but a few outlying stations. The towns of Central Europe—*e.g.*, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Bruges, and the Hanse towns—were now sharing the market with Venice and Genoa, the children of Constantinople: there was no longer one great commanding city in Europe. But it was not only the rise in the commercial towns that was overturning feudal society. As they conquered their enemy, the feudal nobles, they fell into the clutches of bureaucratic monarchs, who either seized on them for their own possessions, or used them as tools for their projects of conquest and centralisation. Charles V., *e.g.*, played this game through South Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands, and with Venice, under cover of the so-called "Holy Roman Empire," while at the same time he had fallen into possession of Spain by marriage; and disregarding his sham feudal empire, he bent all his efforts into turning these countries into a real bureaucratic State. In France the last liberties of the towns were crushed out. In England the plunder of the religious houses enabled Henry VIII. to found a new nobility, subservient to his own absolutism, in place of the ancient feudal nobility destroyed by their late civil war.

Everywhere the modern political bureaucratic *nation* was being developed. In France the long and fierce wars of the Burgundian and Armagnac factions gave opportunity for the consolidation of the monarchy, which was at last effected by Louis XI., the forerunner of the most successful king of France and the last successful one—Louis XIV. In England the Wars of the Roses were not so bitter as the French wars, and the people took small part in them, except as vassals or the households of the contending nobles; but they nevertheless played their part in the disruption of feudality, not only by the thinning-out of the nobles slain in battle or on the scaffold, but also by helping directly to draw England into the world-market.

Under the mediæval system the workmen, protected and oppressed by the lords of the manor and the gilds, were not available for the needs of commerce. The serfs ate up the part of the produce spared them by their lords; the gild craftsmen sold the produce of their own hands to their neighbours without the help of a middle-man. In neither case was there anything left over for the supply of a great market.

But England, one of the best pasture countries of the world, had in her even then capacities for profit-grinding, if the tillage system of the manor and the yeoman's holdings could be got rid of. The landowners, ruined by their long war, saw the demand for English wool, and set themselves to the task of helping evolution with much of the vigour and unscrupulous pettifogging which has since won for their race the temporary command of the world-market. The tenants were rack-rented, the yeomen were expropriated, the labourers driven off the land into the towns, there to work as "free" labourers, and England thus contributed her share to commerce, paying for it with nothing more important than the loss of the rough joviality, plenty, and independence of spirit, which once attracted the admiration of foreigners more crushed by the feudal system and their abuses than the English were.

Thus all over Europe commercialism was rising. New needs were being discovered by men who were gaining fresh mastery over nature, and were set free from old restraints to struggle for individual pre-eminence. A fresh intelligence and mental energy was shedding its light over the more sordid side of the period of change. The study of the Greek literature at first hand was aiding this new intelligence among cultivated men, and also, since they did but half understand its spirit, was warping their minds into fresh error. Art was no longer religious and simple—the harmonious expression of the thought of the people—but was growing more and more ambitiously individualistic and arrogant, and at the same time grew more and more retrospective and tainted with pedantry.

Amidst all this it is clear that the old religion would no longer serve the new spirit of the times. The Mediæval Church, the kingdom of heaven on earth, in full sympathy with the temporal hierarchy, in which also every one had his divinely appointed place, and which restricted commerce and forbade usury, such a Church was no religion for the new commercialism; its religion must have nothing to do with the business of this world; so the individualist ethics of Early Chris-

tianity, which had been kept in the background during the period of the Mediæval Church, were once more brought to the front and took the place of the corporate ethics of that Church, of which each one of the "faithful" was but a part. Whatever base uses their enthusiasm was put to by cooler heads, this revived Christianity took a real hold on most of the progressive minds of the period, especially in the north; so that Protestantism became the real religion of the epoch, and even permeated Catholicism and gave it whatever true vitality it had; for its political part was an unreal survival from the Mediæval Church, and whatever of it was of any force became the mere ally of bureaucracy; a word which applies to the Protestant Churches just as much as the Catholic; and, in fact, everywhere the new religion became the useful servant of Commercialism, first by providing a new army of officials always subservient to the authority of government, and secondly by holding out to the people hopes outside their wretched life on earth, so as to quiet their discontent by turning their earthly aspirations heavenward. On the one hand like Early Christianity, it bade let the world alone to compete for the possession of privilege, and bade the poor pay no heed to the passing oppression of the day, which could not deprive them of their true reward in another world; but, unlike Early Christianity, on the other hand it shared in the possession of privilege, and actively helped in the oppression which it counselled the oppressed not to rebel against. But, as a truly distinct and equal power beside the State, the Church was extinct; it was a mere salaried adjunct of the State. The story, moreover, of the robbery by private persons of the public property which the Mediæval Church once held, was a disgraceful one everywhere, but nowhere so disgraceful as in England.

But while modern Europe was developing for itself a new economy, a new religion, and a new patriotism, the change did not take place without a protest of the disappointed hopes of the people in the form of fresh rebellion; though it was little heeded amidst the furious wars for the place and power of kings, and the establishment of political boundaries of the newly made "nations." The Peasant War in Germany, and the revolt of the Anabaptists, are, so to say, the funeral torches of the Middle Ages. The first was much of the nature of other mediæval insurrections, except that it was fiercer and longer lived; it ends the series of outbreaks which had been so common in England during the first years of the century. The revolt of the Anabaptists was an attempt to realise the kingdom of God upon earth literally and simply in a Communistic Society based on supernaturalism, and was a protest of ignorant and oppressed men against the hardening of Christianity into bourgeois Protestantism, and of the hardening of feudal oppression into commercial exploitation.

Thus, then, was the feudal system broken down, to give place to a new world, whose government, under cover of carrying on the old monarchies and varied classes of feudality, was employed in one business only, the consolidation and continuance of the absolute property of the individual. It is true that in carrying out this function, the new society used the forms of the old, and asserted hereditary rights stiffly enough; but this was only in its transition from the old to the new. In truth the spirit of the Middle Ages was dead, and its theory of society and authority in Church and State was gone. The kingdom of heaven of the Mediæval Church had left the earth, and did not concern itself with its doings except so far as they constituted theological holiness or sins. God no longer owned the land allowing human beings to use it after a divinely ordained scheme. It was now the *property* of the absolute monarch, who might give it to whomsoever he would; and it was only for a brief space that a dim shadow of feudal responsibility clung to the landowner.

Serfdom was gone, and the gilds were now but close corporations of privileged workmen, or of employers of labour. The ordinary workman was now "free." That is to say he could work where and how he pleased, *if* he could find some one who would set him to work at the price of taking from him a part of the produce of his labour; which labour was now a commodity to be bought and sold in the market as the body of the chattel-slave once had been.

Of the working of this new form of privilege and slavery we shall see more in our next chapter.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

## OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM.

(A Reply to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P.)

### IV.

WE now pass to a paragraph whose careful reading and re-reading many times almost leads to the conclusion that to our objector Socialism is only concerned with a change in the method of distribution of goods, and not with the more important change in the method of their production. It is true that in the succeeding paragraphs there is some slight reference to this last; but it is of the very slightest, and is only made indirectly, in dealing with the attacks on "property." The fact is, that in this pamphlet, as in the St James's Hall debate, the primary question of Socialism and of our present-day society is never approached, and that primary question is the way in which our goods are produced, the unpaid labour expended in their production, the surplus-value resulting from this, and the source of all capital in that surplus-value.

However, though we regret that our main point is thus unchallenged and ignored, let us take what we have and deal with it. "Socialists

declare . . . that the exchange of all production [read "products"] must be controlled by the workers; but they decline to explain how this control is to be exercised, and on what principles." Note first, the unconscious admission that is here made by implication. He that objects to our claim for the control of all exchange by the workers implicitly admits that now much if not all exchange is controlled by the non-workers,—a sufficiently unjust condition of things. Upon the latter part of the sentence my former contentions again come in, with an important modification. Certainly we cannot explain in all details exactly how a more equitable exchange *will* be effected, though probably any one of us would be personally prepared to say how it *might* be. Scarcely any thinking Socialist is there who has not in head the general idea of a plan for completely socialising exchange. But knowing that more and wiser heads than his will be busy a little later at the same task, he sees that for him to lay down any assured scheme now would be alike presumptuous and premature. He declines to be led astray by this red herring of argument, and continues preaching principles.

A word that leads me to the important modification noted above. The principles upon which the control of all exchange by the workers can be and even—as principles—will be carried on, we can certainly explain. And the explanation is the more easy, as the principles that will govern exchange in the future will be the direct opposite of those governing it to-day. For injustice, will be substituted justice; for inequality, equality; the inverse proportion which now obtains, whereby he that does least receives most, and he that does most receives least, will be replaced by the receipt on the part of each man of all that is necessary to him, he having worked according as his strength and ability allow. The hideous commercial yard-measure of rewarding a man according to what he has done will be broken asunder. If a man has done all of which he is capable, he is entitled to just so much of the necessities and of the luxuries of life as his fellow, who also has done all of which he is capable. And this holds true if the one be a Charles Darwin and the other a crossing-sweeper. "She hath done what she could," said Christ of the Magdalen, and the words in which he rebuked the disciples are at this hour a rebuke to the bourgeois advocate and the bourgeois defendant.

And observe, finally on this point, that the commercial yard-measure is a false one, even on its wielder's own showing. Men are not to-day rewarded in proportion to that which they have done. Confining our attention wholly to the question of exchange, though not without renewing the protest against this narrowing-down of the enquiry, we may fairly ask the individualists whether under their scheme men are not rewarded in exactly the inverse proportion to their expended labour? The middle-man, who has learnt the meaning of "*tutissimus ibis in medias res*", receives his hundreds or thousands a year. His office-hours are theoretically, say 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. Of these many are never occupied with work at all, and not one of them with work so arduous or so irksome as that of the clerk who writes all his supremely uninteresting letters, or the porter who carries about his supremely uninteresting goods. And the former of these, really working from 9 to 6 say, is "passing rich on" £100 a year; whilst the latter working yet longer and at more severe toil, receives, perhaps, 20s. a week.

It is, I say, by no means difficult to explain the principles on which the control of exchange by the workers will be carried on, if once the principles on which the control of exchange by the non-workers is carried on are understood. But I imagine that another meaning yet is lurking behind Mr. Bradlaugh's phrase. He is, I fancy, thinking of the difficulty that may occur in carrying out an equitable scheme of distribution. There will be the leaven in our midst of those anxious to get back to the old system, inasmuch as the old system gives more chance of personal aggrandisement. That such a difficulty should meet us is a terrible comment at once upon the individualistic system, and the moral natures that it spawns. But the difficulty is greatly lessened if we reflect that all are to be workers, and really workers. The class of non-workers who, having profited by the unfair condition of things to-day, will hanker after their human flesh-pots, will have vanished as a class. At first certain diseased individuals may be present in sufficiently large numbers to need careful watching, just as criminals, like these a product of commercialism, will at first be many in number. But the number of both these classes will rapidly diminish, until they will become as rare as microcephali or ape-men. Like these a would-be capitalist will appear now and again. Like these, he will be a case of reversion to a lower ancestral condition, and like these, unpleasant and shocking as he will seem, he will not be of the least danger to the community.

EDWARD AVELING.

(To be continued).

A CROFTER STARVED TO DEATH.—A shocking case of death from starvation is reported from the Highlands. A poor woman, 83 years of age, was in receipt of the usual pauper's dole of three half-pence a-day, out of which she has to provide house, food, and clothing. Her body was recently found by the roadside, in a deplorable state of emaciation and neglect, death being plainly due to starvation. The corpse was removed to a shed—the chosen abode of a tribe of cats—and the interment was effected by order of the relieving officer, who is also the registrar of deaths, without having been seen by the doctor. Such a case is, it is feared, but one of many constantly occurring amongst the crofters of the Highlands, but which, owing to the absence of coroners' inquests never come to light.

The first thing I saw was law, under the form of a gibbet; the second was wealth, under the form of a woman dead of cold and hunger; the third was misery, under the shape of a hunted man chained to prison walls; the fourth was your palaces, beneath the shadow of which covered the tramp. The rich have made slaves and convicts for the human race.—Victor Hugo.

## NORTHERN NOTES.

THE commercial battle for life becomes fiercer in our midst every day. The relentlessness and inhumanity displayed in the competitive struggle fast rivals the worst examples of barbarous warfare—the young and the aged being especially marked for extermination.

Here, in this typically commercial city (Glasgow), boys and girls—just when their bodies and minds are growing, and are least capable of strain or burden—have often the hardest work and the longest hours. Not infrequently they have to perform "duties" which would severely tax the powers of grown up men and women. In thousands of cases they are the sole support of their households, the grown-up members of the family being unable to procure work. The adept disciples of modern political economy have devised an ingenious system, which discards the old idea of fathers supporting their children, and makes children support their fathers—which decrees that the burden of life shall no longer be borne by the strong but by the weak.

In a recent number of the *Commonweal* we were told of an employer who boasted that he never employed a workman over 34 years of age. The economical inhumanity implied in the boast is rapidly extending north of the Tweed. I am informed that an edict has gone forth in one of our largest locomotive works here that all old men are to be discharged as soon as possible, and that no workman who has passed the age of vigorous manhood is to be engaged in future. A man who applied for work a few days ago to one of the foremen—an old friend of the applicants—was regretfully informed that he could not be taken on as the foreman was forbidden to employ any one *whose hair was grey*. The applicant was between 40 and 50 years old.

An incident of a similar kind occurred recently at one of our Clyde ship-building yards. An able and experienced workman applied for a job, and was refused because, as the foreman explained, he wore spectacles.

Surely this reduction of our commercial system to gross inhumanity will speedily rouse the workers to a sense of their complete subjugation. Incidents such as these sometimes touch the quick of men's souls, and fire their hearts to revolt more effectively than even starvation and death.

There is one consolation in knowing the insincerity of party political opinion, it saves us from the conviction that the greater portion of our fellow-men are downright idiots. At the worst there is more hope for a nation of knaves than a nation of fools. Knaves may be constrained to become honest, but fools cannot be made wise.

The above reflection has been suggested by the behaviour of the Liberals concerning Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule proposals. Not six months ago every Liberal Association in Scotland loudly proclaimed the necessity of sending the Liberal party into power with a commanding majority—to carry a Home Rule measure?—No, but to enable Mr. Gladstone to successfully resist and suppress the claim for Home Rule which the prospective eighty-six national members were sure to make. But that majority was not obtained, and Mr. Gladstone has himself proposed the very thing which they were pledged to resist. And now those self-same Liberal Associations without exception, proclaim the absolute justice and expediency of doing what they six months ago denounced as impossible and insane. Men who were "steeped to the lips" in antagonism to the Irish demands, now barefacedly profess that not only do they now deem Home Rule to be a just concession to the Irish people, but that they always held that opinion—only up till now the question was not ripe for solution.

There is no honesty possible in politics. Compromise, expediency, chance, deceit, and every species of moral obliquity are its main factors. So much have men become debased by the conjoint influence of commerce and politics that they refuse to believe in the possibility of Socialism on account of the very justice and purity of its principles. Socialism, they tell us, is opposed to human nature. Did Socialism postulate the practice of every conceivable fraud, folly, and cruelty, it would, I must sorrowfully aver, receive more speedy acceptance in this politico-commercial generation.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

## RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

### AMERICA.

From letters and papers since received, it would appear that we were correct in our reading of the accounts which reached England of the Chicago "Riots." At the inquest held upon the slain policeman, Degan, one of the official witnesses swore that "a number of detective police were instructed to saunter through the crowds and discover whether any incendiary talk was going on." While these limbs of the law were upon their beneficent mission—the true character of which needs no explanation for us—about nine o'clock August Spies was heard to call the people together at a waggon on Desplaines Street, and announce that Parsons and others would soon be present to address them. He said that those who had been battered and bludgeoned by the police for trying to prevent non-union men from working at a factory where the hands were on strike, were good, peaceable people, and had done nothing worse than throw stones at windows. A police witness swore that "Spies made no positive threats, but the tenor of his remarks was inflammatory," which they very presumably were, inasmuch as they were an exposure of the evils of society, and a brief *résumé* of the means taken by the exploiters to protect themselves! Parsons was eloquent, as usual, but by the admission of the police themselves was "more guarded than usual," dealing principally with labour-statistics. Then came Fielden, who denounced the existing government and law. He was still speaking when the police came up at about ten. The crowd was an orderly one, but the police had come to fight, and fight they would. The order to the crowd to disperse was immediately followed by an order for the police to charge. As the 200 butchers advanced, the historic bomb was thrown. The following speaks for itself:—

"Tom Gately, a tinsmith, boarding over McAuley's saloon on the north-east corner of West Randolph and Desplaines street, saw the émeute from his chamber

window. He was on the street at first, but finding he could see and hear from the window he went back to his room. 'I heard the speeches of Spies, Parsons, and Fielden, and they didn't seem to me to have such a deal of harm in 'em. The crowd on the street was as orderly as I ever saw. A whole lot of the people went away after Parsons was through speaking, and it was quite thin about the middle of the street when the police came up. I say now that I heard some one cry out "charge," and then I saw the bomb fly up into the air. I could see there was a fuse to it, but thought at the time it was one of these stage bombs that you see in battles at the theatre. It went off with considerable noise, and then the shooting began. I didn't leave the window, and watched the whole thing. I think the policemen shot each other more than the crowd did.' [This will help to explain the surprise of the police at failing to find the hundreds of Socialists whom they had plumed themselves upon slaying!] 'I call the whole thing a mistake of the police. If they had stayed away the meeting would have ended in another minute or two, and there would have been no trouble.'

At the inquest the coroner informed the prisoners they might make a statement if they desired, but it might be used against them. Christ Spies, under oath, said he was a hardwood-finisher, and that he knew nothing of the meeting on Desplaines Street. He was at Zepf's Hall, and at about ten o'clock left there. He went to the office of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* yesterday morning, to look at the papers and find out about the affair, and was arrested. He could not see the place where the meeting was held from Zepf's Hall. August Spies was his brother, and editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. He did not know Schwab's first name, but he was a bookbinder by trade. He did not know what connection Schwab had with the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. He had not seen any weapons at Zepf's Hall. Schwab affirmed, and said his name was Michael Schwab; he was a bookbinder by trade, and was co-editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. He left home Tuesday evening at 7.40 o'clock, and went to the Haymarket to find Spies, who was wanted to speak at a meeting in Lake View. He was not at the meeting on Desplaines Street at all. He thought he left the Haymarket by 8.15 o'clock. He had nothing to do with getting up the circulars introduced. He did not know who the "executive committee" was. He was at home all Monday night after five o'clock. He had a desk in the same room with Spies. There were no recognised leaders of the Socialists. He had expected to find a Socialist speaker at the Haymarket, because he thought the circulars looked like those usually got up in their office. He had not belonged to the "Lehr und Wehr Verein" for eight or ten months. He had never seen or known of any dynamite in the office.—Fielden was then sworn, and said his name was Samuel Fielden; he was a teamster. He had seen an announcement of an important meeting of the "American group" of Socialists, and had gone to it Tuesday night, and would not have known of the meeting on Haymarket Square if he had not gone to the "important business" meeting. He spoke at the meeting, as witnesses had testified. Captain Ward had marched up with police just as he was finishing his speech. When ordered to disperse he said, "Well, we will go, then," and was going toward the alley around the boxes when the bomb exploded, and a moment after he got a bullet in his knee. The police called him a damned, murdering Socialist, and refused to have his leg properly dressed. He had had it tended in a drug-store, but it was not well done. He understood a man was considered innocent until he was proved guilty, and he denounced the police. He heard Parsons say "To arms!" and acknowledged he had said "Throttle the law!" Witness was an anarchist. He had seen the circulars, and saw a bundle of them in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* office. The last meeting of the "American group" of Socialists was for the purpose of arranging to organise sewing-girls. He had been a Socialist for two years. He often went to see Spies, but had not seen any dynamite there. He and Spies had discussed dynamite as used to blow up the Czar of Russia. There had been copied into the *Alarm* a year or so ago a recipe for making dynamite, but he knew nothing about making or using it. The *Alarm* was edited by Parsons.—August Spies made no statement upon his own behalf. The jury returned the following verdict:—

"That the said Matthew J. Degan, now lying dead at the County Hospital, in the city of Chicago, county of Cook, State of Illinois, came to his death on the 4th day of May, A.D. 1886, from shock and hemorrhage caused by a wound produced by a piece of bomb thrown by an unknown person, aided, abetted, and encouraged by August Spies, Christ Spies, Michael Schwab, A. R. Parsons, Samuel Fielden, and other unknown persons; and we, the jury, recommend that said unknown person who threw said bomb be apprehended and held to the grand jury without bail, and we further recommend that the said August Spies, Samuel Fielden, Michael Schwab, and Christ Spies, as accessories before the fact, be held to await the further action of the grand jury without bail; and further, that the said A. R. Parsons and the afore-mentioned unknown persons be apprehended and committed as accessories, without bail, to the grand jury; and we, the jury, recommend that the constituted authorities in the future strictly enforce the statute prohibiting the holding of unlawful meetings."

The way in which our friends are now being treated may be gathered from the following extracts from a letter we have received:—

"All the world has by this time heard of last Tuesday night's affair. Who knows? Perhaps it is the opening of the Social Revolution! Be this as it may, it certainly has produced astonishing effects. One week ago freedom of speech and of the press was a right unquestioned by the bitterest anti-Socialist—a right I need hardly say guaranteed by the Constitution. To-day all this is changed. In Chicago, Milwaukee, and New York already (and soon it will be the same in other cities) Socialists are hunted like wolves, simply because they are Socialists. Talk about the rigour of the law against Socialists in Germany, or the persecution of our devoted comrades in autocratic Russia, I doubt if either country can show the malignant hate and fury now being exhibited by the authorities and "respectable citizens" of democratic America—the United States. The Chicago papers are loud and unceasing in their demand for the lives of all prominent Socialists. To proclaim one's-self a Socialist in Chicago now is to invite immediate arrest. To such extremes have the authorities gone in their determination to punish our comrades, that all constitutional rights guaranteed to citizens have been set aside, even the counsel of the prisoners being refused admittance to their clients. All the *attachés* of all the Socialistic papers have been seized, and the papers broken up. Twenty-three printers, writers, and *attachés* of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*—even including the office boys—have been imprisoned and are booked on a charge of murder, my wife among the number. The latter went to Chicago on Monday last to organise the working-women. She was a spectator of the bloody fight on Tuesday night, and was arrested the next day. Everybody connected with the *Alarm* and *Arbeiter* are to be prosecuted—and persecuted—so I have little hope of escaping the general deluge. Matters are in such a state now, however, that no one can tell what the outcome will be."

Under the unfortunate (for them) title of "No more fooling," the *Chicago Times* says:

"Public justice demands that the European assassins, August Spies, Christopher Spies, Michael Schwab, and Sam Fielden, shall be held, tried, and hanged for murder. Public justice demands that the assassin A. R. Parsons, who is said to disgrace this country by having been born in it, shall be seized, tried, and hanged for murder. Public justice demands that the negro woman who passes as the

wife of the assassin Parsons, and has been his assistant in the work of organising assassination, shall be seized, tried, and hanged for murder. Public justice demands that every ringleader of the association of assassins called Socialists, Central Union of Workingmen, or by whatever name, shall be arrested, convicted, and hanged as a participant murderer. Public justice demands that every assembly-room of the European assassins composing the society or following of the red flag shall be immediately and permanently closed, and that no gathering of those criminal conspirators and public enemies shall hereafter be permitted in Chicago. Public justice demands that every organisation, society, or combination of the assassins calling themselves Socialists, or preaching the criminal doctrines of the red flag under any name, shall be absolutely and permanently suppressed. Public justice demands that no citizen shall employ or keep in his service any person who is a member of such unlawful organisation or association of conspirators and assassins."

Of the unfortunates, who having been induced to seek the "land of liberty" by the unscrupulous exploiters who wanted cheap labour, are now found not to be the supine slaves hoped for, the same paper says:

"It is the descendants of this mixture of Scythian, Hun, and devil who have invaded the peaceful shores of this Republic. It is an invasion as uninvited and unwarranted as that by painted savages of the peaceful farm-houses of the white settlers on the frontiers. They do not understand our language, our system, our policies. Their raid is based on an innate desire for turbulence and murder; and they exhibit the same blood-drinking instincts developed by their Scythian ancestors. They do not come here to secure that freedom of which they are deprived at their homes, but to indulge in that license which, in the places of their breeding, is forbidden them, or if indulged in is swiftly punished with rope, bullet, or axe."

Its closing words of advice are: "Let the police, and the militia if called into action, deal with these miscreants in vigorous fashion. 'Fire low' and 'fire quick' should be the command, and it should be remorselessly carried out." To fouler depths of infamy not even our own loathsome press could descend; that the American people are beginning to feel the biting sarcasm of their mis-leaders "liberty-talk," may be seen from the ingenious confession of the *Times*: "Considerations of personal safety will probably restrain the 'eagle' from any oratorical flight to be heard by the strikers. It is a poor time for oratory."

H. S.

## Correspondence.

A word or two on the editorial apology to Mr. Fox Bourne in the last issue. My Notes were meant to be an attack on Mr. Bourne. I avoid the word "personal," as it connotes different things to different people. I attacked Mr. Fox Bourne, and intend, whenever I can, to attack him, because in attacking him I am assailing the cowardly and misleading principle of anonymous journalism; because, in some measure, the fetish-worship of a newspaper is lessened when people understand that its utterances are those of a man, and not of an impersonal "public opinion"; because the *Weekly Dispatch*—alias Mr. Fox Bourne—pretends to be a working-class organ, and is (largely on account of that pretence) one of the papers most injurious to the cause of the workers. On account of all which, and much more in the same vein that might be said, I have no "personal apologies" to make to Mr. Fox Bourne, and regret deeply that the Editors thought that any were due from them to him.

EDWARD AVELING.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### PRACTICAL SOCIALISM.

A friend who says that he quite understands the theory of Socialism, as some questions on its "practical application":—

"(1) Will there be any shopkeepers or publichouses in the new state of society, and if not how are things to be exchanged? (2) Will there be any money used? (3) Who will superintend workmen in factories, etc.?" "These," says our friend, "are questions I am constantly asked, and am unable to give a satisfactory reply to; I want to see a plan as it were of the new state of Society."

When the plan is visible the new state of Society will be realised, it cannot be visible before. As to questions 1 and 2, it must be pointed out that the essence of the new Society is that both the production and the distribution of goods will be carried on for the benefit of the community, instead of as now for the gain of individuals at the expense of the community. Of course there will be distributors of goods (which goods will, I hope, include drinks, as we shall it is to be hoped be able to enjoy ourselves without bestiality on one side, so shall not need total abstinence ritual on the other). A dozen "plans" for such distribution might be made, but none of them would be of any particular value. We shall follow the "plan" which we find to be necessary and useful. Money will be used if necessary, as it may be at first, but will only be used as counters representing so much labour. As to question 3, the answer is those who are fit to superintend will do so, and will do it willingly as it will be easy for them, since they are fit for it; the workmen whom they direct will also follow that direction willingly, as they will find out that doing so will make their work easier and more effective; also on every workman will rest a due share of responsibility, he will not be as he is now a mere irresponsible machine.

Our friend also wants some information about the revolutionary movements in other countries. He will find a good deal in the *Commonweal* on this head. As to the differences of opinion amongst Socialists, these must exist, but it is surely a mistake to further their crystallisation into parties with names attached to them that by no means always mean the same thing. There is no difference whatever between the aims of the English and the Foreign Socialists, the different shades of opinion are represented in all countries, and all share this aim, the destruction of the system which robs the workman of the fruits of his labour, which robbery our friend says the field labourers he talks with can see clearly. This last fact is better news than even he perhaps thinks. He says also that he cannot get them to "organise." Let him try his best in the confidence that the course of events will force them to do so.

W. M.

The German Government have presented a report to the Reichstag explaining that the decree restricting the right of meeting in Berlin was issued because the agitation for an increase of wages had fallen into the hands of the Socialists; further, that amongst the men employed on the railways and other traffic organisations excitement was dangerously increasing; and, finally, that the recent incidents in England, Belgium, and America rendered such measures necessary.



## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

### Notices to Members.

**General Meeting.**—May 31, at 8.30 p.m. Adjourned from Monday, May 24. The following motions come up for discussion:—Motion by Lessner: "In its struggles for emancipation the working-class cannot act as a class, save by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all existing parties formed by the propertied classes. This constitution of the working-class into a political party is indispensable in order to ensure the triumph of the Social Revolution, and its ultimate end, the abolition of all classes. The combination of forces which the working-class has already effected by its economical struggles, ought at the same time to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of landlords and capitalists. In the militant state of the working-class, its economical movement and political action are indissolubly united."—Motion by Lane: "The monthly meeting of London members of the Socialist League recommends to the Branches the adoption of the Constitution drawn up by Lane and Charles, with such alterations as the majority of members may deem fit."

**Library.**—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

**Reading Room.**—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. All papers received by the Secretary are sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members.

**Annual Conference.**—Whitsunday, June 13. Attention of Branches is especially called to Rule V. (pages 3 and 4 Constitution and Rules). Any Branch not able to send a delegate from among its own members can appoint any member of the League to represent them. Arrangements are being made to provide dinner at 1.30 for those who attend the Conference, at 1s. 6d. each. Tea, when business is over, 6d. each. Those who intend to take part in the dinner should notify same to the Secretary at once.

**Excursion.**—The Committee have arranged for the Excursion to take place to Box Hill, return fare to which place will be 1s. 10d. Train leaves Cannon Street at 8 a.m. on the 14th, returning at 8.30 p.m. Members are asked to spread the news of this Excursion among their friends, and do all in their power to render it a success. Application to be made to any member of the Committee or to the Secretary.

### Notices to Lecturers and Branch Secretaries.

To avoid confusion and mistake, lecturers and Branch secretaries are requested to at once advise the Lecture Secretary of all engagements made by them. Branches will find it more convenient to make their arrangements with speakers through the Lecture Secretary, who will undertake to make all necessary announcements unless otherwise instructed.

### Executive.

Council met on Monday last at 7.30 for the transaction of general business. Upon the report of Joseph Lane as to a meeting at Stratford on Saturday 22d, it was decided to again contest the right of free speech, and arrangements were made for a demonstration to-day (Saturday 29) at 6.45. See announcement.

### General Meeting.

General Meeting of London members met on Monday last at 8.30, comrade Webb in the chair. The monthly reports of officers, committees, and branches were submitted and discussed. At 10.45 adjournment to next week was moved by Aveling, seconded Lane, and carried.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Marylebone to March 31. Bloomsbury, Hackney, Hammersmith, Leeds, North London, Norwich, Oxford, Dublin, to April 30. Manchester, Bradford, Croydon, to May 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), to June 30. P. W.

### The "Commonweal."

Branches are reminded of the absolute necessity of their paying for the paper week by week.

Copies of the cartoon by Walter Crane given with the first number of the weekly issue, can now be had printed on fine hand-made paper for framing, price 6d., postage 1d.; protection roll, if desired, 2d. extra.

Boards for the use of newspapers can be supplied to Branches at 1s. each. During the current week the Marylebone Branch has sold nine quires of the *Commonweal*. If other branches will display the same energy that this one (which is by no means large) has shown, the position of our paper will be speedily assured.

### Branch Reports.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

**MARYLEBONE.**—On Saturday evening we broke fresh ground, when comrades Chambers, Burcham, and Mainwaring addressed an audience of about 700 people at Westbourne Park, most of whom appeared very anxious to learn something about Socialism. On Sunday morning comrades Kitz, Arnold, and Mainwaring addressed a large crowd at the corner of Bell Street. In the afternoon we had a large audience in Hyde Park, numbering quite 1500 people. Comrades Kitz, Donald, and Scheu addressed the meeting, and their speeches were greatly appreciated. In the evening we held a meeting in the Marylebone Road, which was addressed by comrades Burcham and Arnold. Some stupid and spiteful questions were put by a cabman, and the audience became enthusiastic in favour of Socialism. Our four meetings this week have been very successful, and nine quires of the *Commonweal* have been sold.—H. G. A.

**NORTH LONDON.**—On Tuesday evening, May 18, we held a meeting at Ossulton Street, where we had a large audience, addressed by Nicoll, Chambers, Wardle, and Donald, who roused some weak opposition from an M.D. On Sunday morning last, Chambers addressed a meeting at St. Pancras Arches, and at Regent's Park comrades Burcham and Donald spoke to a large and appreciative audience; the *Commonweal* sold well.—THOS. CANTWELL.

**BIRMINGHAM.**—For the information of comrades, I have to state that besides the lecture at Baskerville Hall at Birmingham, noticed in last week's *Commonweal*, I lectured there in the evening of the same day on Socialism, and had a full audience, many, or most of which, as usual, seemed to agree with the indictment against our Sham Society; the questioning was of the usual kind. On the Monday evening (17th), I lectured on "The Political Outlook," at the Exchange Buildings, under the auspices of our Branch. Although it was a wretchedly wet night, and there was a counter attraction in the building in the form of the Performing Fleas, the attendance was good. Mr. Walker, the leading Land Nationaliser in Birmingham, was in the chair, and opened with a liberal-minded and sympathetic speech. The audience was very attentive, and a large part of it again appeared to agree with me, though I found it impossible to avoid the chance of shocking some sensibilities on the subject of the immediate crisis. Birmingham is a difficult place to deal with. Open-air speaking is not allowed in the borough, though the Board Schools can always be had for a meeting at a moderate rate, and there is much intolerance of advanced thought outside the cut-and-dried party. Still, one must suppose that there are intelligent men there not drilled into nonentity by the party caucus, and our comrades have only to go on and attack vigorously and persistently in order to gain these.—W. M.

**LEEDS.**—Open-air meetings are being regularly held, at which the paper is always on sale. We have had to quit the Temperance Café, our principles not commending themselves to the capitalist proprietors. We are boycotted right and left in this matter, and considerable harm is caused to the development of our organisation by such means. For the time we must meet at members' houses.

**MANCHESTER.**—With the help of comrade Wardle of London we held three open-air meetings on Sunday. We opened at the Grey Mare Corner, where we had a good audience and sold thirty *Commonweals*. From there we went on to the Lamp in Gorton Lane. We were about to conclude our meeting there when a sergeant and some police ordered us off. No obstruction was caused. We think he exceeded his duty, and have written to his superior for an explanation. In the evening we opened our old station at the Viaduct, Chester Road, Hulme. There was a large crowd, and several questions were asked. All the meetings seemed interested in comrade Wardle's explanation of the commercial basis of society.—R. M., sec.

### LECTURE DIARY.

**HALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.**—Lectures every Wednesday at 8.30; Sundays at 7.30. Admission free; discussion invited. Sunday May 30. Mrs. C. M. Wilson, "The Future of Radicalism." Wednesday June 2. H. H. Sparling, "Killing no Murder."

### London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Business meeting at central office every Wednesday at 7.30.  
**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday, May 30, at 7.30 p.m., A. K. Donald, "The Reign of Capitalists." Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.  
**Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every Monday at 8, for the enrolment of members and other business.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m. May 30. George Bernard Shaw, "Thieves."  
**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday, May 30, at 7.45. T. Westwood, "Man's Future upon the Earth." Committee Meeting at 10.30 a.m. Important business.  
**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.  
**Mile-end.**—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. June 1. H. Barker, "The Deserted Village."  
**North London.**—Communications to R. A. Beckett, St. Mildred's House, Poultry, E.C.  
**South London.**—Business meetings at 103 Bird-in-bush Road, on Sundays at 7.30.

### Country Branches.

**Birmingham.**—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30.  
**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.  
**Dublin.**—30 Great Brunswick Street. Every Tuesday at 7.45 p.m.  
**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Neilson's Hotel, Ingram Street, every Saturday at 7 p.m. Lectures and discussions. Members and friends are invited to assist in selling *Commonweal* at Green (Jail Square) Saturdays, 5 p.m.  
**Leeds.**—No meeting-room at present (see report above). Out-door stations—Vicar's Croft, Hunslet and Woodhouse Moors.  
**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—County Forum. Fridays, at 8 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—Gordon Café. Every Monday at 8 p.m.  
**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.  
**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 27 Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.  
**Royton.**—"Greyhound Inn." Every Sunday evening at 7.30.

### Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 29.	Harrow Road—opposite the "Prince of Wales"	7	A. K. Donald	Marylebone.
S. 30.	Canning Town (Beckton Rd.)	11.30	C. W. Mowbray	Central.
	Edgware Road—Bell Street	11.30	W. Chambers	Marylebone.
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	J. Lane	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—Beadon Road	11.30	F. Kitz	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	H. Burcham	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	Graham and Davis	Mile-end.
	Regent's Park	11.30	R. A. Beckett	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	T. Wardle	N. London.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30	D. Nicoll	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	C. W. Mowbray	Hackney.
June	Merton—High Street	7	W. Chambers	Merton.
Tu. 1.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7.30	C. W. Mowbray	N. London.
	Soho—Broad Street	7.30	D. Nicoll	Bloomsbury.
Th. 3.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	H. Davis	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	8	C. W. Mowbray	Mile-end.

### PROVINCES.

**Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, 7 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.  
**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

### Free-Speech Demonstration at Stratford.

This evening (Saturday May 29), at 7 o'clock prompt, a meeting will be held at the end of Stratford Church. Speakers: Aveling, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Banner, Chambers, Lane, Mowbray, Nicoll, Sparling, Wardle. Comrades are requested to attend early, to keep order and to sell the *Commonweal*.

### MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

**NOTTING HILL DEBATING SOCIETY,** "Monarch Tavern," Manchester Street (near Latimer Road Railway Station).—Sunday May 30, at 7.30. Mr. R. Owen (S.P.E.L.), "History and Principles of Conservatism."

**PROGRESSIVE DEBATING SOCIETY** "Bee Hive," Warner Street, Camberwell, S.E.—Sunday May 30, at 8. J. Lane, "Revolution or Reform."

**STARCH GREEN RADICAL CLUB.**—On Sunday, May 30, at 8 p.m. H. H. Sparling, "Killing no Murder."

**SWABY'S COFFEE HOUSE,** Mile-end Road, Sunday May 30, at 8 p.m. W. Blundell, "Poverty, Disease and Crime."

**SOCIALIST UNION.**—A section of the Socialist Union is now being organised in Cumberland, and two good Branches have been formed during the past week, one in Carlisle and the other in Workington, from which the propaganda will be extended to Whitehaven, Cockermouth, and other places in the neighbourhood.

"The Woman Question from a Socialist Point of View," by Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling, has been reprinted from the *Westminster Review*, and published by Messrs Sonnenschein & Co. Price 2d.

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 21.

SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

Mr. Gladstone, in hopes of passing a resolution in favour of the principle of his Bill, did last week almost climb down from the heights of that principle, and at first it was thought that the Chamberlain Radicals would accept the compromise to the extent of remaining neutral in the division; but these hopes have been overthrown, the Chamberlainites decided to vote against the Bill, and on Tuesday night their leader made his manifesto in the House of Commons. So, in all probability, the Bill will be finally thrown out. Will there be a dissolution then? is the question which the Press generally is answering in the affirmative; and yet, strange to say, it does not seem quite certain. As things have gone it would be a piece of imbecility to avoid it, which would brand all Mr. Gladstone's proceedings in this matter with the same mark. There would in any case have had to be a dissolution in the autumn had the autumn Session come off; and also in any case the two opposed camps of the once Liberal party would have had to meet face to face. Mr. Gladstone's attempt at compromise will give him an advantage in the struggle, because he can now say truly that what the Chamberlainites object to is real Home Rule.

Mr. Chamberlain's speech makes that clear: the independence of Ireland is what he is fighting against; and he was not ashamed to emphasise this fact by an outburst of Jingo platitude in the midst of his speech. His disclaimer of stirring up religious animosity between the two sections of Irishmen is futile; for whether he wills it or not, his line of conduct is certainly helping to excite this animosity. Mr. Chamberlain must know, one would think, what the Ulster opposition means at bottom, that if civil war has to be in Ireland, though the excuse may be the supremacy of Catholic or Protestant, the real cause will be Landlordism, for and against. If Mr. Chamberlain does not know that, the Tories who cheered him, the Tory press which (surely to his grief) praises his "manliness" and his patriotism, know it well enough.

Mr. Auberon Herbert has, amongst others, written his manifesto on the Irish Question. To the politicians playing the above-mentioned game, for and against, he will be quite insignificant; but he is a straightforward and honest man according to his lights, and wields a somewhat sharp pen. It may be worth while, therefore, to call attention to one or two points in his late letter to the *Pall Mall*, for the advantage of those who may be impressed by his quite genuine contempt of the "circular dodgers" of Parliamentary life, and may be inclined to follow him accordingly. His anxiety for the Irish minority of Ulster is no doubt genuine; nor perhaps is he disturbed by the obvious question of how to deal with the minority in Ulster when you have settled the matter of the minority in Ireland. He is perhaps prepared with some scheme which does not go as far as free and federated communes, to the consideration of which the difficulty leads us. But after all it is clear that his defence of the Irish minority is based on his assumption of the eternal and indefeasible rights of private property—that is, of class robbery.

His "view of justice and great human rights" does not embrace the freedom of all men to live naturally and without artificial restraints: freedom to fleece and be fleeced is all the freedom he admits. Ireland, he says practically, may be free—nay, *should* be free—if she will but pay for her own land. To whom, we ask, and what for? The answer is clear: "To the rich; so that the rich may still be rich and the poor poor." If Irish independence can mean that—if Ireland means it—she is striking strokes in the water indeed. It is only in the hope that through that independence she is groping her way to Freedom that to us Irish independence is worth thinking about.

So goes on merrily the political disruption of our present system. Far more grim than this bad joke of Parliament and representation is the process of its economical break up. All over the country an attempt is being made to stimulate trade by the huge advertisements called exhibitions; and royalty is playing its due part in a commercial country by opening these, and so killing, if possible, two birds with one stone—exciting loyalty on one hand, and trying to get it to spend money on the other. The success on the commercial side is not yet great, and trade is still "dull"—a word which covers something of the same suffering as the conventional phrases used in describing a battle

do. "The enemy annoyed our advance much:" we all know, if we choose to think, the kind of misery that such phrases cover, and in our commercial war it is, I repeat, much the same.

Here are a few sentences taken from a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*: "In the meantime they have no food and no furniture or clothing left to sell or pawn." "Man, wife, and six children: husband steady and hard-working, but very little work for a long time; wife recently confined; no fire; no food in the house; no clothing left." "Widow and two little children; when in work earns 9s. a-week; one of the children ill with inflammation of the lungs." "*This man can now get work, but through prolonged starving is too weak for it.*" "The people are growing more feeble and spiritless, because, though we keep them from starving to death, *we cannot pay their rent.*" "Some men who were specimens of manly vigour a few months ago are almost like skeletons, and I know several whose prolonged suffering under the Poor Law has, I believe, made them insane."

These are a few phrases taken from one letter as to Manchester. Multiply them by thinking of other great centres such as Glasgow, where the distress is terrifying the authorities even, and then consider what "dull trade" means—a thing which is one of the ordinary incidents of our commercial system, since the introduction of the "great industries." Only remember that though the phrases above quoted are an amplification of "dull trade," they are still conventional: no language can express the sufferings brought on by our artificial famine. And every one of these men—nay, the women also—could earn a comfortable living if he or she were only allowed to do so.

The writer of the letter in the *Manchester Guardian* says "something must be done with these men: you must either feed them or shoot them." There is a third alternative, as the rich men of this generation will probably find out if they persist in their present course; but let that pass. "You *cannot* feed them; they can only feed themselves." The writer dimly feels this, and as a remedy suggests emigration, with help from the State of various kinds. The "bones of one's mind" fairly ache at the thought of the number of times this "remedy" has been met and disposed of. When will well-intentioned men like this writer understand that when our "State" nurses emigration, and when private capitalists suggest the nursing and egg on poor men to emigrate, their intention is only to get rid temporarily of *their* responsibility and trouble over the people thrown out of work by the system of artificial famine—which they are determined to uphold—so that it may work the smoother? Men are expatriated, so that fresh men may be bred for compulsory expatriation. Let us think of organised emigration when we shall be able to find freedom before us and leave freedom behind us; not till then.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## THE "BLOODY WEEK."

THE Socialists of Paris have recently celebrated the fall of the Commune, and the massacre of its valiant defenders. It may sound strange to talk of celebrating an event of this nature save by the enemies of the "cause." But we use the term advisedly. The phrase "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church," has never been exemplified more strongly than in the powerful impetus, amounting almost to a new birth, which the Socialist movement acquired from the date when the Commune of Paris was extinguished in blood and flame. How many converts to Socialism may be traced to the heroic struggle of May, 1871, will probably never be known.

Yet how indifferent were the working-classes of this country at the time! We can vividly recall to-day how inexplicable it seemed to us that everybody in London should be going about their business or pleasure as though nothing were happening, while this colossal tragedy was being enacted within ten hours' journey of them. One more instance of the strange lack of all proportion in the relative importance attached to historical events by those contemporary with them. To the Englishman of May, 1871, the suit of the Tichborne claimant was an event of vastly greater interest than the inauguration of the final stage of the great class struggle being fought out on the banks of the Seine. This seems ridiculous even now, yet such was the case. But what produced the most lasting impression upon the present writer was the hideous and terrible abyss of brutality and vileness

suddenly revealed in that "public opinion" which one had been accustomed to regard in some sort as the embodiment of morality. Here were respectable men of the world, and their organs in the press, contemplating without the slightest expression of horror wholesale cold-blooded and wanton murders, and heaping boundless contumely on the victims. And what had the victims done? Made a revolution; taken up arms against an established Government. Had not others done this before? Had not the Garibaldis and the Kossuths led revolts against established governments, and yet were they not fêted instead of vituperated by the very same "public opinion"? This strange perversity must surely have shaken many a one's faith in human nature as embodied in the ruling classes, even before he detected its root to consist in fury against those who, consciously or unconsciously, were seeking to undermine the selfish greed and class-tyranny in which they were all—Liberals, Conservatives, Monarchists, Republicans—alike vestedly interested. When once the truth of Social Evolution was recognised, a light was, of course, shed upon the attitude of "public opinion." The enormity of the insurrection of the Commune above all other insurrections in the eyes of "public opinion," was then seen to consist in the fact of its being the audacious revolt of the exploited against the exploiter, not of one section of the exploiting classes against another, or against some special *clique*, which would be right enough, but actually of the producers of social wealth as a class against their masters, the owners of it as a class. The line of cleavage was thus drawn between non-possessor and possessor. Before such a revolution "public opinion" recoiled with horror.

It was interesting to watch the difficulty the bourgeois press found itself in for black pigments in which to daub the Commune. The Commune had to be painted as malignity and barbarity incarnate. But the insurgents were so foolishly good-natured and easy-going, that not a single act which could bear the imputation of even severity or rigour could be adduced after the executions of Lecomte and Clément Thomas. These, of course, were made to do duty for exciting public opprobrium as long as possible, but they would not last for ever. The two worthies of the Rue des Rosiers began to look rather foolish beside the thousands of prisoners daily slaughtered in cold blood by the Versaillaise. The situation was really very awkward. Blatant lying and vituperation may go a long way, but there is a limit even to the effectiveness of lying, in most cases, where there is no fact which the utmost ingenuity can twist into pointing the moral or adorning the tale. In this instance, it is true, the most clumsy exercise of penny-a-lining inventiveness would probably have more than sufficed for the emergency. But lo! news arrives of the execution of the hostages who ought, according to the established laws of war, to have been executed long before. Here, then, is the very thing. M. Thiers rubs his hands; there is joy in the tents of the bourgeois. The governing classes would not have exchanged those seventy dead priests and stockjobbers for any number of living specimens. Now there is no longer any fear of popular sympathy turning towards the slaughtered proletariat of Paris. The mitrailleuse may henceforth play merrily on the bodies of insurgent prisoners. The great crocodile wail over Darboy and Company, from pulpit, platform, and press, will drown the voice of avenging justice. And drown it, it did, for the time. So successful was it, that the same crocodile wail has been tried on, several times since, notably at the assassination of the late Czar. On this occasion, however, the voice of Bourgeois horror was too obviously cracked to be effective.

But though, for the time being, truth was smothered, yet it was only for the time. The late Archbishop of Paris and his crew pass into well-merited oblivion, while year by year an ever-increasing number throughout the world assemble to do honour to a Delescluze, a Varlin, a Millière. The Commune has become the rallying-point for Socialists of every shade. The anniversary of its foundation is the great Socialist festival of the year. Who knows, but that the world of the future may not naturally come to date its time from the first great Socialist struggle, and that the 18th of March and the 23rd of May, may not become its Easter and its Christmas-days?

E. BELFORT BAX.

## INSURRECTION IN BELGIUM.

### V.

In fact, everything points to the approaching end of the reign of the bourgeoisie, not only in Belgium, but also everywhere else. The bourgeoisie will have existed for a century, and a century will have sufficed to thoroughly exhaust its vitality: at the present time it has not really a single institution to offer us which would be lasting, not a fresh idea, not a man of weight and earnest purpose. The era of its decadence throughout Europe dates from the fall of Louis Philippe; in his person the bourgeoisie had crowned itself, and when under the pretext of corruption, it issued the death-warrant of the Monarchy of July, it decapitated itself; in accusing his government of corruption, it did not perceive that it was in fact condemning itself. The Napoleonic autocracy succeeded for a time in upholding it, but its existence hung upon a thread which was becoming every day shorter and shorter; the autocrat himself overthrown, it was inevitable that the course of events should tend to precipitate the end of that bourgeoisie, which had already been for a long time morally dead. In fact, even under the Empire, it only lived by expedients; usury, stock-jobbing, bribery, immoderate speculation openly encouraged by those in "authority", served for a while to prolong its existence, but it is impossible to live long by means of expedi-

ents. In the same manner under the Roman emperors, the bourgeoisie in its decline endeavoured to resuscitate itself by creating that *nobilitas*, which lived for a time by the extortionate devices of Caesarism, but which did not succeed in averting the fall of the Empire. The Roman Empire sank, and in order to regenerate the old world it needed the infusion of barbarian blood and the terrible penitentiary courts of Christendom. Now, as then, the bourgeoisie is languishing; and when it has exhausted the last expedients of which it can make use to maintain its power, it will expire, and will carry away with it entirely that system of government which is founded upon privilege and authority; it will be replaced by that economic society which is based upon equality and liberty, and which will conduct the world to its true destiny.

After the dissolution of the French Empire, the bourgeoisie again revived in the persons of those who may be styled the last politicians of the middle-classes, such men as Thiers and Grévy; but the duration of this new reign can only be ephemeral. Between the fall of Napoleon at Sedan, and the re-assumption of power by the bourgeois Republic, came the 18th of March, and so significant is that memorable date for the whole of Europe, that it may be affirmed that the Revolution of Paris was the termination of the Bourgeois period in history.

The bourgeoisie is dying; in Belgium, in France, and in fact everywhere it is writhing in its last convulsive agonies; and its end, which is already near at hand, is a miserable one. History in the whole course of its annals, does not afford us anything which can be compared with this decadence, anything which at all resembles this entire and profound ruin. Other societies are dead; this is a natural law from which neither men nor institutions can be exempt, but none of them has descended to the tomb so contemptibly as the bourgeoisie will do. Feudality is dead; but before disappearing, it undertook those famous crusades which have remained an historical marvel, and it expired grandly on the very tomb of its God. The Communes of the Middle Ages are dead; but at least they passed away with gigantic convulsions. The Royalist nobility is dead, but to the very end it sacrificed to God and the King; it bore itself heroically on the scaffold and before its fall it had its night of the 4th August, thus testifying to its grandeur of soul and its comprehension of the approach of a new era. The bourgeoisie in its origin only existed by the aid of the nobility; it would not have known how to act in the first of its *assemblées* if it had not had some noble initiators from Count Mirabeau to M. de Robespierre. The Commune under Hébert and Chaumette was drawn from the very people; there again the bourgeoisie did not find a single man who rose to the height of his mission. It was not born by its own energy; it has only been able to prosper by the help of others, and now that (thanks to the Revolution of the 18th of March, which still continues) the hour of its dissolution has definitely struck, it is about to perish miserably; it thinks sadly of its belly and its cash boxes; no prestige surrounds it; no pride, this last dignity of the dying is lacking to it, as is all other greatness, and soon we shall find it completely drowned in its own rottenness, as Heliogabalus was formerly.

The Belgian bourgeois and reactionary party is the legitimate offspring of the French bourgeoisie, and is even more feeble and decrepit than the latter is; it only retains the vestige of influence it possesses by main force. It gravitates completely round the government, and the government gives to the bourgeoisie which is incapable of otherwise procuring them, its army, its police, its instruction, even its religion; the working-classes are detaching themselves more and more from it, and will soon march onwards in compact masses to a free organisation which they will provide for themselves, consisting of their own flesh and blood; and in the development of this free organisation they will find the sure and certain pledges of their emancipation from all yokes, whatever they may be. The government proceeds directly on the principle of authority; revolutionary Socialism proceeds on the absolutely opposite and contrary principle of liberty; the former only maintains its purely fictitious power by force and compulsion, the latter seeks its continuous development from the reason and conscience of the people.

Thus the parties which exercise political administration in Belgium, and who by turns hold what they term the power, are more and more worn out, and are hastening with rapid step to immediate destruction. Clericalism and Liberalism have had their day; but as it is difficult for men to wean themselves from mysticism, even in politics, a third party has arisen, younger but even more destitute of sense and ideas, which pretends to set everything right and re-establish between the people and the government that equilibrium which is for ever disturbed. It is entitled the Radical party, and looks sweetly on that portion of the working-classes who term themselves *parti ouvrier belge*, and it will soon entirely absorb them. In less than ten years it has shown the impotence of its methods and the inanity of its doctrines; it styles itself the democratic party, but the real socialistic and revolutionary democracy looks upon it with reason as a mystification. This supposed new party is really very old; it has picked up and appropriated some two or three formulas which it commissions its representatives to promulgate in the houses of Parliament, the provincial and municipal councils, and all public meetings. All the forces of the government, the army, police, public instruction, etc., and the government itself, are under the domination of these two powers, the Church and the Bank; and the Radical bourgeois and working-men cherish the vain hope of being able to free themselves from this double sway which is stifling them. They are very foolish indeed to try seriously to separate the Church from the State; the Deity being one of the necessary wheels in the machine of government, it will be found impossible to dethrone God while the State itself is upheld, since it is affirmed



that it cannot exist without the Absolute from whom it emanates, without God, who is in short the firmest foundation of its authority. They have given to the lower bourgeoisie the idea of demanding the separation of the Bank from the State, thinking that if the banks were free, it would no longer be possible for the lower bourgeois and shopkeeper classes to be crushed down by the coalesced and monopolised high capitalism. Vain illusion! It is not by multiplying the banks that we shall put an end to their melancholy results, and so long as the very principle of their organisation has not been destroyed, nothing has been done. It will not be by means of the government that this destruction will be effected, because it would at the same time kill itself. They set a great value also upon universal suffrage, more or less comically organised, from which they predict marvels. It is now too late to grant it; revolutionary Socialism has penetrated too much into the minds of the masses for them to allow themselves to be entrapped for long by such a bait as that, which would simply restore to the government a strength that it no longer possesses. The demonstration in Belgium on the 13th of next June in favour of universal suffrage, will show the working-men what they have to expect from the government and from their own party, and will, we at least hope so, throw them *en masse* into the arms of the revolutionists. But let us suppose for a moment that this famous universal suffrage is granted; in what respect will it alter the contradictory and antagonistic relations which now exist between the ruling powers and the people? The people will, merely by accepting it, have abdicated in favour of the bourgeoisie; and the State, thanks to this accession of strength, will recover a portion of the power which it has for a long time lost.

The Radicals are thus as unable as the Liberals and the Clericals to guarantee the Belgian people anything whatever—not merely which is good, but even of relative stability. They form part of that group of men who would inevitably bring about the ruin of Belgium, if it were not for the presence of Revolutionary Socialism, watching over and counteracting by complete abstention from them all their follies and blunders. Revolutionary Socialism will oppose to the State, the Church, the bank, and all the other institutions of the government of the middle classes, those true social forces which politicians have ignored, because they are in their nature opposed and contrary to all governmental, religious, and banking institutions. When industry shall be organised according to the laws of economic justice, and industrial interests shall be managed by those only who are the direct producers of its riches; when the commerce of the present day—which is only a traffic of rogues and knaves, in which the most crafty takes in the others—shall have disappeared and been replaced by free and direct exchange; when the agricultural labourers, like the industrial ones, shall themselves manage agricultural interests; and when all these communities of producers, sovereigns in their own proper spheres, shall confederate in order to regulate the general interests of the freely associated labourers,—confronted with such a power as this, what will become of a political representative government? The first act of these communities of producers will naturally be to secure themselves work and the free exchange of their productions, and the immediate result of this will be the annihilation of capitalist and banking domination. Can any one seriously imagine that these powerful associations of interests and good-wills, freely organised, will be incapable of forming a scheme of rational education, which will be at the same time scientific and technical—a complete system of education, in fact, opposed in its spirit and tendencies to the system of State and Church education, and destroying these with one blow? In that way the State will be destroyed as a whole, and also in each of its creations.

This of course can only be realised by Revolution; and certainly, in most countries at the present time, the reason of the people, their wish to resist all intervention in the machine of government—a wish which increases every day—the knowledge that they have of their interests, needs, and rights,—everything, in a word, enables us to foresee that it will be realised, in spite of the reactionary efforts of politicians, even although they be working men, and of the predictions—by turns mournful and cheerful—of their prophets.

VICTOR DAVE.

Political economists are men of only one idea—wealth, how to procure and increase it. Their rules seemed infallibly certain to that supreme end. What did it signify that a great part of mankind was made, meanwhile, even more wretched than before, provided wealth on the whole increase.—*Catholic Quarterly Review*.

"I take it that the two essential features of good Government are, first of all, the security of property; and secondly, the impartial administration of justice." So said Sir Richard Cross in the House of Government, where men are supposed to know. First of all, *the security of property!* Not person and property as it was written aforetime, when the man preceded his goods and chattels, but, first of all, property, taking no thought of the person whatsoever. We have had good government, then, Sir Richard, enough and to spare the last few years. Property has been held sacred, but not so the people. So plentiful has property become, that the people are in the way of it, and must perish, or disappear somehow, in order to make room for it. Property must be preserved even if there is over-production! Let us rejoice with Sir Richard in his learned definition. Perhaps he will convert his fellow-countrymen some day to the belief that their old-fashioned notion about men and women making the nation is mischievous and unpatriotic, when they may take it as their bounden duty to immediately die off and leave behind them, as a monument of their greatness, a glorious island of goods and chattels! Or was it *the security of the propertied class* that Sir Richard meant? And was it modesty or fear that restrained him from saying so? And don't you think the "red spectre" is haunting his sinking stomach? But we bid thee be of good cheer, Sir Richard—and keep on defining!—T. M.

## THE PILGRIMS OF HOPE.

### XII.—MEETING THE WAR-MACHINE.

(Continued from page 45.)

So we dwelt in the war-girdled city as a very part of its life. Looking back at it all from England, I an atom of the strife, I can see that I might have seen what the end would be from the first, The hope of man devoured in the day when the Gods are athirst. But those days we lived, as I tell you, a life that was not our own; And we saw but the hope of the world, and the seed that the ages had sown, Spring up now a fair-blossomed tree from the earth lying over the dead; Earth quickened, earth kindled to spring-tide with the blood that her lovers have shed,

With the happy days cast off for the sake of her happy day,  
With the love of women foregone, and the bright youth worn away,  
With the gentleness stripped from the lives thrust into the jostle of war,  
With the hope of the hardy heart forever dwindling afar.

O Earth, Earth, look on thy lovers, who knew all thy gifts and thy gain,  
But cast them aside for thy sake, and caught up barren pain.  
Indeed of some art thou mindful, and ne'er shalt forget their tale,  
Till shrunk are the floods of thine ocean and thy sun is waxen pale.  
But rather I bid thee remember e'en these of the latter days,  
Who were fed by no fair promise and made drunken by no praise.  
For them no opening heaven reached out the martyr's crown;  
No folk delivered wept them, and no harvest of renown  
They reaped with the scythe of battle; nor round their dying bed  
Did kindly friendly farewell the dew of blessing shed;  
In the sordid streets of the city 'mid a folk that knew them not,  
In the living death of the prison didst thou deal them out their lot,  
Yet foundest them deeds to be doing; and no feeble folk were they  
To scowl on their own undoing and wail their lives away;  
But oft were they blithe and merry and deft from the strife to wring  
Some joy that others gained not midst their peaceful warring.  
So fared they, giftless ever, and no help of fortune sought.  
Their life was thy deliverance, O Earth, and for thee they fought;  
'Mid the jeers of the happy and heedless, 'mid failing friends they went  
To their foredoomed fruitful ending on the love of thee intent.

Yea and we were a part of it all, the beginning of the end,  
That first fight of the uttermost battle whither all the nations wend;  
And yet could I tell you its story, you might think it little and mean.  
For few of you now will be thinking of the day that might have been,  
And fewer still meseemeth of the day that yet shall be,  
That shall light up that first beginning and its tangled misery.  
For indeed a very machine is the war that now men wage;  
Nor have we hold of its handle, we gulled of our heritage,  
We workmen slaves of machines. Well it ground us small enough  
This machine of the beaten Bourgeois; though oft the work was rough  
That it turned out for its money. Like other young soldiers at first  
I scarcely knew the wherefore why our side had had the worst;  
For man to man and in knots we faced the matter well;  
And I thought well to-morrow or next day a new tale will be to tell.  
I was fierce and not afraid; yet Oh were the wood-sides fair,  
And the crofts and the sunny gardens, though death they harboured there.  
And few but fools are fain of leaving the world outright,  
And the story over and done, and an end of the life and the light.  
No hatred of life, thou knowest O Earth, 'mid the bullets I bore,  
Though pain and grief oppressed me that I never may suffer more.  
But in those days past over did life and death seem one;  
Yea the life had we attained to which could never be undone.

You would have me tell of the fighting? Well you know it was new to me  
Yet it soon seemed as if it had been for ever, and ever would be.  
The morn when we made that sally, some thought (and yet not I)  
That a few days and all would be over: just a few had got to die,  
And the rest would be happy thenceforward. But my stubborn country  
blood  
Was bidding me hold my halloo till we were out of the wood.  
And that was the reason perhaps why little disheartened I was,  
As we stood all huddled together that night in a helpless mass,  
As beaten men are wont: and I knew enough of war  
To know 'midst its unskilled labour what slips full often are.

There was Arthur unhurt beside me, and my wife come back again,  
And surely that eve between us there was love though no lack of pain  
As we talked all the matter over, and our hearts spake more than our lips;  
And we said, "We shall learn, we shall learn—yea, e'en from disasters and slips."

Well, many a thing we learned, but we learned not how to prevail  
O'er the brutal war-machine, the ruthless grinder of bale;  
By the bourgeois world it was made, for the bourgeois world; and we,  
We were e'en as the village weaver 'gainst the power-loom, maybe.  
It drew on nearer and nearer, and we 'gan to look to the end—  
We three, at least—and our lives began with death to blend;  
Though we were long a-dying—though I dwell on yet as a ghost  
In the land where we once were happy, to look on the loved and the lost.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

Competition gluts our markets, enables the rich to take advantage of the necessities of the poor, makes each man snatch the bread out of his neighbour's mouth, converts a nation of brethren into a mass of hostile, isolated units, and finally involves capitalists and labourers in one common ruin.—*Greg*.

Whether the strikes now in progress are won or lost can make little difference in ultimate results: they are like affairs of outposts at the beginning of a struggle between nations. On whichever side lies the advantage, neither side can refrain from pushing it, while neither side can be so decisively beaten that it will not rally its forces again and make a new stand. No defeat or series of defeats can now deprive labour of the consciousness of power: monopoly has too much at stake and has too long been accustomed to rule to be conquered in this way into more than a hollow truce. Action must beget reaction and combination, for there are behind the combatants on either side the mightiest of forces.—*Henry George*.



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

QUESTIONS bearing upon the principles propounded and the objects had in view by the *Commonweal*, will be welcomed by the Editors.

E. H. FORD (Leeds).—Your letter shall have due attention in our next issue.

RECEIVED.—*England*: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record. *Canada*: L'Union Ouvrière (Montreal). *France*: Paris: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—Le Révolté—Le Socialiste—La Tribune des Peuples—Revue du Mouvement Social, Le Devoir (Guise)—Le Forçat du Travail (Bordeaux). *Germany*: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). *Holland*: Recht voor Allen. *Hungary*: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Buda-pest). *India*: Voice of India (Bombay)—Hindu Patriot (Calcutta)—People's Friend (Madras). *Italy*: Il Fascio Operaio (Milan)—La Lotta (Ancona). *New Zealand*: Watchman. *Portugal*: O Campino—Voz do Operario—O Protesto Operario (Lisbon). *Spain*: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social—Acracia—La Justicia Humana (Barcelona)—Bandera Social—El Socialista (Madrid)—El Socialismo (Cadiz)—La Perseverancia (Huelva). *Switzerland*: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich). *U. S. A.*: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country—Amerikanische Arbeiter-zeitung. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal. Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer—Little Socialist—Chicago (Ill.) Alarm—Detroit (Mich.) Labor Leaf—Princeton (Mass.) Word—Cleveland (O.): Carpenter—Chronicle. Cincinnati (O.) Unionist—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Petersburg (Ill.) Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Altruist. Kansas (Mo.) Sun—Pittsburg (Pa.) Labor Herald—Baltimore (Md.) Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.) Lucifer Newfoundland (Pa.) La Torpille—Litchfield (Minn.) Radical—Manchester (N. H.) Weekly Budget—Portland (Oregon) Alarm—Evansville (Ind.) Neue Zeit—Milwaukee (Wis.) Volksblatt.

RECEIVED.—Parcel of *Workmen's Advocate* (New Haven, Conn.) for London Trades' Council, and duly forwarded.

### SOCIALISTS AND FREE SPEECH.

THE same course that was pursued last year in regard to Dod Street, has now been initiated in regard to The Grove, Stratford, and it seems probable that another battle will be fought, that can only have one issue.

The Grove, Stratford, is the new battle-ground. Just behind Stratford church is a vacant space of considerable size between the tram-line and the pathway of another road, that runs on the side of the church opposite to the tramway. Here for years past open-air meetings have been held by various bodies, who for various reasons adopt this method of propaganda. Once or twice these meetings have been interfered with by the police, but as far as I know, only when Socialistic doctrines have been preached. Once last year, Frank Kitz of this League was "run in." He was let off, a policeman giving evidence that no obstruction was caused. Recently, on May 22, an attack was made on a Socialist meeting by the police. Our men, in consequence of an instruction from the Council, gave way in order to receive from the Council further instructions. A Conservative working-man who took their place was arrested, and on the Monday fined.

On Saturday, May 29, certain appointed speakers of the Socialist League went to the debatable ground at 7 p.m. Two policemen were present. They requested us to keep off the pathway, and the request was at once complied with. These two constables gave us to understand that if we kept the pathway clear there would be no interference with us. From 7 to 8.15, we spoke to a not very large and a perfectly orderly crowd, who certainly caused no obstruction, except in the technical sense of the word. Not a vehicle was stopped. Not a person apparently was prevented from going whither he or she wanted.

At 8.15 the police in some force came. Instantly the crowd in-

creased very considerably, and for the first time began to show symptoms of disquietude. The speaker at that time, Wardle, was arrested. His place was at once taken by Chambers, and his in succession by Sparling, Nicoll, Graham, and Gray. All this time the crowd were showing signs of irritation at the conduct of the police. That irritation became yet more marked when a mounted patrol rode into them, and by forcing his horse against Mowbray knocked him off the chair-platform twice before he was in turn arrested. Then Quintin was taken; and then, tired of arresting, the police made a charge on the crowd and scattered them.

Cooper, who is quite a youth, and had not spoken, was seized as an example to the onlookers by two policemen, and thrust with force as unnecessary as his arrest to the station. He made no attempt, nor did any one arrested make any attempt at resistance. Benson who is, if possible younger than Cooper, and is gentleness and mildness incarnate, on asking Cooper if he should go and tell his people of the arrest, was promptly seized on a charge of attempted rescue.

All the ten were bailed out on Saturday night, and all the ten appeared on Monday morning at the police-court. And here let me make a suggestion to the Commissioners of Police. They should send the constables that used to be at the Thames Police-court last year to the West Ham one, to learn how to behave. I am not quite sure that they should in all cases be advised to take lessons from their comrades there in the giving of evidence, but I am quite sure they would learn courtesy and decency in the treatment of those that have to come into professional contact with them. In their dealings with women who have to attend the Court the West Ham men are the Bayards of the force.

Another agreeable contrast was presented in the magistrates there, as compared with the unfortunate Mr. Saunders. Neither Mr. Bishop Culpepper, during the short time he was in Court, nor Mr. Phillips, who replaced him, was in any sense advocate as well as judge. They were studiously and scrupulously fair. They did not bully or lecture witnesses or prisoners. Mr. Phillips, who had but to administer the law, administered it adversely to us, but there was no injudicious and injudicial bitterness. The law was against us, and he told us this calmly and temperately but quite decisively. He pointed out that the law had been more clearly set forth since last year, when he had dismissed a similar case.

Of lay witnesses the police had only one—and such a one! Mr. George Smith, who had been for a walk on Saturday, it being his little boys' birthday, not only gave evidence himself, but was for examining the witnesses later on. I wonder if it was Mr. George Smith who ran off early in the evening of Saturday to the police-station, and by a cock-and-bull story of a riotous meeting at the Grove, set the police on their gratuitous and unwise action.

There was a gentleman at the solicitor's table, who was also very anxious to take part in the proceedings on behalf of certain aggrieved local tradesmen. But the magistrate would have none of him, and Mr. Hadley had to sit down and use bad language. And he did. Any of our character actors on the look out for a good make-up in the part of the wicked solicitor of the conventional drama, should go down to West Ham and study Mr. Hadley, and if they could only catch the tone of his voice when he said of our men, "Why, they seem to glory in this affair!" that way fortune and fame in their profession lie.

There was one other theoretical lay-witness for the police, a Mr. Alfred Jennings. He said he was an assistant schoolmaster, but his looks, his speech, his manner, everything betrayed him. I fancy Mr. Jennings had done more to assist the police than any schoolmaster, and I should like to have to examine one of his pupils.

Louis Chinn, an opponent of Socialism, gave very clear evidence that no obstruction in the real sense was caused, that the crowd only grew to considerable dimensions, and showed symptoms of disorder, when the police set them the example, and he pointed out that on the following Sunday meetings of the Christians (he announced himself as a Christian) were not interfered with.

The police as witnesses were—well, the police. They were more consistent and less contradictory of themselves and one another than were the Dod Street men. But the spirit of poesy was abroad, and there is a future before more than one of them as romance-writers, and they will. K 411 and 101, *e.g.*, might collaborate on a Hugh Conway novellette, "Mr. Blows, the Baker's Son, or, How the Button came off my Coat"; whilst K 60 might bring out a revised edition of Landor's "Imaginary Conversations," and 603, of "The Charge of the Horse Patrol" as a poem after the manner of Tennyson. But all these works of fiction ought to be edited by the plain clothes sergeant, K 600, who had the Homeric struggle with the unresisting boy Cooper, and regarded the placid Benson's "Shall I tell your mother?" as a ferocious attack on the police.

There was a good deal of unintentional humour in the case. One point was when Mr. Jennings, the assistant-schoolmaster, remarking about stone-throwing, K 410, playing the part of assistant policeman, held up in court a round hat, with the brim palpably cut away by a knife. As a mere matter of detail, why did not Mr. Jennings do this little piece of acting himself? The episode was meant to be dramatic, and if farce is included within the drama, it certainly was. And I would put it to K 101 whether one button removed from a coat is a sufficiently strong point. I should come absolutely buttonless, I think. But the effect in the humorous way was K 60's, when he said that Mowbray was preaching "seduction."

The evidence of real obstruction broke down. Technical obstruction there was, and on that Mr. Phillips had no alternative to fining

our men. In doing this, he expressed a hope that this would be the last of these cases. So do we. But we are bound to point out that until police interference occurred there was no real obstruction and no disorder; that only Socialist meetings have been stopped; that the unwritten but very real law which recognises certain spaces as sanctioned for open-air speaking has been broken by the police; that hence all these woes. Probably the whole affair began, as the Limehouse one, by injudicious action on the part of some of the inferior police officials, and their superiors have found themselves committed to the unwisdom of this action and all its consequences. It is not too late for them to remedy the blunder made by their subordinates, and by letting well severely alone prevent more ill coming. If this ill-advised interference ends, the meetings will at once fall back to their former level of insignificance.

EDWARD AVELING.

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER IV.—MODERN SOCIETY: EARLY STAGES.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the centralising, bureaucratic monarchies were fairly established: nay, in France at least, they were even showing the birth of modern party-government, which since—carried on, indeed, under the veil of constitutionalism—has been the type of modern government. Richelieu—the Bismarck of his time and country—begins the series of prime ministers or real temporary kings, who govern in the interest of class society, not much encumbered and a good deal protected by their cloaks, the hereditary formal sham kings. In England this prime-ministership was more incomplete, though men like Burleigh approached the type. Elizabeth reduced the Tudor monarchy to an absurdity, a very burlesque of monarchy, under which flourished rankly an utterly unprincipled and corrupt struggle for the satisfaction of individual ambition and greed. This grew still more rankly, perhaps, under James I., who added mere cowardice to all the other vices which are more common to arbitrary high place and power.

As to the condition of the people during the latter years of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, the economical and religious revolution which had taken place had oppressed them terribly, and the “free workman” had to feel the full force of the causes which had presented him with his “freedom” in the interest of growing commerce. In England, on the one hand, the expropriation of the yeomanry from the land and the conversion of tillage into pasture had provided a large population of these free workmen, who, on the other hand, were not speedily worked up by the still scanty manufactures of the country, but made a sort of semi-vagabond population, troublesome enough to the upper and middle classes. The laws made against these paupers in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were absolutely ferocious, and men were hanged out of the way by the thousand.

But in the reign of Elizabeth it was found out that even this was not enough to cure the evil, which of course had been much aggravated by the suppression of the religious houses, part of whose function was the housing and feeding of any part of the workmen temporarily displaced. A Poor Law, therefore, was passed for dealing with this misery, and, strange to say, it was far more humane than might have been expected from the way in which the poor had been dealt with up to that time; so much so, indeed, that the utilitarian *philanthropists* of the beginning of this century felt themselves obliged to deal with it in a very severe way, which left us a Poor Law as inhumane—or let us say as cruel—as could well be. Toward the middle of the seventeenth century things began to improve with our working population: the growth of the towns stimulated agriculture, and tillage began to revive again, though of course under the new system of cultivation for profit. Matters were in fact settling down, and preparing the country by a time of something like prosperity for the new revolution in industry.

The condition of the people was on the whole worse on the Continent than in England. Serfdom was by no means extinct in France and, especially, in Germany, and that serfdom was far more burdensome and searching side by side with the exploitation of the market than it had been in the feudal period. Other survivals of the mediæval epoch there were also—*e.g.*, in Germany the gilds had still some life and power, and the people were not utterly divorced from the land as in England, although the predominant competition of the markets prevented whatever good might linger in these half-extinct customs from acting for the benefit of the people. At the same time the populations were crushed by the frightful wars which passed over them—in all which religion was the immediate excuse.

The first of this series was the war carried on in Holland against the Catholic foreigners—the Spaniards—into whose hands they had been thrown by the family affairs of Charles V. Although noblemen took up the side of the rebels—*e.g.*, Egmont and Horn, executed for so doing—this war was in the main a war of the bourgeois democracy on behalf of Protestantism, embittered by the feeling of a Teutonic race against a Latinised one. There is to be found in it even some foretaste of the revolutionary *sansculotte* element, as shown by the extreme bitterness of the ruder seafaring population, the men whose hats bore the inscription, “Better Turk than Pope.”

In Germany the struggle known as the “Thirty Years’ War” was between the great vassals of the German empire, the shadow of whose former power was used for the aggrandisement of the house of Charles V., and also for the enforcement of Catholicism on the more northern

countries. It must be remembered, by the way, that these countries were to the full as absolutist as those which obeyed the bidding of the Emperor. This miserable war, after inflicting the most terrible suffering on the unhappy people, who were throughout treated with far less mercy and consideration than if they had been beasts; after having crushed the rising intelligence of Germany into a condition from which it has only arisen in days close to our own, dribbled out in a miserable and aimless manner, leaving the limits of Protestant and Catholic pretty much where it had found them: but it also left the people quite defenceless against their masters, the bureaucratic kings and knights.

In France this religious struggle took a very bitter form, but it was far more political than in Germany. The leaders were even prepared to change their creed when driven into a corner—as Henry of Navarre at the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. In France the popular sympathy was by no means in favour of Protestantism: the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, which inflicted such a terrible blow on the Huguenot cause, would otherwise have been hardly possible. It is true that the great Huguenot leader, Henry of Navarre, became Huguenot king of France, but his accession did not carry with it a triumph as a consequence. Henry had to abjure Protestantism; a Protestant king of France was impossible.

The great struggle in England came later, and consequently probably the victory was more decided on the Puritan side. The enthusiasm with which Mary Tudor—“Bloody Mary”—was received, and the Catholic insurrections in the reign of her successor, showed that there was at first some popular feeling on the Catholic side; but by the time of James I. Catholicism was dead in England. The Book of Sports issued by his Government, which encouraged the people to play various games on Sunday, was widely received as an outrage on the feelings of the growing middle-class in town and country; and all was tending towards the irreconcilable quarrel which took place in the next reign between the Court and the Bourgeoisie, and which was nearly as much religious as political. For the rest, the Parliamentary party was on the advancing line of history both as regards politics and religion, and the King’s party was simply reactionary; but the war was at furthest waged by a bourgeois democracy, led at first by a constitutional oligarchy against a nobility inspired by a kind of romantic after-glow of mediæval chivalry. The successful outcome of the individual ambition of Cromwell extinguished whatever aspirations towards republicanism were cherished by a few purists, as well as the enthusiasm of the wild sectaries whose hopes of a rule of saints on the earth were tinged by some kind of communistic ideas; which were further fore-shadowed by the Levellers, though perverted by the mere asceticism which they held. Nevertheless, these men may be paralleled to the Anabaptists of Münster, although the latter were quite mediæval in spirit, and their fanatic religion had little in common with Puritanism; and though, also, the steady power of bourgeois rule concentrated in Cromwell’s absolutism forbade them any opportunity of approaching even the most temporary realisation of their idea. Meanwhile England was unable to endure the weight of the absolute rule of Cromwell, lined with fully developed Puritanism, and a few plotters were allowed to restore the Stuart monarch, under whom the wild religion of the armed men—the victors over the nobility of England and their revived sham chivalry—sank into mere Quakerism, and the religious war was at end, except for a few smouldering embers among the Cameronians in Scotland.

Meantime in France the last remnants of the old feudalism struggled in the party warfare of the “Fronde” against Mazarin and his bureaucracy of simple corruption, till Louis XIV. put the coping-stone on the French monarchy by forcing his nobility, high and low, into the position of his courtiers, while his minister Colbert developed the monarchy as a tax-gathering machine by the care and talent with which he fostered the manufactures of France, which just before his time were at a very low ebb; so that there was no need to touch the revenues of the nobility, who were free to spend them in dancing attendance on the Court: nay, were not free to do otherwise. The century began with the French monarchy triumphant over all its great vassals; it finished by reducing all its vassals, great and small, to the condition of courtiers, with little influence in the country-side, and diminished rents—mere absentee landlords of the worst type, endowed with privileges which could only be exercised at the cost of the starvation of the people and the exasperation of the Bourgeoisie, who furnished the funds for the Court glory. Everything in France, therefore, foreshadowed political revolution. What the advancing constitutionalism of England foreshadowed we shall have to speak of in our next chapter.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

The School Committee of the Holborn Board of Guardians, a few days ago, recommended the emigration of three girls between the ages of six and twelve, to Sherbrook, Quebec, under the auspices of the “Society for Waifs and Strays.” If these children are to be trained to become useful members of Society, why send them across the Atlantic? Again, if it is assumed, as the title “Waifs and Strays” would seem to imply, that they are so much human rubbish to be got rid of anyhow, it is manifestly a shirking of responsibility and a gross injustice to ship to another country the diseased products of our rotten civilisation. The £10 per head, which it is estimated to cost in “transporting” these poor little victims to Canada, had much better be utilised in founding rational associated homes for our “waifs and strays” in England, and the energies of Boards of Guardians and of the philanthropic societies might be more usefully directed to altering instead of palliating the system which produces paupers at one end of the social scale and millionaires at the other.—T. B.



## SOCIAL ETHICS IN NATURAL HISTORY.

THE antagonism between individual and social interests, which has made itself felt at all stages in the history of the progress of man from the savage to the savant, can show the counterpart of its every phase in the existing conditions of life in one department or another of the history of the animal world. It is as if the different kinds of animals had mirrored the successive stages in the development of human society, and stereotyped them for our study.

The conditions of mere savage life are abundantly exemplified by the numerous animals that "prey," whether they be beasts, birds, or fish. The satisfaction of their immediate needs is the only law they know; they are bound by no ties to one another, and troubled by no scruples of conscience in their dealings with the members of a weaker race. Time was when the best use to which a man could put his weaker neighbour was to make a meal off him, and the beasts of prey have not outgrown their preference for this primitive custom.

Then came the gens, or group of people of a common stock and with common property among one another, represented in the animal kingdom by numerous gregarious types, the insignificance of whose units escapes under the shelter of the society which they collectively form. Later still come the nomadic tribes, who roam from place to place, with the search for sustenance as the reason for their roaming. The buffaloes of American prairies, the pigeons of American woods, the herrings of our own waters, and the locusts of warmer climes—these are the nomadic tribes of the various classes of the animal world.

The keeping of cattle for the uses of the dairy might be thought to be a plan which would require no less intelligence than that of man to carry out; yet it finds an exact parallel in the method which certain kinds of ants employ to secure for themselves a constant supply of their favourite food—honey-dew—which is a sweet juice secreted by the tiny aphides, and deposited on the leaves of trees and plants. Not only do they climb the plants on which the aphides abound, that they may obtain this food, but they wait beside them for new drops, and are seen to touch them with their antennæ, in order to cause new drops to flow, patting the stomach of the aphid on each side alternately and then passing on to another as soon as the drop has been obtained. The process is precisely analogous to the milking of cattle. It is even said that particular ants seem to regard particular aphides as their own property, and are ready to fight in defence of their right to them; that, to secure them for themselves, they convey them from one place to another; and that an aphid which derives its nutriment from the roots of grass is actually kept in large numbers in the nest of the yellow ant, in order that there may be always at hand a copious supply of food, these aphides and their eggs sharing the solicitude of the ants equally with their own eggs and young.

For an example of the most perfect organisation of labour, we must look to the beehive, where all property is held in common, and relays of workers are always on duty, engaged in the difficult task of building their nurseries and store-houses, collecting and storing food, tending the young, and cleaning and ventilating every corner of their homes. The collective ownership of woods and waters, and the organisation by the municipality of the means of production, are best seen in the beavers, whose system of public works—such as the building of houses, the construction of roads, water-ways, dams, banks, and aqueducts, in which all take their share of the toil and its resulting advantages—awaits imitation by men, as soon as they open their eyes to the folly of allowing the supply of common wants to be controlled by private individuals.

For an instance of slave-holding we must again turn to the ants, two species of which go on regular forays to carry off the larvæ and pupæ of certain other species, which they carry to their own habitations to rear and employ them as slaves in the work which might be regarded as properly belonging to workers of their own race. These are called the Amazon ants, and it is curious that the kidnappers are red or pale-coloured ants, and the slaves jet black. The army of red ants marches forth at particular seasons of the year, the vanguard, which consists of eight or ten only, continually changing; and on their arriving at the nests of the negro ants, a desperate conflict ensues, which ends in the defeat of the negroes; whereupon the red ants with their powerful jaws tear open the now undefended ant-hill, enter it, and emerge carrying the pupæ in their mouths, with which they return in perfect order to their own nest. These pupæ are there treated with great care, and spend their lives among the red ants, excavating passages, collecting food, and tending the young, as if this had been their original destination. The result of this system is extraordinary and instructive, for the Amazon ants, never having to trouble their heads about anything but fighting and kidnapping fresh supplies of slaves, have lost all power of doing any useful work whatever, since it is entirely taken off their hands by their black servants. To such an extent has this gone that they cannot even feed themselves, and would starve in the midst of plenty if they failed to find slaves to prepare their food for them, and actually to put it into their mouths. Our own upper classes have not yet quite attained to this extremity of helpless laziness, though some of them would seem to be on a fair way to reaching so desirable a goal ere long.

Impudence in idleness among the rich perhaps reaches its greatest height in the refusal of fashionable mothers to nurse their own infants, and leaving the task of giving suck to their superior offspring to be performed by the less fortunate mothers of the inferior class. This extraordinary instance of unnatural laziness finds its analogy in the conduct of the cuckoo, a bird whose behaviour in many ways seems to

be the model to which the fashionable aristocrat endeavours to make his conduct conform. During the winter months that type of careless luxury "travels on the Continent," and takes up its residence in warmer climes until the return of spring renders these islands more suited to its taste. It then flits northward in its careless way, lets every one know that it has arrived by the constant repetition of the single thing that it has to say, and looks for a suitable nest belonging to some humbler and more industrious bird, wherein it deposits an egg without leave, and puts off all its family cares upon the owner of the nest. Hatched in due course of time, the lordly fledgling follows its inborn instinct of domination by proceeding to oust altogether from their home the foster-brothers which it finds in possession thereof, leaving them to die of cold or starvation, while itself grows fat on the food which the luckless parents intended for their sustenance.

Instances from natural history might be indefinitely multiplied of the wonderful adaptation by animals of their conduct to their conditions, the instinct of self-preservation and reproduction of the race being always the dominant motives. For animals must adapt themselves to their conditions or die, but with men it is otherwise, for they can within certain limits adapt their conditions to themselves. This constitutes the difference between the social ethics of men and animals. The latter have room in their lives for two aims alone, the preservation of themselves and the care of their offspring; and it is only to these ends that their social ethics are adapted, though even in their efforts after these their method often puts to shame the unwisdom of the arrangements of man. Men, on the contrary, have scope in their lives for higher efforts and nobler aims, and it is the power of modifying their conditions by their intelligence that enables them to realise the ideals at which they aim. And the noblest social ideal can only be realised by the subordination of the interests of individuals to the interests of the society of which they form a part. It is for the realisation of this social ideal that Socialists everywhere strive.

J. L. JOYNES.

## HOW TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF SOCIALISM.

At the Annual Meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, held at the City Temple on Tuesday May 11, the chairman, the Rev. Edward White, in the course of a long address on "Free Church Foundations," made a statement in reference to Socialism which I think deserves notice. Here it is: "There is only one way, said Cavour, of preventing the spread of Socialism: let the upper classes devote themselves to the wellbeing of the lower ones. If this is not done, social conflict is inevitable. Render the synagogues of God delightful resorts, not only to weaker brethren of the humbler orders, but to the myriads of strong men whose minds now waste their strength in Utopian theories. Frankly employ these half-used buildings to the noblest ends week-days and Sundays. Let the great outside non-church-going world be made to feel that Christians are not mere middle-class men, made of plated steel and stuffed with straw, but really live what they say and sing—that it is Jesus Christ, the best friend of workers, who still, as of old, cries to the 'multitudes' 'Hither to me, ye toilers and heavy laden, and I will give you rest!' and thus he was sure they should win large numbers of them from the public drinking houses, from their dreary home life and atheistic secularism."

I doubt not that the reverend gentleman from whom I have just quoted is a member of the well-to-do class, and being so, sees the world with different eyes from his "weaker brethren of the humbler orders." I would most respectfully inform him that there is only one way in which the "upper" classes can devote themselves to the wellbeing of the "lower" ones, and that is by ceasing to rob them of the results of their labour. It will then be discovered that if the "upper" desire to live, it will be necessary for them to become workers. There will be no need or desire then to add high-sounding but unnatural prefixes to their names. But in the eyes of our reverend friend this is Utopian and unchristian, but in those of "Utopians" the only way of avoiding that social conflict which is so much dreaded.

He is a fool indeed who thinks that by preaching an antiquated shibboleth he can stem the progress of the Revolution. All the so-called Christians in the world cannot do it; and all their talk of making the "synagogues of God (?) delightful resorts," and devoting them to the "noblest ends," etc., is humbug, trickery, designed to blind the workers to their real interests. The fact is, these professors have become so "inebriated with the exuberance of their own verbosity," that they actually believe it possible to feed the minds and bodies of their "brethren of the humbler orders" on words. They will be rudely awakened one of these days, and all their hypocritical cant of the "will of the Creator"—which means their own will—will avail them nothing.

'Tis but the ignorance of the people that has made them so long-suffering; but they are becoming more intelligent every day, are wakening up to a sense of their needs, and begin to see how demoralised they are. The "riots" in London, Belgium, and Chicago are proof of it. These are the rumbles preceding the great social earthquake, which not all the theological soap of the reverend Whites in the universe can prevent. Until they have freed themselves from the domination of the "upper and well-to-do classes," "myriads of strong men" of the humbler orders will continue to "waste their strength in Utopian theories," Whites or Blacks notwithstanding.

H. A. BARKER.

GERMANY.—EXTRACT FROM THE POST-OFFICE GUIDE.—*Table of Postage for Special Prohibition.*—Plants with roots, all parts of the vine plant, American pork or bacon and books of a Social-Democratic or Socialistic tendency.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

As notwithstanding our explanation, Mr. Fox Bourne still desires the publication of his letter (sent to us a fortnight ago concerning some remarks by Dr. Aveling in the *Commonweal* for May 15) we print it, with Dr. Aveling's reply; and we must ask that the matter be allowed to end here:

41 Priory Road, Bedford Park, W., May 18, 1886.

GENTLEMEN,—My attention has only just been called to the "Notes" by Dr. Edward Aveling, in your last issue, containing unfounded statements and slanderous insinuations concerning me. I am bound to assume that these angry and offensive utterances were only allowed by you to be made public through inadvertence. And that, had you understood their purport, you would have refused to print them. I therefore ask you to repudiate them.

I happen to know so much about Dr. Edward Aveling's antecedents and present occupations that, feeling assured none of my friends can be in the slightest degree influenced by anything he may say about me, I should prefer to treat his remarks with silent contempt; but as some of your readers may not be thus prepared, I feel it right to protest against these misleading and libellous "notes." I do not care to rebut them in detail as, apart from their personal animus, they only state clumsily and unfairly a fact which I admit—namely, that my Socialism differs very materially from Dr. Edward Aveling's and that propounded generally both in the *Commonweal* and in *Justice*. The questions involved are too deep and broad for me to venture on discussion of them in this short letter.

As one who, though outside your ranks, is as anxious as any avowed Socialist can be for the ultimate, and the speedy success of all that is really true in the principles of Socialism, I take the liberty of asking, however, whether such advocates of it as yourselves are aware of the prejudice and odium you incur by indiscriminate and ungenerous attacks on those who do not agree with you in all respects.—Your obedient servant,

H. R. FOX BOURNE.

As to Mr. Fox Bourne's letter, only two notes. (1) According to his own letter my Notes "state . . . a fact that he admits." He does "not care to rebut them in detail." Nor does he rebut them at large. There is absolutely no denial of that which cannot be denied. (2) Of my "antecedents and occupations" Mr. Fox Bourne (whom I have seen thrice in my life for ten minutes a time on the average) can know nothing at first hand beyond the fact that I have the misfortune to belong to the same calling as himself—journalism. Only I sign my articles whenever an editor will let me.

EDWARD AVELING.

## SOCIALISM IN DUBLIN.

No doubt many of the readers of the *Commonweal* would be glad to hear now and then of the progress of Socialism in the capital of the "Isle of the Saints." Any one having even a superficial knowledge of the ideals of the Irish people, both on political and religious subjects, will readily admit that it is no easy matter for Socialists to hold their own amongst them. There are difficulties to be overcome here that the exponents of Socialism in England are not in the habit of meeting with. The majority of the people will not tolerate any movement that appears to them to be out of harmony with the national sentiment; they believe that the mere attainment of a Parliament on College Green will be a cure for all the ills they are afflicted with; reason and logic are powerless in the face of appeals to race-hatreds and past wrongs. The great difficulty is the religious one; the priests have the people so well in hand, that anything they set their faces against has more than ordinary difficulties to overcome. Their influence at the present time is most powerful on account of the change of front on the part of the hierarchy in their attitude to the national movement. Ireland being so much isolated, and the attention of the people being so much devoted to one particular subject, it is scarcely to be wondered that they are less advanced on subjects of more importance to their welfare. All things considered the wonder is not that we have done so little, but that we have been able to keep the flag flying so long in the face of all the difficulties we have had to contend against. Up to the present time there has been no organised attempt to break up our meetings. This in itself is a sign of progress when we consider that in an attempt to found a Branch of the International here some years ago, the meeting was dispersed by force, and its promoters subjected to violence at the hands of an infuriated mob.

The visit of comrade Morris has been productive of a great amount of good, and the seed that he was instrumental in sowing will in due time bring forth good fruit. From reasons over which we had no control, we have been compelled to give up our public meetings during the summer months, and content ourselves with meetings of members and their friends, pushing the sale of *Commonweal*, distributing leaflets, etc. We have been rather unfortunate in the way of securing suitable rooms for our meetings, being evicted three times by landlords. Our meetings have not been as successful as they otherwise might have been had we been able to secure a room at a reasonable rent, without running the risk of being ejected on the slightest reference to any topic that our landlord didn't sympathise with.

Comrade Hayes, literature secretary, has been actively engaged in inducing newsagents to sell the *Commonweal*, and expose contents bill. Several of them have promised to do so, the Branch guaranteeing to take any numbers that may remain unsold. Arrangements have also been made for selling *Commonweal* in the principal streets of city on Saturdays. Several members of the Branch have been actively engaged in placarding the city with "The Worker's Claims," the police in several instances dispersing the crowds that were reading them.

The bottle-makers' strike has been brought to a successful ending, thanks to the energy displayed in the matter by Comrade Schuman. The Messrs. King, who imported the Swedes to take the place of the men on strike, were compelled to capitulate and hand over to the Trades' Council the sum of £3 to send home the Swedes, and pay (the fines of to the Bottlemakers' Society) the men that refrained from joining their comrades. The noble and self-sacrificing action of the Swedes in this matter has convinced all sensible men that trade unionism to be a power must be international, that no local trade in itself will be able to dictate terms to capitalists except it has the support of trades unionism all the world over.

We are very much behind the time here as far as the views of the working men are concerned on the labour question. The all-absorbing topic is to keep the trade in the country, no matter at what cost to the workers;

indeed, a prominent member of the Corporation had the audacity a short time ago to suggest that working-men should be content to work longer hours and for less money in order to keep the trade at home. No doubt if they obliged his class in this matter, the next suggestion would be that they should live on rice in order that capitalists may be able to compete with the Chinese.

When the people find out that mere political reforms will not make their lot anything better than what it is, Socialism is bound to make great headway amongst them, and although the clouds may look black at present, they are not without a streak of silver lining; and with steady work on the part of our members, Socialism in Ireland will rally to its side all whose sympathies are in favour of a better state.

BRUNO.

A friend writes that the number of men employed at Kildgrove by Messrs. Kinnersly is 1500 and not 17,000 or 18,000 as given in "Notes on News" last week.

## INSTRUCTIVE ITEMS.

The eight hours movement in America has not been the failure it is so loudly proclaimed. It is found, by actual computation, that nearly half-a-million have gained the eight hours system; that another half-million are working under the nine hour rule, and that not less than a million besides have succeeded in shortening the hours of labour in one shape or another. The fourteen and fifteen hours men have cut off two or three hours; the Saturday half-holiday men have largely gained their object, and the early closing and Sunday closing movements have been successful in most places.

"What should I go to see in Europe?" writes Lady Hester Stanhope, from the wild solitary home she has made for herself among the high lands of Palestine. "Nations worthy of their chains, and kings unworthy of ruling. Before long, your old Continent will be shaken to its foundations. All therein is worn out; the kings found no dynasties, they fall, borne down by death or dethroned for their faults, and degenerate as they succeed each other; the aristocracy, soon to fade from the world, will give place to a wretched and ephemeral Bourgeoisie without strength or vigour; the people alone still retain character and some virtues. Tremble, if they ever realise their own strength!"

Even in the villages and little towns of the country, as well as in the great centres of labour, employment is lacking. Bampton-in-the-Bush and Lechlade, two such towns on the upper waters of the Thames, have their share of this trouble I find. Some farmers that I was amongst in a second-class carriage between the two places amongst others gave me information (by their talk between themselves) on this point. At last the conversation took the following turn: "I was sorry," said the youngest man present, "that they couldn't do anything for that man who had cut his fingers off and came for medical relief." "Well, you see," said another, "we have to be very particular about such cases, or they would make up all kinds of stories." "He ought to have taken care of his fingers," quoth a third, a white-headed man of the small parrot-nosed, broad-faced type, with self-satisfied arched eyebrows, which proclaims the unfeeling fool without any admixture, and is common among well-to-do bourgeois in our moral country. Said the younger man: "He will have to pay a doctor to cure him out of 11s. a week." "He ought to have belonged to a club," said parrot-nose. The younger man said: "Well, he didn't, and it's a hard case." "He ought to have," said parrot-nose again; "he could easily have paid up weekly." Therewith the train stopped at a station, and the party broke up, not much dispirited at the idea of the maimed labourer and his position between the poor-law and civilisation.—W. M.

## ITALY.

In Italy the electoral contest continues to absorb public interest. The Labour party sends up fifteen candidates in all. In Milan G. Beretta stood as representative of the same, O. Gnecchi-Viani for the Socialist party, and Amilcare Cipriani for the Anarchists. Beretta formerly stated in *L'Italia* his resolution to have nought to do with matters political and parliamentary—"the work to be done is essentially that of propaganda." In a letter to the *Fascio* lately, however, he has reconsidered his decision, and consents to stand. Do these Labour candidates honestly believe that, with all their enthusiasm and single-heartedness, they will be able to pursue "the essential work of propaganda and organisation" in Parliament, and transform the Camera into a Socialist administrative body? As a means of releasing Amilcare Cipriani from a monstrously unjust and illegal imprisonment every one who recalls his name as a friend and colleague of Flourens must however, be heartily glad of the success of those who worked for him.

At Turin the masons are striking for a shorter working day and more pay. They demand a ten hours' day, at 4½d. the hour. The bourgeois papers are unanimous in their praise of the quiet and dignified conduct of the strikers, but nevertheless the authorities have already found occasion to make many arrests. The city is crowded with guards and carabinieri, amongst whom the men on strike walk about quietly, carefully avoiding the least dispute or quarrel with them. The masters have issued a notice, containing paternal advice to the men to return to their work, "since their persistence in their unreasonable demands will constrain them (the masters) to close the work shops." Nevertheless, it is believed they will accede to the "unreasonable demands."

Here is a story—hardly credible—which the *Fascio* gives of the greed of masters and the ineffably foolish long-suffering of the exploited. At Castellazzo Bormida there exists a certain factory where women work for the maximum wage of 2d. a-day. This miserable sum is moreover only paid at the year's end, for the sake of the interest accruing therefrom to the master. The girls are very badly treated by the overseers, habitually loaded with insults, threats, even blows. It is not to be hoped that women who suffer such treatment, and their husbands and fathers who let them suffer it, will ever gain spirit and sense enough to attempt their own freeing.

Cigar-makers in Milan have shown more spirit. In a certain cigar-factory the women have for a long time been complaining that the leaves being very dry has hindered their work and lowered their wage. One girl went so far as to soak the leaves she was at work on, which coming to the ears of the overseer resulted in her dismissal. The women protested and struck, en masse, and gained their point to a certain extent. The spoiling of the Italians is often done with a beautiful simplicity and naïveté. To turn away "hands" on some frivolous pretext, after one or two months' gratis apprenticeship, during which time the work got out of them is generally equal to that of a regular paid worker—this is a mode of grinding down common among the "labour organisers."—M. M.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

## Notices to Members.

**Library.**—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

**Reading Room.**—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. All papers received by the Secretary are sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members.

**Annual Conference.**—Whitsunday, June 13. Attention of Branches is especially called to Rule V. (pages 3 and 4 Constitution and Rules). Any Branch not able to send a delegate from among its own members can appoint any member of the League to represent them. Arrangements have been made to provide dinner at 1.30 for those who attend the Conference, at 1s. 6d. each. Tea, when business is over, 6d. each. Those who intend to take part in the dinner should notify same to the Secretary at once.

**Excursion.**—The Committee have arranged for the Excursion to take place to Box Hill, return fare to which place will be 1s. 10d. Train leaves Cannon Street at 8 a.m. on the 14th, returning at 8 p.m. Members are asked to spread the news of this Excursion among their friends, and do all in their power to render it a success. Applications for Tickets must be made to a member of the Committee at the following addresses: E. Marx-Aveling, 55 Gt. Russell Street, W.C.; May Morris, Kelmscott House, 26 Upper Mall, Hammersmith, W.; Mrs Wardle, 9 Charlotte Street, Bedford Square, W.C.; T. Cantwell, 7 Windsor Road, Holloway, N.; E. Gray, 28 Widgate Street, Bishopsgate; Joseph Lane, 38 Ainslie Street, Bethnal Green,—or to the Secretary, 13 Farringdon Road, before Saturday June 12.—S.

## Notices to Lecturers and Branch Secretaries.

To avoid confusion and mistake, lecturers and Branch secretaries are requested to at once advise the Lecture Secretary of all engagements made by them. Branches will find it more convenient to make their arrangements with speakers through the Lecture Secretary, who will undertake to make all necessary announcements unless otherwise instructed.

## Executive.

Council met on Monday last at 8, for the transaction of general business. Reports of officers, committees, and Branches were heard and discussed. Incorporation of Clerkenwell Branch agreed to.

## General Meeting.

General Meeting of London members held last Monday after close of Council Meeting—Donald in the chair. Free-Speech Agitation at Stratford fully discussed, and arrangements made. Meeting adjourned *sine die*.

## Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Marylebone to March 31. Bloomsbury, Hackney, Hammersmith, Leeds, North London, Norwich, Oxford, Dublin, to April 30. Manchester, Bradford, Croydon, to May 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), to June 30.—P. W.

## The "Commonweal"

Branches are reminded of the absolute necessity of their paying for the paper week by week.

Copies of the cartoon by Walter Crane given with the first number of the weekly issue, can now be had printed on fine hand-made paper for framing, price 6d., postage 1d.; protection roll, if desired, 2d. extra.

Boards for the use of newsgagents can be supplied to Branches at 1s. each.

## Branch Reports.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

**BLOOMSBURY.**—This Branch has now taken the Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W., and will hold meetings there every Friday evening at 8.30 p.m.—T. E. WARDLE, sec.

**CLERKENWELL.**—A new Branch has been formed in this district with a muster-roll of thirteen members. Preparations are being made for lectures, smoking concerts, and active out-door propaganda. At our first business meeting comrade Donald was unanimously elected treasurer, and Blundell, secretary. The Branch duly elected A. K. Donald as their delegate at the Conference. We earnestly request those friends who do not belong to a Branch to send in their names to the secretary, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.—W. BLUNDELL, sec.

**MARYLEBONE.**—On Saturday evening our meeting in the Harrow Road was a decided success, and we are gaining many sympathisers in the district.—On Sunday morning at Bell Street, comrade Chambers and members of the Branch addressed a large audience.—In Hyde Park in the afternoon, comrades Arnold and Burcham addressed a large and enthusiastic meeting, and kept it going until half-past six. Several questions were put to the speakers, and answered to the satisfaction of the audience. We have had a good sale of *Commonweal*.—H. G. A.

**MERTON ABBEY.**—We held our first open-air meeting on Sunday, when Kitz and Mainwaring addressed a tolerably good audience. We had some difficulty in getting them together, for they seemed afraid of coming near the Socialists, but after awhile the crowd thickened, and in the end we sold 18 *Commonweals*, distributed a large amount of leaflets, and enrolled two new members. We were well attended by police.—F. Kitz.

**MILE END.**—On Tuesday, D. Nicoll lectured on "Law and Order." He explained the position of the workers to-day, and showed how they are compelled to bow to the dictates of the capitalist by the enactment of unnatural decrees called "law", and their degrading submission is then termed "order."—Notwithstanding the stormy weather, we had a most successful meeting on the Waste on Thursday night. Comrade Mowbray, in an able address, explained the aims of Socialists, which was well received by a very sympathetic audience.—We had a very large meeting on the Waste last Sunday morning. E. Aveling gave a short address, in which he explained what took place at Stratford the evening before, and also announced what we may do next week in order to vindicate the right of free speech. Comrades Mowbray and Graham then addressed the meeting on Socialism. Good sale of *Commonweals*.—H. DAVIS.

**LEEDS.**—The weather has been rather unfavourable for holding meetings on the moors, but we hope to attend Hunslet Moor next Sunday morning at 11 a.m. prompt. Meetings in the Croft are, however, being constantly held.—T. M.

**MANCHESTER.**—The authorities seem anxious to hamper our work in north-east Manchester. On Sunday we were informed that we should not be allowed to hold meetings at the Grey Mare Corner, and that if we persisted we should be summoned for obstruction. We opened the meeting at the corner, and then moved on to a piece of waste land not far off, where we had a good meeting.—We met again at the Lamp in Gorton, from whence we were shifted last week, and we were again ordered off, and threatened with being summoned if we met there again.—In the evening we held a fair meeting at the Viaduct, Hulme, which was not disturbed.—R. U., sec.

## LECTURE DIARY.

**HALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.**—Lectures every Wednesday at 8.30; Sundays at 7.30. Admission free; discussion invited. Sunday June 6. R. Banner, "The Fraud of Politics." Wednesday June 9. W. Chambers, "Clerks."

## London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W. Friday, June 4, at 8.30 p.m., William Morris, "Art and Socialism." Edward Aveling in the chair.

**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday, June 6, at 7.30 p.m., P. Webb, "The Necessity for Socialism." Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.

**Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every Monday at 8, for the enrolment of members and other business.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m. June 6. H. H. Sparling, "Killing no Murder."

**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sundays, at 7.45 p.m.

**Marylebone.**—On Thursday, June 10, at 8.30 p.m. sharp, General Meeting of members of the Branch at the house of comrade Matthews, 5, Artesian Road, Bayswater. Members are urged to attend, as important business will be brought forward.

**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

**Mile-end.**—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. June 8. H. Charles, "Society and State."

**North London.**—Communications to R. A. Beckett, St. Mildred's House, Poultry, E.C.

**South London.**—Business meetings at 103 Bird-in-bush Road, on Sundays at 7.30.

## Country Branches.

**Birmingham.**—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30.

**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Neilson's Hotel, Ingram Street, every Saturday at 7 p.m. Lectures and discussions. Members and friends are invited to assist in selling *Commonweal* at Green (Jail Square) Saturdays, 5 p.m.

**Leeds.**—No meeting-room at present (see report last week). Out-door stations—Vicar's Croft, Hunslet and Woodhouse Moors.

**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—County Forum. Thursdays, at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Café. Every Monday at 8 p.m.

**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 27 Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 5.	Harrow Road—opposite the "Prince of Wales"	7	T. Wardle	Marylebone.
	Stratford—at end of Church	7	Morris and Aveling	Central.
S. 6.	Canning Town (Beckton Rd.)	11.30	J. Lane	Central.
	Edgware Road—Bell Street	11.30	D. Nicoll	Marylebone.
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	H. Graham	Hackney.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	C. W. Mowbray	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	H. Davis	Mile-end.
	Regent's Park	11.30	T. Wardle	N. London.
	St. Paneras Arches	11.30	W. Chambers	N. London.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30	T. Wardle	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	H. Graham	Hackney.
	Merton—High Street	7		Merton.
Tu. 8.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7.30	T. Wardle	N. London.
	Soho—Broad Street	7.30	W. Chambers	Bloomsbury.
Th. 10.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	C. W. Mowbray	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	8	D. Nicoll	Mile-end.

## PROVINCES.

**Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.

**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

## MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

**FABIAN SOCIETY CONFERENCE.**—South Place Institute, Finsbury, E.C. June 9. "The Utilisation of Land." 10. "The Utilisation of Labour." 11. "The Democratic Policy." The Conference will meet at 5.30 p.m., will sit till 7.30 p.m., and will meet again at 8 o'clock each evening. (See *Commonweal*, May 15.)

**NOTTING HILL DEBATING SOCIETY.** "Monarch Tavern," Manchester Street (near Latimer Road Railway Station).—Sunday June 6, at 7.30. Wm. Morris, "Dawn of a New Epoch."

"The Woman Question from a Socialist Point of View," by Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling, has been reprinted from the *Westminster Review*, and published by Messrs Sonnenschein & Co. Price 2d.

**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and W. Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 16pp. crown 8vo. 1d.

**The Socialist Platform.**—1. Trades' Unions. By E. Belfort Bax, 1d. 2. Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris, 1d. 3. The Factory Hall. By Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx Aveling, 1d. 4. A Short History of the Commune of Paris. By Wm. Morris, E. Belfort Bax, and Victor Dave, 2d.

**Art and Socialism.** By William Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.

**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. 16 pp. crown 8vo., 1d.

**Socialist Leaflets.**—1. Why be Transported? 2. "Down with the Socialists!" 3. To the Radicals. 4. The Cause of Prostitution. 5. The Workers' Claims and "Public Opinion." 6. Tram-Car Slavery. 7. Home Rule and Humbug. 8. The Unemployed and Rioting. 9. Shall Ireland be Free? Copies will be sent to any one on receipt of stamp for postage; supplied for distribution at 2s. per 1000.

**REVOLUTIONARY RHYMES AND SONGS FOR SOCIALISTS.** Fifteen selections. 1d

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 22.

SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1886.

WEEKLY ; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

Mr Chamberlain gained last Monday one of those curious reactionary victories which mark the progress of ideas almost as clearly as reactionary defeats do ; because they draw the limits of the camps of reaction and progress, and force men to declare themselves for what they really are. Mr Gladstone might well say that his side on the division was on the flowing and the other on the ebbing tide, and he did well to renew his appeal to the heart of the people which his Midlothian manifesto contained. It is to be hoped that he will have the courage not to draw back from his words. At present, though beaten, he has the glory of the contest, and Chamberlain the victorious has its shame ; but if Mr Gladstone now shrinks from a dissolution, or if he has the chance of bringing in a new Bill after the dissolution and makes any compromise in it, then Mr Chamberlain will have the laugh on his side. Meanwhile, what is to become of the Liberal party ? Where will it be after this next election ? Victorious Whiggery exults now, and probably it will now for some time to come appear to be the sole party that has any power ; it is now only the unseen or utterly despised growth of the instinct towards real freedom which will be formidable to it. Vain-glorious inflation and sudden collapse are what await it now.

"A meeting was held at Lady Maxwell's, 15 Ennismore Gardens, on Tuesday last, to consider the interesting question of the prevention of pauperism by national insurance. The Earl of Derby, while passing over as by no means insuperable many of the commonly alleged objections to the proposal, indicated as stronger ones the difficulty of collecting the contributions from some wage-earners," etc., etc. Really, in common with Baillie Nicoll Jarvie, one finds some "glimmerings of sense in the creature"—which, however, were not strong enough to keep him away from Canon Blackley's meeting. Yet we ought to be rather thankful to the worthy canon for the resolution he displays in his *reductio ad absurdum* of the wages-system, and his exposition of the blessings of the "iron law." I have heard that some people have an inborn incapacity for seeing proportion between things ; I *know* that some people are incapable of seeing a joke. The canon doubtless shares these incapacities, and hence his usefulness to Socialists.

The following is a curious example of another kind of philanthropy from Canon Blackley's—though like his it wants to take something from nothing—and is suggested, apparently, by a joker as unconscious of his humour as the canon is ; it really is too quaint to be missed :—

"Sir,—A gentleman has offered to give £20 for a picture to measure about seven feet by five feet, and to be painted by a young artist for the pleasure of the working-classes ; this picture to be then held in trust for them by the Kyrle Society. The donor's object is twofold—to enrich, so far, the lives of the poor, and to enable a struggling young painter to produce a high-class picture. The £20 will be sufficient to pay his expenses of materials and of models, and he will then be enabled to paint a thoroughly good picture, without lowering his conception to please the paying public."

"From those that have not shall be taken even that they have" must be rubbed very deeply into this "gentleman's" mind. My good sir, this is a job for baronet artists ; *they* surely won't refuse it.

It is announced that an office is to be established for providing authentic information for emigrants ; and the *Daily News* is righteously sarcastic on the circumlocution which has been so long making up its mind to this step at the moderate expense of £500 a-year. But working-men had better look to it that the remedy does not prove worse than the disease—that the office does not get into the hands of emigration agents and other sharks of a similar character. The following paragraph, among many of a similar character, may serve as a warning to them :—

"Sir John Rose, Bart., presiding to-day at the fiftieth Annual Meeting of the South Australian Company, said although the colony was passing through a period of temporary depression, he did not think they need be under any apprehension as to its future. The Company owns 80,522 acres of land ; its property is of the estimated value of £1,135,650 ; and a dividend of 10 per cent., with a bonus of 4 per cent., payable half-yearly, was declared."

Indeed, one sees every day how hard our rulers are at work to give us information on subjects which concern the workers, as well as their keen insight into the nature of things and their freedom from class prejudice ! As an example, the Commission which has been enquiring

into the depression of trade has finally come to the conclusion that it is all due to "the appreciation of gold and the depreciation of silver." Useful creatures ! To drop irony, such stupidity fairly sickens one.

Meantime we might ask those who have a lingering idea that the present system of the distribution of wealth is a good one, or even a tolerable one, to take note that according to its supporters the welfare of huge populations, their very life or death, are dependent on the relative scarcity of two of the more useless metals. It is their opinion that the accumulated intelligence of the human race, having brought us after so many ages of ingenuity into this pass, will be contented henceforth and for ever to play such a huge game of hazard as this, in which circumstances play against us always with loaded dice.

Again, as to the depression in trade. I have thought it not unlikely that there are many whose faith in the stability of our capitalist society is shaken, but who are holding back from the acceptance of Socialism till they see whether after all the present condition of trade (which has been going on more or less for some seven years) will not mend, and things be on the upward road again. To these we may say it is not improbable that there will be a partial recovery, which will set the monied classes on their legs for a while once more, and will confer some temporary benefit on the upper part of the working-classes, and if that happens Socialism will be discredited for the time ; but remember, that the causes which have produced the present depression will still be at work. Cut-throat competition, which is the real cause of the present depression, will be stimulated to fresh excesses by the relief from the burden which it now feels, and will produce new and increasing armies of lack-alls against the new evil day, when it will not know what to do with them save send them out of the country, or to try, perhaps, under a new Canon Blackley, to take something from their nothing. Those waverers may be assured that the first hour that the clock struck of evolutionary Socialism tolled the knell of capital and wage-labour, and was the tocsin of Revolution ; the people was sure thenceforth of becoming conscious of the wrong it had so long blindly resisted.

"It is understood that in the majority of cases the Liberal candidates defeated at the last General Election are declining, when appealed to by the local Associations, to stand at the next election as supporters of Mr. Gladstone. The despondent view which the Ministerialists now take of the situation is to a great extent due to this fact, which adds seriously to the difficulty of finding Government candidates of wealth and local influence."—*Standard*. A fine tribute this to the beauties of our representative system, and a curious commentary it makes on Mr. Gladstone's appeal against class influence in his last Midlothian manifesto ! Wealth and local influence are, after all, but a roundabout application of the straightforward bribery of Walpole's days.

The American funny paper, *Puck*, amidst a farrago of ferocious and brutal insults against those who fail to see the beauty of a tame life under the rule of Jay Gould, has the following kind of Balaam's prophecy on the subject of the emancipation of labour : "Wherever one brave man, or a handful of brave men, stands boldly up and insists on every man's natural right to make his own price for his labour, or to sell it for what he chooses to sell it for, a blow will be struck in the cause of the labouring man's independence. And it rests with the labouring man to work out his own salvation." *Puck* will not see these lines, but some half-converted American worker may, so for his benefit I ask the following questions : Can any working-man *choose* to sell his labour for less than it is worth ? Is not every working-man in America, as well as other "civilised" countries, *compelled* to do so ? If that is not the case, how did Jay Gould and his kind make their fortunes ?

The same journal has a cartoon in which it uses the wife-and-child sentiment for the labour-thief's benefit. A workman is inclined to join that "handful of brave men," and "stand boldly up to insist on every man's right to sell his labour for what he chooses to sell it for." His wife, her infant in arms, and child with her, are saying to him : "Husband, don't waste your time here. What will become of *us* while you are neglecting your work ?" The factory is seen through an open door ; that factory in which both wife and child are *compelled* to work to reduce the husband's wages. Is this sort of thing the work of ignorance or malice ? Well, well, probably of Journalism !

WILLIAM MORRIS

## TRADES' UNIONS.

WHEN will the trades' unions waken up to the fact that the war between labourer and capitalist is entering on a new phase? As yet there is little sign of such an awakening. The class struggle is exciting interest and thought among all kinds of people; but strange to say, those whom it should concern most seem to care least about it. Among the rank and file of the unions, it is well known, a feeling of dissatisfaction prevails against the leaders who are mainly responsible for this apathy. If this feeling can be put into words, and some action taken, the sooner it is done the better.

The past work of the unions may be summed up very shortly: they have simply been trying to make their own members as comfortable as possible under the present wage system. Of course, in such a world—or rather, in such a social system—as this, no one can quarrel with a body of men for trying to make themselves comfortable—if they make no pretence of doing more. But the unions pretend to be an army fighting the battle of labour; whereas they are merely an ambulance looking after the sick and wounded.

Grumbling at the past is an easy and a fruitless exercise, in which I am not the least inclined to indulge. Besides, if the unions have been selfish in their action, there are plenty of reasons for it—not good reasons, but forcible, nevertheless. During the last forty years there has been a conspiracy of circumstances which has compelled the unionists into a narrow groove. England's trade was continually expanding; if new machinery lessened the demand for labour on one hand, the growth of trade increased it on the other. The action of the unionists was easily made successful in a rising market. The advancing wave of England's commercial prosperity carried her workmen with it, and gave the unions apparent success; but let them now look to it lest the receding wave pitch them back to the starting-point, and cheat them of the advantages which may still be reaped from their past work.

The question for unionists is, will you continue in your narrow exclusiveness, or will you become a set of organisations representing the whole of the labouring class and working for the general interest of that class? Let me, for instance, take the Amalgamated Engineers (to which I belong). Their motto is "All men are brethren." Now, what does this mean? The words are plain enough; but when did the Society prove itself worthy of its motto? Judging from the spirit of its doings, "All trades' unionists are brethren" would be more suitable. Again, in the preface to our rules we are given to understand that the immediate personal benefits assured by the Society to its members are but smoothing the road "until some more general principle of co-operation shall be acknowledged in society, guaranteeing to every member the full enjoyment of the produce of his labour." Now, in the face of this, is it consistent that the whole efforts of the Society should be devoted to sick-nursing, while the "general principle of co-operation" is left to look after itself? Of the personal benefits we hear continually, but of the ultimate aim of the Society we hear never a word. If any members of the Engineers should read this, I wish them to understand that I have no objection to what the Society is doing, but rather that I think it ought to do something more. What will it profit us if we gain perfection as a friendly society and lose sight of the greater aim of bringing about the acknowledgment of that general principle of co-operation, by which the full enjoyment of the fruits of our labour shall be secured to us, and all men be made truly brethren?

The difficulty is that unionists are untroubled by any fear that their future will be less (pecuniarily) successful than their past. They have imbibed the ideas of those short-sighted economists who confidently predict that the present system of classes will last for ever. Already time is falsifying these "cock-sure" predictions. England's commercial prosperity is ebbing away. There is no increase of trade now to swallow up the hands displaced by machinery. The scene has changed, and the forces that formerly made the ambulance policy successful have reversed action, and will soon make it impracticable. The army of unemployed is growing, and reduction of wages has begun and will go on. If we resist the reductions, manufacturers threaten us with the loss of our foreign trade altogether, and the bankruptcy of the British Empire. Foreign competition is a strange thing, playing queer pranks and abounding in curious paradoxes. When the workmen compete amongst themselves for work they impoverish each other: when capitalists compete among themselves for markets they impoverish—not each other, but each other's workmen. It is like the duel at which Mark Twain was a spectator: the two duellists fired several rounds, and all the bullets hit Twain. Thus it is with the fight between capitalists for profits: right valiantly they do all the firing, while the workmen have to do the suffering. Indeed, the workmen are rather worse off than Mark Twain, because he at least hadn't to supply the ammunition.

The remorseless logic of events will, sooner or later, compel the trades' unions to become revolutionary. But let us hope that reason and manliness will forestall the fiercer logic, and that the unions will soon, of their own accord, waken up to the fact that sick-nursing is of secondary importance, and that the great work before them is to fight the battle of labour emancipation.

I hope my fellow unionists will not misunderstand me and think I am attacking trades' unionism from the ordinary point of view. I quite agree that men are rightly following their own interests in combining to keep up wages and to support their sick or distressed comrades. But something more than that is required. The very fact that friendly societies are necessary shows that the workers are dependents of their employers. The argument may be briefly stated thus: (1) Trades' unions are trying to gain justice for themselves under a system which

is built upon the injustice done towards them; (2) The only way to get justice is to abolish the system which renders injustice at once a possibility and a necessity; (3) That, owing to the decline of trade, the unions cannot maintain their present position, and that the further decline will present two alternatives—gradual but certain extinction, or a change of action which will make them a revolutionary body. The next question of course will be, What is the distinct aim and policy of such a body as the unions would then be? This I hope to answer in a future paper.

J. L. MAHON.

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER V.—PREPARING FOR REVOLUTION—ENGLAND.

THE English seventeenth century revolution was from the first purely middle-class, and as we hinted in our last it cast off most of its elements of enthusiasm and idealism in Cromwell's latter days; the burden of the more exalted Puritanism was felt heavily by the nation and no doubt played its part in the restoration of Monarchy; nor on the other hand was England at all ripe for Republicanism; and so between these two disgusts it allowed itself to be led back again into the arms of Monarchy by the military adventurers who had seized on the power which Cromwell once wielded. But this restoration of the Stuart monarchy was after all but a makeshift put up with because the defection from the high-strung principle of the earlier period of the revolution left nothing to take the place of Cromwell's absolutism. The nation was quite out of sympathy with the Court, which was un-national and Catholic in tendency and quite openly debauched. The nation itself though it had got rid of the severity of Puritanism was still Puritan, and welcomed the Sunday Act of Charles II. which gave the due legal stamp to Puritanism of the duller and more respectable kind. And though enthusiastic Puritanism was no longer dominant, it was not extinct. John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" shines out, though a religious romance, amidst the dulness of the literature of the time. The Quakers who represented in their beginning the peaceable and religious side of the Levellers, arose and grew and flourished in spite of persecution; the Cameronians in Scotland, as we mentioned in our last chapter, made an ineffectual armed resistance to the dying out of enthusiasm; while across the Atlantic the descendants of the earlier Puritans carried on an almost theocratic government, which, by the way be it said, persecuted the Quakers most cruelly. Little by little, however, all that was not quite commonplace and perfunctory, died out in English Protestantism, and respectable indifference had carried all before it by the end of the century. Politics and religion had no longer any real bond of union, and the religious side of Puritanism, Evangelicalism, disappears here, to come to light again in the next century under the leadership of Whitfield.

Yet, such as English Puritanism had become, its respectable, habitual, and formal residuum was strong enough to resent James the Second's Papistry, and to make its resentment felt; while at the same time the constitutionalism which began the anti-absolutist opposition in Charles the First's time, and which had been interrupted by Cromwell's iron and Charles the Second's mud absolutism, gathered head again and began to take definite form. The Stuart monarchy, with its "divine right" of absolute sovereignty, was driven from England in the person of James the Second, and a constitutional king was found in William of Orange, and constitutional party government began.

Thus, in spite of interruption, was carried out the middle-class revolution in England; like all other revolutions, it arrived at the point which it really set out to gain; but not until it had shaken off much which did at one time help forward its progress, and which was and still is mistaken for an essential part of it. Religious and Republican enthusiasm, although they (and especially the first) played their part in abolishing the reactionary clogs on the progress of the middle-classes, had to disappear as elements which would have marred the end proposed by that revolution; to wit, the creation of an all-powerful middle-class freed from all restrictions that would interfere with it in its pursuit of individual profit derived from the exploitation of industry.

Thenceforth, till our own times, respectable political life in England is wrapped up in Whiggery; tinged, indeed, on one side with the last faint remains of feudalism in the form of a quite unreal sentiment, involving no practical consequences but the acceptance of the name of Tory; and on the other by as faint a sentiment towards democracy, which was probably rather a traditional survival of the feeling of the old days of the struggle between King and Parliament, than any holding out of the hand towards the real democracy which was silently forming underneath the government of the respectables.

The first part of the eighteenth century, therefore, finds England solid and settled; all the old elements of disturbance and aspiration hardened into constitutional bureaucracy; religion recognised as a State formality, but having no influence whatever on the corporate life of the country, its sole reality a mere personal sentiment, not at all burdensome to the practical business of life. The embers of the absolutist re-action on the point of extinction, and swept off easily and even lazily when they make a show of being dangerous; the nobility a mere titled upper order of the bourgeoisie; the country prosperous, gaining on French and on Dutch in America and India, and beginning to found its colonial and foreign markets, and its navy beginning to be paramount on all seas; the working-classes better off than at any time since the fifteenth century. Art if not actually dead represented by a Court painter or so of ugly ladies and stupid gentlemen, and

literature by a few word-spinning essayists and prosaic versifiers, priding themselves on a well-bred contempt for whatever was manly, passionate, or elevating in the wealth of the past of their own language.

Here then in England we may begin to see what the extinction of feudalism was to end in. Mediæval England is gone, the manners and ways of thought of the people are utterly changed; they are called English, but they are another people from that which dwelt in England when "forestalling and regratting" were misdemeanors; when the guild ruled over the production of goods and division of labour was not yet; when both in art and literature the people had their share,—nay, when what of both there was, was produced by the people themselves. Gone also is militant Puritanism, buried deep under mountains of cool formality. England is bourgeois and successful throughout its whole life; without aspirations, for its self-satisfaction is too complete for any, yet gathering force for development of a new kind,—as it were a nation taking breath for a new spring; for under its prosperous self-satisfaction lies the birth of a great change—a revolution in industry—and England is at the time we are writing of simply preparing herself for that change. Her prosperity and solid bureaucratic constitutional government—nay, even the commonplace conditions of life in the country, are enabling her to turn all her attention towards this change, and the development of the natural resources in which she is so rich. The fall of the feudal system, the invasion of the individualist method of producing goods, and of simple exchange of commodities, were bound to lead to the final development of the epoch—the rise of the great machine industries—and now the time for that development is at hand. The growing world-market is demanding more than the transitional methods of production can supply. In matters political prejudice is giving way to necessity, and all obstacles are being rapidly cleared away before the advent of a new epoch for labour; of which, indeed, we may say that if no great change were at hand for it in its turn, it would have been the greatest disaster which has ever happened to the race of man. In our next chapter we shall deal with the elements at work in preparing the transformation of the commercial system, for which this development of the great machine industry was so necessary and so mighty a servant.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

## THE PEOPLE'S PRESS.

With an assumption born of ignorance, the bipeds of this earth claim to be civilised! Civilised! Oh, ye gods! Civilised, while millions drudge like slaves, and dwell like brutes! Civilised, while cant and hypocrisy reign supreme! Civilised, and yet in no less than three-quarters of a century nearly 5,000,000 men have lost their lives in brutal wars for the benefit of a brutal ruling class. Let us be modest and confess that we are only emerging from the barbarism of Darwin's monkeys.—*Paterson (N. J.) Labor Standard*.

On the farm of a friend in New Jersey a hundred bushels of potatoes rotted in the ground and as many apples on the trees, because they could not be sold for sufficient to pay the cost of handling. Thirty miles away, in Philadelphia—not to mention nearer places,—thousands of people are starving for the want of those potatoes and apples. Is it not the first business of government to bring food and hungry people together? And if it fails in this why should we tolerate it anyway?—*Labor Enquirer*.

It makes me "tired" to see so many labour papers go out of their way to insist that the demands of the labour movement must be brought about only by legal means, and frown down anything that in any way looks towards unlawfulness, no matter how unjust the "law" is. I say that, whenever there is a fair probability of success to do a right act, whether it be lawful or not, why, do it. I contend that our demands are just; that we propose to have our rights; that we will try all the peaceable means within our reach, and if we can't succeed that way will resort to revolutionary methods. This whining and making faces at the revolutionists is beneath the dignity of any one who is honestly and earnestly in this movement. It is simply doing the work of capitalism.—J. A. Labadie, in *Labor Leaf*.

In truth the Revolution cannot wait for the decision of those who hesitate, being slow to grasp the great fact of its coming. It is necessary for the worker to hold himself in readiness with firm and steady bearing, that he may not be as the tree torn from the soil and swept on by the torrent in its impetuous course down the mountain. The "grand industry" sweeps him up in its course; the machine, that great agent of the Revolution, and her precursor, announces already her approach, uttering in its low thunder, "You wretched proletariat, slaves of capital, like to the old serfs of the soil, behold! I was created by your intelligence and for your use, but your indifference and the inaction which has taken possession of you have caused me to fall into other hands with a quite different result from that aimed at in the invention of me. Tremble, then, before my anger!"—*El Socialismo*.

Labour-saving machinery has of late years made such gigantic strides in every branch of industry, that manual labour is being rapidly supplanted by sinews of steel and muscles of iron; and since science and invention are the common property of our race and not the exclusive inheritance of the few, it is only just between man and man, that all should alike share the relief and blessings which they bring. So far, however, all those blessings have been quietly pocketed by monopolists and employers of labour, while, as J. S. Mill assures us, "It is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being." We maintain, therefore, that the industrial classes should rise like one man in self-defence and demand that the hours of labour should be reduced from time to time, in the same proportion as machinery supplements manual labour in the production of wealth. If the hours of toil are not reduced to protect the industrial classes, a system of land monopoly assisted by labour-saving machinery must, sooner or later, in every country, starve the great majority to fatten the few, and it is simply amazing that labour has not long since rebelled against such a flagrant injustice.—*New Zealand Watchman*.

## THE PALACE OF ICE.

(By FERDINAND FREILICHGATH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

Ye all, I well suppose, have heard of that enormous icy dome,  
Where o'er the frozen Neva's flood there rose a house of frozen foam.  
A Royal Russian woman's whim compelled her slaves to pile it high:  
Tier over tier of solid ice the frost-bound folly faced the sky.

Against the polished panes without the wintry wind blew cold as death,  
But balmy zephyrs breathed within their warm spring-scented flowery  
breath;  
Sweet music stole about the courts, bright lamps of crystal gleamed and  
glanced,  
And o'er the floors of spacious halls the high-born merry-makers danced.

Thus till the days of midmost March the wondering folk that palace saw;  
But e'en in Russia comes a spring, and even Neva's icebergs thaw.  
Hark! echoing louder than the loud South-western storm resounds the cra-  
As headlong in the weltering flood the myriad sparkling fragments flash.

The waves in triumph clap their hands—so tightly bound in frost before—  
The angry waves that yesternight a court and all its folly bore,  
That suffered all the pomp of state above their heads to flaunt or frown,  
And meek and mild allowed a queen beneath her feet to tread them down.

Now Neva claps her hands indeed! Right onward through the solid snow  
Right onward through the blocks of ice her furious waters foaming go;  
Blot out all traces of her shame, and then, rejoicing to be free,  
Flow on in majesty and peace to mix with the eternal sea.

Ye who would fetter Freedom's flood, and dam her torrent back by force—  
Like Neva she will burst her bonds, and rush resistless on her course;  
Will break the yoke she bore so long, dissolve her fetters in a trice,  
And whelm beneath her whirling waves the despot's royal dome of ice.

Full well ye prank it in your pride, or do your secret deeds of shame,  
As if the iceberg never thawed, as if no spring-time ever came:  
But see! the sun mounts slowly up; warm zephyrs whisper through the  
land;  
Your ceiling drips; your palace swims; the floor is floating where ye stand

Oh fools, that fain o'erwhelmed would be! Ye prate and strive to make it  
plain  
To yonder melting slab of ice its duty is to freeze again.  
Good sirs, 'tis vain; your time is up! Your prate will not put back the sun:  
The ice must crash and disappear when once the thaw is well begun.

Another Neva claps her hands! Right onward through the solid snow,  
Right onward through the blocks of ice her furious waters foaming go;  
Blot out all traces of her shame, and then, rejoicing to be free,  
Flow on in majesty and might to mix with the eternal sea.

## DICTIONARY FOR WORKING-MEN.

*Bee*—A stinging satire on human civilisation.

*Capital*—A subject which labouring-men must not talk about.

*Charity*—The remorse of selfishness.

*Commerce*—The Robin Hood of respectability, who takes from the poor to give to the rich.

*Competition*—A struggle in which millions are trampled to death that thousands may mount on their bodies.

*Emigration*—A quack medicine, prescribed for the cure of discontent.

*Labour*—A mouse invented as a plaything to a cat. Capital is the cat.

—A corn-field, where thieves get the harvest and the owner gets the gleanings.

*Luxury*—The rich cream taken by the few from the skim-milk allotted to the many.

*Money*—The largest slave-holder in the world.

*Organisation*—A conspiracy on the part of working-men to better their condition.

*Party*—An organisation to humbug the poor voter, run by wire-pullers in the interest of the monied men.

*Pauper*—A skeleton left by the wolves after feeding.

*Political platform*—A lot of planks covered with molasses to catch flies.

*Poverty*—The Siberian mine wherein slaves dig out wealth for their masters.

*Prison*—The grave where state-doctors bury their murdered patients.

—An oven, where society puts newly-made crime to harden.

*Shop*—The bellows of the industrial organ, the blower of which is paid better than the artist who executes the composition.

—A narrow sandy channel for wealth to pass through, which absorb much and partially distributes the rest.

*Socialism*—A word used to keep men from studying the labour question.

*Statesman*—A man who might improve his time by studying the problem of human welfare, but who generally studies the interest of the men and clique who put him into office.

*Taxes*—Feathers plucked from all birds to line the nests of a few.

*Tyranny*—Knocking people on to their knees for the crime of standing upright.

*Wages*—A collar round the neck of modern serfs, by which they proclaim their independence.

—Food for cows between milking times.

—Gold-dust thrown by capital in the eyes of labour.

*Wealth*—Something which most people want, but of which those who create the most get the least share.

The fact is, as individualism suppresses individuality, so nationalism suppresses all that is worth keeping in the special elements which go to make up a real and not an artificial nation. The sham community of the present—the nation—is formed for purposes of rivalry only, and consequently suppresses all minor differences that do not help it to supremacy over other nations. The true community of the future will be formed for livelihood and the development of all human capacities, and consequently would avail itself of the varieties of temperament caused by differences of surroundings which differentiate the races and families of mankind.—W. M.





"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

QUESTIONS bearing upon the principles propounded and the objects had in view by the *Commonweal*, will be welcomed by the Editors.

RECEIVED—*England*: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record—Imperial Federation. *Canada*: L'Union Ouvrière (Montreal). *France*: Paris: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—Le Révolté—Le Socialiste—La Tribune des Peuples—Revue du Mouvement Social, Le Devoir (Guisse)—Le Forçat du Travail (Bordeaux). *Germany*: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). *Holland*: Recht voor Allen. *Hungary*: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Buda-pest). *India*: Voice of India (Bombay)—Hindu Patriot (Calcutta)—People's Friend (Madras). *Italy*: Il Fascio Operaio (Milan)—La Lotta (Ancona). *New Zealand*: Watchman. *Portugal*: O Campino—Voz do Operario—O Protesto Operario (Lisbon). *Spain*: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social—Acracia—La Justicia Humana (Barcelona)—Bandera Social—El Socialista (Madrid)—El Socialismo (Cadiz)—La Perseverancia (Huelva). *Switzerland*: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich). *U. S. A.*: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country—Amerikanische Arbeiterzeitung—Truthseeker. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal. Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer—Little Socialist—Chicago (Ill.) Alarm—Detroit (Mich.) Labor Leaf—Princeton (Mass.) Word—Cleveland (O.): Carpenter. Cincinnati (O.) Unionist—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Petersburg (Ill.) Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Altruist. Kansas (Mo.) Sun—Pittsburg (Pa.) Labor Herald—Baltimore (Md.) Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.) Lucifer Newfoundland (Pa.) La Torpille—Litchfield (Minn.) Radical—Manchester (N. H.) Weekly Budget—Evansville (Ind.) Neue Zeit Milwaukee (Wis.) Volksblatt.

ARTICLES RECEIVED.—The following will appear in due course: "The Meaning of Life Assurance"—"A Tramp's Wallet"—"The Worker's Song of the Springtide"—"Society and the Revolution"—"Malthusianism."

### "FOREIGNERS" AND THE "FREE PRESS."

LET the people be turbulent in any place, let the labourer demand his hire, and if refused it be troublesome, and the press of that place is always on hand to prove that it is the foreigner and stranger within the gates who is making the disturbance. This was done for us lately, and is now being done for the Americans. The intrusive and ubiquitous "foreigner" has been causing mischief between the good kind capitalist and his docile American lambs; whereupon the press howls for his blood, regardless of the intensely ludicrous effect given to their clamour by the fact that two-thirds of the policemen, officials, judges, and so on, who have been concerned in the late troubles, have been German or Irish. In Chicago, the chief of police is German, and to the same nation belongs the coroner. Most of the police are renegade Irishmen, and only a few of the jury which returned a verdict against Spies and his comrades are American born. At Milwaukee the people were shot and clubbed by Irish policemen, helped by mongrel soldiery, under German officers, at the command of a German mayor.

"The foreign element must be taught its place," cries the press.

The incessant competition between capitalists compels them to have recourse to any and every means of cheapening and augmenting production; while machinery aids most powerfully in the achievement of these objects, it is still necessary to keep a constant supply of cheap and still cheaper labour on hand. As the immigrant from Europe conforms gradually to the customs of his new neighbours and seeks to live like them, as he becomes acquainted with his fellow-workers and enters their labour-unions, as his nature is stimulated by the relative freedom of the political atmosphere, it "becomes necessary to replace him" by a newer arrival—and so on *ad infinitum*. Thus it is that a continual stream of immigration flows in through the eastern ports, and brings

new citizens to the several States, and new grist to the commercial mill.

In 1776, when the famous "Declaration of Independence" was put forth, and two years later when the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution were solemnly signed by the representative of the thirteen States then composing the Union, no fear of the foreigner was felt, only the two highest offices in the service of the Republic—President and Vice-President—being placed beyond the reach of persons born outside the borders of the Union.

Then, and for many years after, there was plenty of room for the expansion of the people, capitalism had not developed itself, monopoly had not fastened its iron grip upon every means of production and avenue of supply, the extremes of wealth and poverty were unknown, production and consumption balanced themselves, and labour-troubles were undreamt of; everything, accordingly, was calculated by the "fathers of their country" to the end of transforming the foreigner into an American citizen in the least possible time with the least possible trouble. Gradually the times have changed; the growth of the money-king—the typical bourgeois—has kept pace with that of the dispossessed workman—the wage-earner, the proletaire, and an increasing dread of the monster they have been creating has shown itself on the part of the ruling class; but it is absolutely requisite for their continued existence that they keep on, and so for these many years past, no money, time, or trouble has been spared by employers of labour in putting before the European proletaire such temptations as are likely to induce him to go to America, and there underbid the native workman. But the higher standard of living has had its due effect, and association with one another has broken down the barriers of race-hatred; the workers, "native" and "foreign," recognise their common enemy and common need; wherefore it is that a hideous outcry is being raised against all those unfortunate enough not to have been born under the "Stars and Stripes." How could a man be discontented in such a free country, unless warped by the influences of European tyranny. It *must* be the foreigner. *Damn the foreigner!*

Born of kindred blood, readily absorbed into the body politic, alert and ready to seize upon and extend the advantages of Western enterprise and culture, the European in the States is far less of a "foreigner" than the Chinese, who stands outside, hopelessly irclaimable; yet the Chinese question is approached very differently, and the almond-eyed barbarian receives much more respectful treatment at the hands of the moulders-of-public-opinion-for-a-price. Can it be because he is such an unresisting victim, such a ready tool of the exploiters? "A fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind."

Guaranteed liberty by the Constitution, exempt from the vexatious restraints imposed upon Continental journals, and less hampered by any governmental control than even our own "free" press, it is in America that one would look most readily for untrammelled utterance of truth. Disappointment, however, awaits him who *does* look for it! The paralysing power of the system is upon the press as upon all else.

The bourgeois press in America, as here, recognises that its "freedom" only lasts so long as it will rant, crouch, whine, and snivel at the bidding of the money-bag; that even "Article I., Amendments to the Constitution" would cease to protect it, did it fail its "patrons" in their hour of need. To do them justice, American journals are no worse than English in their reluctance to leave off lying; it may be in both cases, as has been suggested, that the curse of wage-writing, of habitual intellectual prostitution, has unfitted them for aught else.

Though it may remain open to question whether the bourgeois press could tell truth if it tried, it is yet certain that the thing is not done. Nor can this be marvelled at. Even as the system compels production for profit in manufactures—the making of goods to sell—so it compels the writing of papers to sell. Papers are written to tickle the ears of this or that party, or support this or that commercial potentate or ring of speculators, and it is as idle to expect truth from men so situated as honesty from the average merchant.

"Freedom of the Press" is a magnificent phrase so long as there is a decent pretence of truth behind it; but is there? What "established" organ would dare to speak truth about any labour troubles?

It is time for the workers of all countries to recognise that it is not the "foreign" workman but the native employer who is their enemy, that their alleged free press is, like themselves, enslaved by capitalist supremacy, and that the only way to freedom is through the Social Revolution for which we work.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

### ALARMING CONDITION OF THE WEST-END.

[FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

It has long been generally understood that most of the inhabitants of the West-end are permanently out of work, but the extreme gravity of their condition has never yet been sufficiently realised. A house-to-house visitation which I have recently made (by a series of "morning calls") in the worst quarters of Belgravia, reveals an alarming state of affairs, which may at any time result in a dangerous social crisis. I shall be speaking within the mark when I say that fully ninety per cent. of these unhappy people are at the present moment quite resourceless and wholly dependent on the public charity, under a gigantic system of out door relief. The whole manner of their life is deplorable in the extreme. From the cradle to the grave they are nothing better than pensioners and paupers; for having no work, and consequently no property which can correctly be called their own, they are fed, clothed, housed, educated, and altogether provided for, at the expense of the

community, and thus reduced to a state of pitiable dependence and imbecility. Time hangs so heavy on their hands, that they are fain to get through the day by rising as late as possible in the morning, loafing in the park in the afternoon, and devoting their evenings to dinner-parties or dances. Some few of the more conscientious among them make a pathetic pretence of having something to do, by carrying on a sort of make-believe occupation which they call "business", but which is in reality merely a more systematic method of receiving and registering the doles of that public charity by which they are supported. Perhaps the worst sign of all is the moral degradation of the majority, the natural result of their deplorable way of living. The reckless granting of outdoor relief has so entirely undermined the independence and self-respect of the recipients, that they seem positively unaware of their beggarly and undignified position, and are devoid of any sort of gratitude towards the working-classes to whose generosity they owe all that they nominally possess. Before proceeding further, I will give two typical instances.

(1.) No. —, Sybarite Square, S.W. On visiting this dwelling, I found the inmate, Mr. —, reclining in a state of extreme prostration in an easy chair. By means of some questions put in a very guarded form, for fear of wounding his susceptibilities, I gathered that he was completely out of work, and that his family was compelled to choose between starvation and the disgrace of receiving several thousand pounds annually from the national purse. In desperation they chose the latter alternative. Mr. — had been educated at the country's expense at Eton and Oxford, but at the end of his academic career had been quite unable to find any employment for which he was qualified. It had, oddly enough, been the same with his father before him, and there seemed no hope that it would be otherwise with his sons.

(2.) No. —, Plantagenet Mansions, S.W. Of all the dwelling-places I visited this impressed me most mournfully. It formed one of a line of immense houses, each precisely like its neighbours, and all of them bald and hideous in the extreme. One could scarcely believe that life could be supported under such depressing conditions; and yet it is so; for on entering, I found the tenant, a widow, Lady —, sitting with her two daughters in the chief apartment, and conversing with some show of cheerfulness with some visitors, neighbours presumably, who had looked in to offer such assistance and consolation as lay in their power. The house was furnished with a tawdry magnificence which was truly heartrending. I could scarcely bear to think of this poor soul thus "residing" (for that, I believe, is the usual term among the inhabitants of these dismal quarters) in a dwelling quite devoid of any real comforts, where even the furniture was wholly provided at the cost of the parish. I learnt afterwards from a trustworthy source that this poor lady's story was at once a sad and a typical one. Utter resourcelessness had compelled her to marry at an early age. Her husband, himself invariably out of work, could afford but little comfort to the partner of his blank and aimless life; he was at last carried off by a severe attack of *ennui*, aggravated by a system of heavy eating and drinking, and left her a widow, with two daughters, and no hope or prospect in life but to continue the usual round of eating, sleeping, idling, and gossiping on the treadmill of "Society."

From these instances it may be seen what is the state of affairs in the West-end districts. What then is to be done? Some will doubtless advise that the wise teaching of the illustrious Malthus should be more rigidly enforced, and that these unhappy pensioners should be instructed not to marry and bring children into the world until they see some prospect of supporting themselves in honest livelihood. Others will enlarge on the various advantages of wholesale emigration, and will draw attention to the fact that recent telegrams from Noodieland and Goose Island report that there is now a good opening for State paupers of this class. Others, again, will recommend thrift, frugality, and temperance, as the means whereby these poor people may best reinstate themselves as self-supporting citizens. I feel sure, however, that the initiative must come, not from the paupers themselves, who have now fallen too low to extricate themselves without assistance, but from the working-classes of this country, who, if truth be told, are primarily to blame for having lavished indiscriminate charity on these unworthy applicants. Working-men, will you not bestir yourselves, in order to save your fallen fellow-countrymen? Do not continue to demoralise them by thus supplying them too generously with all the needs of life, for it is only by cutting off their supplies that you will ever bring them to a right and proper sense of their desperate position. This may seem a hard saying; but, remember, that you are now dealing with impoverished classes who have been hardened into shamelessness by long periods of idleness and mendicancy. Hitherto, you have been too generous and tender-hearted; henceforth you must apply the Poor Laws more vigorously, and sternly refuse to give any further outdoor relief. This is the first and only sure step towards reform.

Everything, however, cannot be effected immediately; and in the meantime the lot of these unhappy creatures may be undoubtedly alleviated by the consolations of Religion. It might be well to establish a mission in the very centre of Belgravia, and to appoint some earnest man to superintend so pious an undertaking. Such a pastor would probably have no difficulty in assuring the members of his flock, by a timely and comforting reference to the after-life of Dives in the Parable, that the extreme dulness and monotonous satiety which they find so hard to endure in this world are likely to be replaced hereafter by a more emotional and less frigid state of existence. H. S. S.

A power over a man's subsistence amounts to a power over his will.—*Alexander Hamilton.*

## THE DECAZEVILLE STRIKE.

THE strike at Decazeville, owing to the incidents and the complications it has brought about, and the influence it has exercised on the Socialist movement in France, is one of the most considerable events of this fifteen years of the Lower Republic.

The strike opened with the execution of the engineer Watrin, which was the explosion of a working-class population tortured and enraged by the injustice of the mining company. The workmen, mad with fury, hurled themselves upon one of the agents of the company, and after stunning him with blows from sticks flung him from the window. Similar revolts have occurred in the prisons against the warders. The Government, among whom were two Radicals, Messrs. Lockroy and Jeanet, determined to bring the miners to reason. We have seen in Belgium the course of events. The workmen exasperated, with no idea but to destroy, to avenge themselves, ravage the country like mad bulls, burning factories, laying the bourgeois under tribute, and generally producing "a hell of a funk"; the army on the Continent, always employed at once against workmen, mitrailleuses these poor devils, who made more noise than anything else, and at the end of a few days the glorious Van der Smissen announces to the trembling bourgeois that he has saved society and re-established order. In fact, the Belgian miners and glass-workers, severely and brutally repressed, have re-entered their industrial galleys, and the most perfect calm would reign in that El Dorado of bourgeois liberalism, if the organised Socialists did not continue the agitation in transporting it to the ground of universal suffrage. This agitation, which neither burns factories nor lays the bourgeois under tribute, will not be suppressed by Van der Smissen. The miners of Decazeville would have shared the fate of their Belgian brethren, fusillades and cavalry charges would have driven them back into their pits, and order would have been established in the blood of the workmen, but for the energetic and courageous intervention of the Socialist deputy, Basly.

Monsieur Clémenceau and his Radicals, who court the workmen in order the better to dupe them, had judged it politic to procure the election of two workmen, Basly and Camélinat. They pictured them as second Broadhursts and Burts, ready to serve them in all circumstances. They were deceived. Basly, without deigning to consult Clémenceau, left immediately for Decazeville, and after two days' enquiry he returned to Paris to accuse the government of having permitted a handful of thieving financiers to cynically exploit the mining population of Decazeville. Since 1848, no such indictment of the capitalist order had been heard at the Palais Bourbon. The effect was immense in Paris and in France.

The miner Basly, for he had himself passed eighteen years in the pits of Anzin, unhinged the parliamentary machine, tore the *prestige* of the Radical party from the eyes of the working-classes, and opened up a new path for Socialist propaganda. For nearly ten years we militant Socialists have been working to spread the ideas of revolutionary Socialism, by means of journals, meetings, etc., in Paris and the provinces, not excluding even the villages. We can say without boasting that we have done our "level best," and notwithstanding this our action has remained limited to the narrowest circle, as was manifest at the election of last year. In fact, it was the already convinced who read our journals and pamphlets, and attended our meetings. Our propaganda penetrated slowly, very slowly! The masses are so slow to move. All agitators commencing a movement dash themselves against this impenetrability of the masses. But with Basly, with Camélinat, the Socialist deputies, a new era commences. When a Socialist deputy speaks in the Tribune of Parliament, he does not address himself to the more or less bald heads of the Chamber, but to the whole of France. His words penetrate to the smallest villages. The bourgeois journals are obliged, willy-nilly, to reproduce his words, to discuss and to attack them. Socialism thus spreads from the small lecture-hall to the market-place. In France it was five deputies who caused the rebirth of the Republican idea under the Empire. When you have your Baslys and Camélinats in the House of Commons, you will appreciate like us, what powerful instruments of propaganda are Socialist deputies.

The Bourgeois parties, without distinction of opinion, are leagued against Basly, Camélinat, and Boyer. All the journals, Monarchist and Republican, Conservative and Radical, abuse them. A little journal, the *Proletariat*, the organ of the Possibilists, joins the bourgeois crowd. The Radicals arranged a plot against Basly; under cover of commercial interests, they convoked a great meeting, choosing the Radical minister Lockroy as president. They hoped to obtain a vote of censure upon Basly, and to force him to hand in his resignation. But the Socialists, forewarned, invaded the hall and carried the meeting, which passed a vote of confidence in Basly by acclamation. The blow was terrible for the Radical party.

Basly left immediately for Decazeville, and interposed between the strikers and the troops. He declared he would place himself at the head of the workmen in his insignia of Deputy, and that the first balls fired by the soldiers should strike himself. Never before had a Deputy been known to regard his Parliamentary mandate in this light. The Government was intimidated. The Mining Company desired a massacre, to abruptly terminate the strike. The Minister ordered the soldiers to make demonstrations, but forbade them to use their arms. The capitalists, furious at being done out of their massacre of the miners, and being unable to touch Basly and Camélinat, whose inviolability as Deputies protected them, turned their anger against Duc Quercy and Roche, correspondents of the *Cri du Peuple* and *Intransigeant*, whom

they caused to be arrested and condemned to fifteen months' imprisonment.

Basly had been, with Fauvian, the organiser of the great strike at Anzin of 1884. He set to work at Decazeville. In a few weeks he disciplined and organised the miners. The bourgeois journals are obliged to confess that his influence with the strikers is immense. The workmen of Decazeville began by being merely rebels: to-day they are Socialists, who know that they will not be emancipated until after they have expropriated the capitalists. The scenes of disorder which characterised the beginning of the strike have given place to order, to the great despair of the capitalists, who desire tumults in order to justify the intervention of bayonets and rifles. They have not even had recourse to the anarchist weapons—charges of dynamite—which displace innocent stones. But neither provocations nor dynamite-plots of capitalists have shaken the strikers, who continue the strike in the most perfect calm.

This firm and calm conduct of the miners has given to this economic quarrel between wage-earners and masters a great social importance. The workmen of Decazeville are no longer simply strikers claiming some ameliorations in their social situation, but champions of the Socialist idea, throwing down the gauntlet to capital in the name of the entire working-class. And in this struggle they are sustained by all Socialists and workmen; the journals have opened a subscription, and one journal alone—the *Cri du Peuple*—has already received more than forty thousand francs.

Never before has an economic struggle assumed such a character. It has separated society into two classes: on the one side the workmen and the Socialists, and even the small middle-class, who are despoiled and crushed by the great companies, financial, industrial, and commercial; on the other the great capitalists, sustained by the Government, the bourgeois press, and all political parties, from the Monarchists to the Radicals. At the recent May election the case stood thus: Gaulier, the candidate of the Government and of the great companies, was patronised by the Radical press and supported with more or less of good grace by the Opportunists and the Monarchists; Roche, condemned to fifteen months imprisonment for defending the workmen, was supported by the Socialists and Revolutionary Radicals. The Clémenceau Radicals, furious at seeing the consolidation of the Revolutionary party, attempted to sow division by running an opposition Socialist candidate—Soubrié. In this foul design they employed as tools the Possibilists, who for some years past have occupied themselves with sowing division in the Socialist ranks. But in spite of this perfidious manœuvre, of an election agitation of only eight days, and of an expenditure not exceeding £216, we succeeded in uniting under the name of Roche more than 100,000 electors.

What do the good people who breakfast on dynamite and sup on nitro-glycerine say as to the significance of these 100,000 voting-papers? It signifies that we have succeeded in penetrating the Parisian masses, in hurling them into a movement of social revindication, that we have beaten it into the heads of 100,000 electors that they are bound to protest against the present social order and its government. It is true all the voters were not Socialists, but they have performed a Socialist act; it is true these 100,000 voting-papers are not the Revolution, but they are a great step towards the Revolution. The elections of 1866 dealt a mortal blow at the Empire, from which it never recovered. The election of May has cut in two the Radical party, throwing its bourgeois elements into the Opportunist camp, and attracting to the Revolutionary Socialist party its working-class and Socialist elements. The election of May is the pick-axe laid at the foundation of the bourgeois Republic—the trumpet-call, rallying the Socialists to the final battle.

PAUL LAFARGUE.

PARIS, MAY 22, 1886.

“SUFFERING FROM HUNGER.”—With reference to our “Notes on Passing Events” last week, a correspondent sends the following cutting from the *Manchester Evening News* of June 4th:—“At Warrington, to-day, John Ward, last from Manchester, who conducted himself like a madman in the streets yesterday, was ordered to the workhouse, suffering from hunger.”

Our best thanks are due to the *Irish Times* for the interestingly skilful way in which, under cover of an alleged attack upon our leaflet “Shall Ireland be Free?” they gave us bold advertisement in their issue of Monday last.

Land will produce nothing without labour, therefore labour pays the rent. Taxes are assessed on the value which labour gives to the land, therefore labour pays the taxes.—*Labor Leaf*.

THE GREED OF MONEY.—The greed of money is most ravenous in the richest; that of despotic power in generals, kings and emperors, which is as if the more one ate the hungrier he becomes. The passion of accumulating, like that of ruling, has no self-imposed limits, and therefore dangerous to the general interests of society which now blindly legislates in its favour by class privileges. While we have been amusing ourselves with illusions of political liberty we have been pandering to the great slave power of monopoly, the stock-jobbers, the usurer, the landlords, and other industrial tyrants. While we have been throwing loaded dice for them from that child's toy, the ballot box, financial feudalism, the despotism of capital, has steadily advanced in its conquests, and now treads under foot the last vestiges of republican liberty. Change of masters avails nothing, for the true rulers do not depend for their power on the result of elections. All governments are equal before the money power, and in ours it has the option of controlling elections or buying the elected. To the people this makes no practical difference. All the arbitrary power—of the Purse, of the State, and of the Church—are at once against labour and the tributary masses.—*Gulboston News*.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

Adel, Leeds, 24th May, 1886.

GENTLEMEN,—I have just read with astonishment in your issue of Saturday the 22nd inst. the following words, referring to the closing of a large flax-mill in Leeds: “What is to become of these creatures [the women and girls employed] is a question which has never disturbed the minds of their employers.” As an inhabitant of Leeds possessed of a long and intimate acquaintance with these employers and with many of those employed in their Leeds mill, I can most emphatically deny this statement. They have always sought to keep their mills running and avoid the evils that result from irregular employment in times of bad trade, and have been able to carry this policy out (at what cost to themselves does not now signify) to an extent that is quite unusual. When for irresistible reasons they were compelled to close the mills, it was a keen personal trouble to them; and in the actual closing of the mills they made their arrangements in such a way as to minimise the unavoidable distress. The spirit of friendly liberality with which their workers were treated created a very different feeling between them and their employers from that of the bitterness and hostility described by your correspondent. Much as one may deplore the present state of inequality in wealth and in justice, and much as one may endeavour to advance the “New Life,” it is impossible to allow absolutely erroneous statements to pass unnoticed and uncorrected.—I am, etc., E. H. FORD.

[Awaiting further answer from our Leeds friends, we may point out to our correspondent that the position of the employers forces them in the long run to disregard what even they consider the interests of the workers, and that while they are employing them they are wronging them by living on their unpaid labour.—Eds.]

## THE BOYCOTT.

THIS weapon of defence and redress is no longer an experiment. While, like a strike, it is not a final remedy, it is a powerful auxiliary. It is far ahead of a strike, for many reasons. It costs those who employ it nothing; the damage is all done to the enemy, and if used judiciously, all the patronage and trade taken from the enemy can be given to the friends of labour. This makes it a tripartite weapon. It punishes and reforms the enemy, encourages and benefits the friend, and helps build up co-operation. It is the old weapon that monopoly has always used against labour, and now, when it is used against the monopolist himself, he rises up and says, “What is the meaning of this boycott?” It is not necessary for any one to answer. Let him find out the meaning when his customers leave him and he has no longer work for the scabs. Every one should apply the boycott, whether he belongs to a labour organisation or not.—*Knowville Globe*.

It is reported that Col. Carroll D. Wright says, “The man who, by boycotting, shuts up a shop is preventing some other man from getting an honest living.” It is doubtful if he made such a loose statement. The fact that a shopkeeper is prevented from getting a living by selling, for example, oleo-margarine as butter, and a dozen other substitutes for the goods he pretends to keep, is no sign he is prevented from getting an honest living.—*Boston Herald*.

Judge James G. Maguire, of San Francisco, has given an extra-judicial opinion of the legality of the boycott, as follows: “Since the legality of the practice popularly known as boycotting has been called in question, and since you have adopted that practice as the means of accomplishing your purposes, those who are charged with the administration and interpretation of the law are bound to seriously consider the question in all its phases before giving approval or encouragement to such a movement. Having carefully considered the methods and principles involved in the peaceful system of non-intercourse known as ‘boycotting,’ and especially your definition of the term as used by your association, I have reached the conclusion that the practice, as thus defined, is not only the legal, but the inalienable right of every human being, and it has my unqualified approval. The practice of enforcing conformity to the moral sentiments and material interests of communities by the social, political, and commercial ostracism of those who violate such sentiments or invade such interests, is as old as civilisation, and is, indeed, the vital principle of its growth. It has been suggested that this practice has a tendency to lead those who engage in it to resort to violent measures; but it is a well-recognised principle of human nature that an opportunity to accomplish any purpose speedily by peaceful means is the most certain of all safeguards against violence.”—*John Swinton's Paper*.

The progress of converting a boss is slow but sure, and more wonderful than anything Moody and Sankey ever did:—Chapter I.—Men ask for more wages or shorter hours or change of rules. Boss is shocked at their impudence. Won't give in. Chapter II.—Committee of Arbitration calls on him and are told to get out, after a short conversation. Chapter III.—The boycott is declared. Boss waves his bank-book aloft and swears he will sink every cent in the fight, and pretends to glory in the free advertising of the boycott. Chapter IV.—Advertising don't pan out worth a cent. Everybody gives him the go-by. Don't want to have anything to do with him. Things look awfully blue. Chapter V.—Citizens' Committee wait on him. Boss denies he knows what is the matter! Why don't the men tell him all about it? He always wanted to do the fair thing. For God's sake take that boycott off! And here is 500 dols. to pay expenses. Chapter VI.—“Boys, go back to work.” Boss shakes hand all round.—*Workman's Advocate*.

A high class without duties to do is like a tree planted on a precipice, from the roots of which all the earth has been crumbling. Nature owns no man who is not a worker withal. Is there a man who pretends to live luxuriously housed up, screened from all work, from want, danger, hardships, the victory of which is what we name work; he himself to sit serene amid downy bolsters and appliances, and have all his work and battling done by other men? And such man calls himself a NOBLE man! His fathers worked for him, he says; or successfully gambled for him; here he sits; professes, not in sorrow but in pride, that he and his have done no work, time out of mind. It is the law of the land, and is thought to be the law of the universe, that he, alone of recorded men, shall have no task laid on him, except that of eating his cooked victuals, and not flinging himself out of a window. Once more I will say, there is no stranger spectacle shown under the sun.—*Thomas Carlyle*.



## FREE SPEECH AT STRATFORD.

A MEETING was held at Stratford last Saturday on the same ground as on the former week. Comrades Aveling and Morris spoke for the League, and Messrs. Ellis (of the Peckham and Dulwich Radical Club) and Rose (Whitechapel Liberal Club) also spoke. A solid and attentive audience at once came together as soon as the first speaker began; about 300, I should think, was the number of the actual meeting. Our two Radical friends spoke well and strongly on the right of free speech, and the audience was obviously in complete sympathy. At the close of the meeting, which lasted an hour, comrade Aveling called for a show of hands in favour of free speech generally, and of maintaining it on that spot, and all hands were held up. The police did not interfere, although there were many about and in the crowd in plain clothes, and an inspector came up to the skirts of the meeting several times to take note of our proceedings.

It must have been clear to all those present that there was no real obstruction caused by the meeting; and it should be the opinion of all those interested in free speech that it is most important to keep up the meetings here. Most meeting-places, except those held in parks or on commons, are attackable on the same grounds as this is. Nor will it do merely to challenge the police to remove bodies speaking there other than Socialists. In their zeal for getting rid of Socialist meetings, the Respectables are quite capable of accepting the challenge and getting rid of Temperance, Christianity, and Radicalism at one blow, in order to get rid of Socialism. All those, therefore, who care at all about the expression of advanced opinion should take warning, and remember that it is no use standing aside to be eaten up last. Any excuse will be made use of in order to clear the streets altogether of everybody but proletarians hurrying to and from their daily toil and sauntering fine ladies and gentlemen. To make the world outside Respectability one huge prison is the darling wish of the Respectables, from Matthew Arnold the pensioner down to some petty vestry tyrant at Stratford. Sweet alliance of the Superfine and the Bumble! Lovers of freedom, combine to overthrow this alliance, which is dangerous though ridiculous.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### BELGIUM.

F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, the editor of *Recht voor Allen* (Justice for all) has at last been prosecuted by the Government of Holland for seditious libel. The trial will commence on Thursday the 10th of June at 10 o'clock. Great interest is manifested by our comrades in the Netherlands.

### SPAIN.

Thirty or more dead and four hundred maimed and injured by the recent cyclone in Madrid, nearly all the sufferers coming from the ranks of the "disinherited." These facts give eloquent testimony, says *El Socialista*, that we live in a world so well-balanced that even natural catastrophes fall almost exclusively on those who endure already those of an artificial origin. A public washhouse and several wretched houses gave way before the hurricane, burying their unfortunate inmates in the ruins. Pitiful is it to think that bourgeois greed and extortion rob the workers of the cheapest luxuries; for the foul sties where they are compelled to "live" are not only devoid of pure respirable air, but do not allow them to enjoy a sense of security in time of storm. Hygiene and solidity of building are reserved for the palaces of those who, when such misfortunes occur, cry to heaven and shed insincere tears over the victims of their own rapacity. We have had touching descriptions in the bourgeois journals of the queen displaying her kind sympathy and tenderness of heart on this occasion by visiting the scene of the disaster. She did so with the sanction of her physicians, and it is with heartfelt satisfaction we learn that the drive did her more good than harm. Long may the perfume of her gracious sympathy hang over the ruined homes!

In a certain printing-shop in Madrid the employés receive about 21s. wage for a week's work of from 75 to 80 hours. This is (unfortunately) not remarkable, but the master justifies the exploitation of his men in the following truly farcical manner: The work-day, apparently so heavy, he explains, really consists of the regulation ten hours *net*, for it is necessary to abstract from it two or three hours which it is calculated the employé loses in talking and smoking (and breathing?).

The Northern Tramway Company of Madrid intending to increase the working day from sixteen to eighteen hours, and the employés striking in consequence, the authorities have put a considerable guard at the disposal of the Company in case of an emergency. What courageous men these capitalists are! With what eagerness do they plunge into danger with their eyes open!

In a cotton-factory at Juan las Fontes lately, a boy of ten was caught by a machine and had his arm broken. So as to lose no time, the overseer called in another little lad to take his place the same day. He was immediately caught in the machine by the hand, and had three or four fingers crushed. Human food for the machine-monster! Bring more and yet more; the supply is surely inexhaustible!

M. M.

From the enthusiasm of Socialists arises a new danger for the coming generation—in Spain at least. In the civil register of a Spanish town a child has been entered under the names of *Anárquico Neptuno Washington*,—"not without serious difficulty," my informant, a Socialist paper, gravely remarks. While congratulating the parents on gaining their point, I am inclined to think that the "difficulty" raised by the registering clerk was nothing more seriously political than the impulses of a kindly heart and a good-natured expression of sympathy with the unfortunate Señor Anárquico Neptuno Washington X—, when arrived at years of consciousness! In another town one blameless infant has had bestowed upon him the names of *Progreso Universo Libre*. In the name of the coming generation I must protest against such an abuse of parental authority! Think of a letter signed "Yours fraternally, Fraternity Jones;" or, "Yours in the Cause, Human Progress Robinson!" The mind reels before such a possibility!

M. M.

## LITERARY NOTICES.

The *Puterson* (N. J.) *Labour Standard* is rendering itself unpleasantly prominent by its constant use of "news" drawn from sources of information controlled by the enemies of labour, thus giving currency to many malicious lies and unfounded slanders. During the excitement occasioned by the "riots" here on February 8, and also during that arising from the Chicago and Milwaukee troubles, it gave prominence to many sensational items obviously concocted with a view to foster prejudice against "foreigners" and Socialists. From the contrast between the tone of its editorials and that of the "news," we should imagine that the latter is purchased by the yard ready-made, or that it is another case of "patent out-sides."—S.

We are very glad to note the rapid growth of revolutionary papers in Spain, and the high quality of their articles. They are more fortunate than their Italian contemporaries, which have but a precarious existence, owing to their constant suppression by the authorities. We have received lately the first few numbers of several organs of the various Spanish revolutionary parties. *La Justicia Humana*, Barcelona (Communist-Anarchist), contains leaders clearly and well written, in spite of the modest assertion in the manifesto of the first number that the editors lay no claim to a literary or cultivated style. There are several interesting articles and extracts from foreign papers. *El Socialismo* (Cadiz) has some good original matter, several well-chosen extracts from the writings of Krapotkin and others, a translation of E. B. Bax's lecture on the "Coming Revolution," an original poem, and various "Echoes." *Acracia* (Barcelona) for May contains a long report of a meeting of the Anarchists of that city, in celebration of the Paris Commune. The programme consisted of revolutionary discourses, interspersed with instrumental and vocal music, etc. Such a meeting, familiar enough in one form or another to us in England, is something of a novelty in the South.—M. M.

*Truth*—"in small doses, from the women for the men"—is a little paper started by four women comrades of San Francisco, who are not quite satisfied with what the men are doing, and intend to keep them up to the mark by weekly advice and encouragement. To these women of the far West success in their unpretending but most useful effort is assured if they only make every number of their tiny organ as smart and readable as the first.—S.

*To-Day* for June has a brightly-written dissertation upon the advantages and disadvantages of the teaching to children what their parents no longer believe, by Frances A. Blackett: some dainty verses, "A Lover's Prayer," by Philip Marston; and the continuation of "Broken Lives."—S.

*The Home Ruler*. H. Vickers & Co. A small weekly journal, advocate of Home Rule and Imperial Parliamentary Federation. No. 1, dated June 5, contains some scathing remarks on some of the prominent opponents of the Home Rule Bill, and the first instalment of what promises to be a valuable exposure of the London press, under the heading "London Public (?) Opinion on Home Rule."—B.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

### Notices to Members.

*Library*.—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

*Reading Room*.—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. All papers received by the Secretary are sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members.

### Notices to Lecturers and Branch Secretaries.

To avoid confusion and mistake, lecturers and Branch secretaries are requested to at once advise the Lecture Secretary of all engagements made by them. Branches will find it more convenient to make their arrangements with speakers through the Lecture Secretary, who will undertake to make all necessary announcements unless otherwise instructed.

### Second Annual Conference.

13 Farringdon Road, London, June 13. Delegates assemble at 10.30 a.m. and adjourn at 1.30 p.m.; resume at 3 p.m., and continue till business is disposed of.

#### Agenda.

First sitting, 10.30 p.m.: (1) Appointment of Chairman; (2) Appointment of Scrutineers and Secretary; (3) Reports from (a) Executive Council, (b) Treasurer and Financial Secretary, (c) Secretary, (d) Editor, (e) *Commonweal* Manager; (4) Report of Branch Delegates for their respective Branches.—Second sitting, 3 p.m.: (1) Appointment of Chairman; (2) Motions of which notice has been given, (a) by Lane and Charles on Constitution of the League, (b) by Leeds Branch on Rules; (3) Election of Officers; (4) Discussion on Policy and Tactics.

### Excursion.

Train leaves Cannon Street at 8 a.m. on the 14th, returning at 8 p.m. All intending to go must advise Committee by Friday night 11th, at latest.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Marylebone to March 31. Bloomsbury, Hackney, Hammersmith, Leeds, Norwich, Oxford, Dublin, to April 30. Manchester, Bradford, Croydon, North London, to May 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), to June 30.—P. W.

### The "Commonweal."

Branches are reminded of the absolute necessity of their paying for the paper week by week.

Copies of the cartoon by Walter Crane given with the first number of the weekly issue, can now be had printed on fine hand-made paper for framing, price 6d., postage 1d.; protection roll, if desired, 2d. extra.

Boards for the use of newspapers can be supplied to Branches at 1s. each.

### Branch Reports.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

BLOOMSBURY.—This Branch opened their new place, Arlington Hall, on Friday 4th, with a lecture by William Morris, which was attended by a mixed audience of from 250 to 300 people. Sale of literature and collection good.—T. E. W.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday evening, June 2, comrade Sparling lectured to a very fair audience on "Killing no Murder;" a tolerably good discussion followed, but one or two members expressed dissatisfaction at the extreme mildness of the lecture, considering the "gory" title.—On Sunday, June 6, comrade Blundell lectured on "Poverty, Disease, and Crime," and was well received; questions and discussion lively, and some slight opposition, which was satisfactorily answered. Literature sale has not come well up to the mark.—Members of this Branch are earnestly requested to attend an important business meeting on Wednesday, June 16, at 7.30 p.m.; amongst other matters the open-air work must be arranged.—W. B., sec.

**HACKNEY.**—On Sunday morning at 11.30, comrade Graham spoke to a large audience in Well Street, Hackney. We have every hope of making this a good Branch; *Commonweals* sold well; we had the attendance of ten policemen and an inspector.—In the afternoon at 3.30, we had a meeting in Victoria Park, which was addressed by comrades Graham, Allman, and Flockton.—J. FLOCKTON.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—During the past few weeks this Branch has held meetings as usual every Sunday evening, and arranged for occasional lectures on Wednesdays. The lecturers have been Edith Simcox, John Pearce, George Bernard Shaw, P. Webb, H. H. Sparling, and William Morris. The average attendance has been good, on two occasions the room being even inconveniently crowded. Outdoor meetings have been held on Sunday mornings in the Beadon Road. This is not a very suitable spot, but no better place has been found in the neighbourhood, there being no recognised place for open-air meetings. The most satisfactory circumstance we have to record is a considerable increase in the number of members. These are chiefly recruited from the Liberal club, and among them are some good speakers, who will be great accessions to the Branch. It is just two years since we held our first Socialist meeting in Hammersmith, and comrade Scheu explained to a somewhat incredulous audience that Socialism didn't mean unlimited dynamite and throat-cutting. It is only by looking back that we measure the advance since made.—E. W.

**MARYLEBONE.**—We held our usual meeting in the Harrow Road on Saturday evening. Although there was an attempt made by three or four drunken men to interrupt the meeting about nine o'clock, it was a great success; two quires of *Commonweals* were sold.—On Sunday morning, comrade Nicoll and others addressed a large meeting at the corner of Bell Street.—At Hyde Park, in the afternoon, we found our position taken up by the Church Army, and had to pitch between them and the Secularists. After a short time we managed to get a large audience, which listened very attentively to addresses from comrades Wardle, Arnold, and Donald. Several questions were asked and answered, and the enthusiasm of the crowd showed that the majority were in favour of Socialism. The meeting was kept up for three hours, breaking up at 6.30.—H. G. A.

**STAMFORD HILL.**—On Sunday evening a meeting was held on Stamford Hill, when comrades Parker and Dobbin addressed a good audience composed of workers and some middle-class respectabilities on the road home from church, on the Gospel of Socialism, and a quire of *Commonweals* were sold. Several names have been received towards the formation of a Branch in this neighbourhood.—OWEN LLOYD.

**BRADFORD.**—On Sunday evening, May 30, comrade Mahon lectured at the New Market Hotel on "Radicalism and Socialism," pointing out in an eloquent manner that Radicalism, if carried to its logical consequences, should end in Socialism. The lecture was followed by a discussion, in which the opposition was of the usual vague character.—C. H.

**DUBLIN.**—A large and enthusiastic meeting was held on the Nine Acres last Sunday, in connexion with the strike of the stonecutters. This meeting was attended by the Branch; 5,000 leaflets were distributed, and some *Commonweals* sold. The *Irish Times* of Monday was very wrath over "Shall Ireland be Free?" a copy of which found its way into their possession.

**LEEDS.**—A new open-air station—Hunslet Moor—was visited on Sunday morning. A good audience gathered, and gave an attentive hearing to our speakers. The *Commonweal* sold very well.—T. M.

**MANCHESTER.**—Comrade Wakefield from Halifax addressed a meeting on the waste croft near Grey Mare Corner on "Why I am a Socialist." Much interest was shown, and several names taken. Two comrades went to the lamp at Gorton afterwards, but it was too late to attempt a meeting. Three policemen informed us that they had orders to stop all meetings there, of any sort.—At the Viaduct, in the evening, a good meeting was held, which resulted in some interesting discussion. I think we shall make members at both our open-air stations as soon as we can get rooms to meet in.—R. U., sec.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W. Friday, June 11, at 8.30 p.m., Edward Aveling, "The Labour Christ." Music at 8 p.m.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Wednesday June 16, at 8.30 p.m., P. Webb, "The Necessity for Socialism." Important business meeting before lecture, at 7.30 p.m. Branch members please note.

**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.

**Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every Monday at 8, for the enrolment of members and other business.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m. June 13, no lecture.

**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sundays, at 7.45 p.m. June 13, no lecture.

**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

**Mile-end.**—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. June 15. T. Wardle, "The Fallacies of Society."

**North London.**—Communications to R. A. Beckett, St. Mildred's House, Poultry, E.C.

**South London.**—Business meetings at 103 Bird-in-bush Road, on Sundays at 7.30.

### Country Branches.

**Birmingham.**—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30.

**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Lecture and discussion in new rooms of the Branch, 84 John Street, every Sunday at 7 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. Donations of books for library will be gladly received.—J. B. G.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.

**Leeds.**—No meeting-room at present. Out-door stations notified below.

**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—County Forum. Thursdays, at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Café. Every Monday at 8 p.m.

**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 27 Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 12.	Harrow Road—opposite the "Prince of Wales"	7	H. G. Arnold	Marylebone.
	Stratford—at end of Church	7	Lane and Mowbray	Central.
S. 13.	Canning Town (Beckton Rd.)	11.30	T. E. Wardle	Central.
	Edgware Road—Bell Street	11.30	H. Graham	Marylebone.
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	T. E. Wardle	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—Beadon Road	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	D. Nicoll	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	I. S. Vanderhout	Mile-end.
	Regent's Park	11.30	The Branch	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	"	N. London.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30	"	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	"	Hackney.
	Merton—High Street	7	"	Merton.
Tu. 15.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7.30	T. E. Wardle	N. London.
Th. 17.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	The Branch	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	8	T. E. Wardle	Mile-end.

### PROVINCES.

**Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.

**Leeds.**—June 13. Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.

**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

## MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

**CHAMBERLAIN CLUB**, 21 Choumert Road, Peckham. Sunday June 27, at 8 p.m., A. Scheu, "The Essence of Freedom and of Servitude."

**NOTTING HILL DEBATING SOCIETY**, "Monarch Tavern," Manchester Street (near Latimer Road Railway Station).—Sunday June 13, at 7.30. W. Royston (S.P.E.L.), "Church and State."

**PROGRESSIVE DEBATING SOCIETY**, "Bee Hive," Warner Street, New Kent Rd. Sunday June 20, at 8 p.m., C. W. Mowbray, "Woman: Her Position under Socialism and To-day."

## BOOKS FOR SOCIALISTS.

The question is so often asked, "What shall I read?" that the following partial list of works is given for the benefit of enquirers into Socialism,—not as being authoritative either singly or collectively, but as being distinctly helpful to a right understanding of the social problem.

### ENGLISH.

AVELING, E. and E. M.: *Woman Question from a Socialist Point of View.*  
 BESANT, ANNIE: *Modern Socialism.*  
 BLAKE, LILLIE D.: *Woman's Place To-day.*  
 BRASSEY, THOS.: *Work and Wages.*  
 CARRUTHERS, J.: *Communal and Commercial Economy.*  
 COBBETT, W.: *Political Works.*  
 Communist Manifesto of 1847.  
 ELY, RICHARD J.: (1) *German and French Socialism*; (2) *Recent American Socialism.*  
 FAWCETT, H.: *Regulation of Hours of Labour.*  
 GEORGE, H.: (1) *Progress and Poverty*; (2) *Social Problems.*  
 GRÖNLUND, L.: *Co-operative Commonwealth.*  
 HOWLAND, MARIE: *Papa's Own Girl.*  
 HYNDMAN, H. M.: *Historical Basis of Socialism in England.*  
 MILL, J. S.: (1) *Social Science*; On Liberty.  
 OWEN, R.: (1) *The New Existence of Man*; (2) *New Order of Society.*  
 ROGERS, THOROLD: *Six Centuries of Work and Wages.*  
 SKETCHLEY, JNO.: *A Review of European Society.*

### Translations.

BAKOUNINE, M.: *God and the State.*  
 BEBEL: *On Woman.*  
 BUCHNER: *Force and Matter.*  
 FOURIER: (1) *Social Destiny*; (2) *Theory of Social Organization.*  
 KROPOTKINE: (1) *Appeal to the Young*; (2) *Law and Authority.*  
 LASSALLE, F.: (1) *Appeal to the Workers*; (2) *Working-man's Programme.*  
 LAVELEYE: *Primitive Property.*  
 MARX: *Extracts on "Wage-Labour and Capital,"* by J. L. Joyes.  
 MAX NORDAU: *Conventional Lies.*  
 RECLUS, ELISEE: *Evolution and Revolution.*  
 STEPNIAK: (1) *Underground Russia*; (2) *Russia under the Czars*; (3) *The Russian Stormcloud.*

### FRENCH.

BRISSAC: *Vive la République Européenne.*  
 BUCHNER: (1) *Force et Matière*; (2) *L'Homme selon la Science.*  
 DEVILLE: *Exposé de Marx.*  
 ENGELS: *Socialisme, Scientifique et Utopique.*  
 FOURIER: *Réalisation d'un Commune Sociétaire.*  
 GRAVE: *La Société au lendemain de la Révolution.*  
 KROPOTKINE: *Paroles d'un Révolté.*  
 LAFARGUE, GUESDE and DEVILLE: *"Socialist Library"—Pamphlets.*  
 LAFARGUE: *Le Droit de Paresse.*  
 MARX: *Le Capital (trans. fr. German).*  
 MICHEL, LOUISE: (1) *Les Méprisés*; (2) *Mémoires.*  
 PELLETAN, E.: *La semaine Sanglante.*  
 PROUDHON: (1) *Idée générale de la Révolution*; (2) *Histoire de Socialisme*; (3) *Confessions d'un révolutionnaire*; (4) *Qu'est-ce la Propriété?*  
 ST SIMON: *Réorganisation de la Société Européenne.*

### GERMAN.

BUCHNER: *Kraft und Stoff.*  
 ENGELS, F.: (1) *Die Umwälzung der Wissenschaft*; (2) *Ursprung der Familie.*  
 HERZEN: (1) *Briefe an Bellanger*; (2) *Vom Andern Ufer.*  
 JAEGER: *Modern Socialismus.*  
 LASSALLE, F.: (1) *Macht und Recht*; (2) *Modern Socialism*; (3) *Principien des Socialismus*; (4) *Wissenschaft und Arbeit.*  
 MARX, K.: *Das Kapital.*  
 MOST: *Die Freie Gesellschaft.*  
 OTTO-PETERS, LOUISE: (1) *Recht der Frauen*; (2) *Neue Bahnen.*  
 SCHAEFFLE: *Kapitalismus und Socialismus.*

**Socialist Headquarters, New York.**—Library and Reading-room open daily (Sunday included) from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. *Commonweal* always on the table. Gifts in books and papers thankfully received. Address "Free Socialist Library," 143 Eighth Street, New York City, U.S.

**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and W. Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 16pp. crown 8vo. 1d.

REVOLUTIONARY RHYMES AND SONGS FOR SOCIALISTS. Fifteen selections. 1d

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 23.

SATURDAY, JUNE 19, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

THE dissolution is to be, then. The announcement has already cleared the air: the Hartingtonians and the Chamberlainites are no longer to be separated as favouring different lines of policy—they are a solid phalanx against Home Rule. Nobody takes the trouble to split hairs on this point. The old pretences which hung about the Chamberlainite opposition to the Bill: “Would vote for it if such and such were altered,” “as much a Home Ruler as anyone,” and so forth, have all vanished, and the Tories are chuckling, very naturally, at getting their work done by Radicals; no wonder they are pleased to find that dreadful leader who threw out the ominous hint about “ransom” now leading an auxiliary band to the defence of property, because after all that is what the whole thing means.

Mr. Chamberlain has issued his manifesto also, so that we may be in no sort of doubt on the matter. It is in the main a mere Jingo document, a little coloured by the remains of ideas on the land subject which last year made Mr. Chamberlain so terrible to many people; and also by hints at measures of local self-government, foreshadowing some scheme which certainly in itself might have something to recommend it, but which is now to be used as a bait for attracting Radicals to the Radical reaction which Mr. Chamberlain leads. In this remarkable document Irish Independence is attacked unsparingly; appeals to English prejudice against Ireland are made, though cautiously; the loyalty of the Orangemen is lauded, although they have distinctly declared that it is not Parliament but the sovereign that they owe allegiance to; and although everyone knows that it is supremacy and landlordism that they have been swaggering for. Clearly Mr. Chamberlain thinks that any stick is good enough to beat a Gladstonian dog with, and so to make all safe with his Whig and Tory allies he writes himself down Jingo—as he is.

As a favourer of Socialism no one need regret him much, as the following sentence will show: “There is a consensus of opinion that it is desirable to increase the number of owners of land in Ireland; and I believe that this object, Conservative in the best sense of the word, etc., etc.” There is no need to qualify; peasant proprietorship is Conservative in all senses of the word, as the poor Irish people are, I fear, likely to find out before they become really free.

Mr. Gladstone's manifesto is this time very simple and quite judicious. The whole tactics of the Chamberlainites have enabled him to put the matter to the public cleared of all pretence and intrigue. The real question is, “Shall the Irish have a real opportunity of managing their own affairs?” Mr. Chamberlain says “No” in his manifesto, at some length, but with no lack of distinctness. Lord Salisbury is of the same opinion, only he is partly prepared to accept the consequences, which are simply unlimited coercion. Mr. Gladstone, therefore, is right in saying that the wager of battle is between himself and Lord Salisbury. Mr. Chamberlain is only an ally of the latter: the extravagant praise which he is receiving from the Tory party should teach him that.

The Belfast riots and the slaughter which took place in them are sufficiently miserable; especially in view of the wretched tweedledur and tweedledee of Catholicism and Protestantism which was the occasion for them, whatever or whoever was at the bottom of them. But whatever caused the rioting, it was the police that caused the slaughter; if they had not appeared as the lords of law and order, the men, women and children that they shot, at the moment it may be granted in defence of their lives, would now be alive.

Also, to compare great things with small, we may well think the

crowd that received the conquered and conquering politicians at Westminster after the great division, could have kept order for themselves, at least as well as the police kept it for them. We Socialists shall lose a feather out of our cap if this goes on: we were thinking that it was Socialists who were specially doomed to be hustled by the police, but now it seems it is the whole public who are their enemies. Anyhow it is not a bad thing that “respectable” people engaged in satisfying their curiosity or loyalty in an obviously legal way should understand by experience what it is that we complain of.

The patching-up of Humpty-Dumpty is exercising the minds of the Liberals a good deal. Says the *Daily News*, à propos of the elections: “Opposition to Mr. Bright we should regard as a sort of petty treason, unless, indeed, any Liberal should be foolish enough to put himself up against Mr. Gladstone in Midlothian.” Once a leader always a leader, then, even when the led have got to be a mile in advance of the leader. What doleful nonsense the exigencies of the parliamentary party struggle does give birth to.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## MR. AUBERON HERBERT AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY.

ONE of the disadvantages of being a Socialist is that your friends, loth to give you up as incorrigible, continually remind you of certain hard facts before which they expect your utopian ideas to wither like roses in the smoke of London. Such facts, for example, as that if one man does nothing all day, whilst his neighbour is industrious, the worker will be richer than the idler, and the idler anxious to borrow from the worker. Or that if one worker saves a part of his earnings and another spends all his in drink, the teetotaler will have a hoard when the drinker has nothing but his next day's labour to look to. Or that capitalists provide capital to start railways with. Or that revolutions always end in Cromwell or Napoleon. To the average middle-class man, the moral of these things is so plainly individualistic that he quite honestly feels compelled to believe that a Socialist must be either bestially insensible to the lessons of History, or ignorantly reckless of the laws of Nature. Exactly the same conclusion is arrived at by the Socialist concerning the Individualist, who seems to the Socialist to forget Nature's law that all the industry, skill, labour, valour, wit, temperance, and foresight in the world cannot make anything out of nothing; and to believe that Cromwell crushed the class which rebelled against ship-money, and that Napoleon restored the land of France to the aristocrats, instead of merely chivying the poor cats who had pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for the aspiring plutocracy. But if Socialists and Individualists are ever to get any further than a misunderstanding, they must give each other a little more credit for intelligence, and themselves a little less for infallibility in details, than is implied in their reciprocal reminders of facts that nobody forgets, and considerations that nobody overlooks. I find that when I call myself a Socialist, every Individualist present wastes time by assuming at once that I differ with him on every open question in politics, jurisprudence, art, religion, morals, and manners. And if he burns to convert me, and feels that his personal eloquence is not equal to the task, he often presents me with a bundle of tracts by Mr. Auberon Herbert. I do not resent this; for the tracts—“Anti-Force Papers,” they are called—are readable, and fit into my pocket easily (except No. 2, which is of a size suitable for papering a room, and so keeping the “Anti-Force” doctrine ever before one's eyes). Now, to nine-tenths of the tenets vehemently put forward by Mr. Auberon Herbert in these papers I am already converted. They formulate my own opinions—my Socialist opinions among others—with sufficient exactness. To many of them I have no doubt the Emperor of Russia would subscribe with unction. Yet I venture to think that neither Tsar nor Socialist are regarded as brethren in the faith by Mr. Auberon Herbert. I cannot bring myself to believe, either, that the Tsar would take me and Mr. Herbert to his bosom without first having us searched for dynamite. And I am quite certain that my only difficulty as to the attitudes of Mr. Herbert and the Tsar towards Liberty arises when I try to decide which is her more dangerous enemy. We three



have much in common; but if we were all Russians, whichever of us was Tsar would send the other two to Siberia, and then gloze the abuse of power by cribbing extensively from Anti-Force Leaflet No. 2 in our next speech from the throne, whereupon the nobles and capitalists would applaud our sentiments with swelling hearts, and the people would damn them as Sir Peter Teazle damned the sentiments of Joseph Surface. I will not call Mr. Auberon Herbert the Joseph Surface of politics, in spite of his long leaflets of sentiments, because we Socialists occasionally display considerable sentimental activity ourselves. People who live in glass houses undoubtedly derive intense satisfaction from throwing stones, and therefore seldom voluntarily forego an opportunity of doing it; but as the practice makes no converts, it is beside my present purpose, which is the conversion of Mr. Auberon Herbert.

There are about fifty sentiments (in Sir Peter's sense) in Leaflet No. 2. I shall not discuss them all: partly from want of space, partly from want of difference of opinion. Many of the beliefs which Mr. Herbert formulates as "Some of the things we want to get rid of" do not exist. Most of the hatreds which he classifies as "Some of the things we want to create" are already generally professed. The only comment suggested by the list occurred to me when I read that the first thing we should get rid of is "belief in the right of the majority to dispose of the minds, bodies, and possessions of the minority." Why any man should waste anxiety on an imaginary right like this, when an actual power of the minority to dispose of the minds, bodies, and possessions of the majority is being exercised under his eyes, is odd, and will be accounted for by many of the oppressed majority by the fact that none are so blind as those who do not wish to see. I do not account for it in that way; but I should if I were an unskilled labourer; and I take it that Mr. Auberon Herbert desires the confidence of the labourer and cares very little for mine. I ascribe his blindness to supersubtlety. Like Banquo's ghost, he rises to terrify kings; but instead of having no speculation in his eyes, he is so befogged by it that he wanders into the neighbourhood of the extreme left wing of the Socialist camp and yet believes himself a solitary Individualist prophet in the wilderness. His cry is for no more government; no more force; no more compulsory taxation; and, above all, an open market and freedom of contract, combined with "the fullest rights of private property, whether in land or in any other form." What are we to think of a gentleman whose ultimatum is the fullest maintenance of an institution together with the abolition of what has been shown (by Mr. Herbert Spencer among others) to be its inevitable and inseparable consequences? When Mr. Auberon Herbert stipulated as a preliminary "that A may voluntarily consent to lend the use of his faculties to B on such terms as may be agreed between them," he perhaps had a prophetic sense of the difficulty of making himself understood. Unless he will voluntarily consent to lend his faculties to us whilst we read his manifestoes, I fear there is little chance of our rallying round his standard. For my part, I cannot, voluntarily or otherwise, lend Mr. Auberon Herbert my faculties; but I can at least explain to him why his free and open market, with its happy crowd of catalactic atoms, can only be realized through Socialism and through the complete abolition of private property in land.

Imprimis, our faculties cannot produce anything by themselves, and they require to be fed with solid food. Such solid food is only procurable in these latitudes by labour-force modifying the raw material supplied gratuitously by Nature. Hence, until both labour-force and material are at a man's command, he is only free to choose between a sudden death and a lingering one. Now, labour-force he always has whilst he lives: it is life itself. But he has no spare material in himself: he cannot eat his proper flesh, or make a bow and arrows out of his own bones and intestines. The necessary material is in the land; and he is under existing conditions driven off the fruitful part of that, and debarred from all use of it save standing room in the highways, where he may not turn a sod or lie down to rest. Such driving off and moving on (in the policeman's sense) is part of the exercise of "the fullest rights of private property in land." Therefore whoever is proprietor of the land is master of the men who depend on that land for the material without which their labour-force only consumes themselves in hunger. It does not matter whether the property was acquired by free contract with the Creator or with the inhabitants whilst there was yet land enough for every one. From the moment that the last scrap of land is made private property, free contract cannot exist between the next comers and the landholders; for the new comers, having no raw material, must sell their labour-force to the landholders or die, whilst the landholders, having both labour-force in themselves and raw material in their land, can refuse to purchase until the crack of doom, if they will. What then becomes of "the free and open market" between proprietor and proletariat? Nay, since all land is not equally fertile, what can the open market do for proprietor confronted with rival proprietor, except enable the owner of the fertile acre that yields a rich harvest to light labour, to get as much per bushel for his grain as the holder of the barren hillside plot that grudges a scanty harvest to desperate toil? Is it possible that Mr. Auberon Herbert is so ignorant of the commonplaces of political economy as not to know that the first step towards the establishment of a free market is the elimination of monopoly, and that a monopoly by a class of a prime necessity of life not created by their exertions is a most potent "instrument for making some classes more comfortable and more happy at the expense of their neighbours," which is, he tells us, one of the things we must get rid of. "What sight viler," exclaims Mr. Herbert, "than one half of the nation coercing the other half?" Surely a tenth of the nation coercing the other nine-tenths. Or, viler still, the one-hundredth part of the nation coercing the other ninety-nine hundredths. And that

is exactly what Mr. Auberon Herbert's "fullest rights of private property" must come to.

I am almost ashamed to put these rudimentary considerations to so resolute a champion of Individual Liberty. But his resoluteness in that cause will perhaps induce him to excuse an attempt to make him conscious that he is in the way to become a strangler of awakening Freedom, a foe of the industrious poor, a flatterer of the idle rich, a watchdog of unjust privilege, and the chosen architect of the new Temple-of-Liberty design for the national slave-market. That is not what he intends; but that is what he is drifting to. Like many other clever contemporaries of ours, he has been waiting for Socialism all his life; and now that it has come to him, he does not recognize it. There is plenty of time yet for him to find out his mistake. But in the meantime will he please to bear in mind that the only Individualism which is not common ground for him and for all Socialists is individual ownership of more than an equal share of that portion of our wealth which is not earned by individuals, but which is given by Nature or gained by association; and that we do not propose to bring about such equal sharing of what is not individually earned by a string of paper enactments directly commanding that it shall take place, but by the establishment of conditions in which it will arise spontaneously from that very play of the free and open market of which Mr. Auberon Herbert seems to understand everything except the foundation.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW.

## THE MEANING OF LIFE ASSURANCE.

UNDER this head I propose to give a few facts which have come to my knowledge concerning a subject which is too seldom discussed in a rational manner. It will be no advantage to denounce directors and shareholders of companies for the large dividends they enjoy, this being no exception to the ordinary capitalistic rule; but it may be well to consider the special features of this particular form of exploitation.

Life assurance is generally made known to the public through a flood of literature which unfortunately appears to have no ebb. This literature commonly takes the form of melodramatic appeals to the imagination, or of religious exhortation, and occasionally rises into poetry, as in the following picture, touching alike in sentiment and expression, of the disconsolate widow drying her tears on five-pound notes:—

"When poor pa died and went to heaven,  
What grief mamma endured;  
But, oh! her grief was soon relieved,  
For pa he was insured."

I have before me a manual for the use of agents, containing the following passages:—

"It [life assurance] blesseth the widow and the fatherless, and brings to the devoted earnest agent an ample competence continued through his old age, till he, too, passeth away."

"Remember that life assurance is in the most perfect accord with religion and the highest type of morality. . . . Its promoters are public benefactors in the truest sense."

"Your calling is one of the most necessary, the most sacred, and the most beneficent of human occupations" [i.e., the occupation of a "tout."]

One naturally asks, If this be so, how is it that the ranks of insurance agents are recruited mainly from the scum of other professions?

But let us look into the matter a little more closely. In its essence, the principle of life assurance is a Socialistic one, namely, the power of combination; it is a flat denial of individualism as commonly understood, and its extensive adoption forcibly illustrates the real tendency of our time, which is fast leaving such individualism behind. This principle is based on the uncertainty of the life of the individual in conjunction with the certainty of the life of the community; as, for example, "a man of twenty-five years of age may live to 100, or he may die within the hour; but of a large number of men at twenty-five it is quite certain that as many of them will live to old age as will die in early years." Hence the principle is a strictly scientific one: but this which might seem at first to be an advantage, is in reality far otherwise; being twisted, like all human knowledge and invention, to serve the corrupt capitalistic purpose. For the capitalist, having eaten of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, manifests a decided preference for the latter; hence a paying speculation is made of the working of eternal laws and the necessities of human existence, and the shareholder can count upon his dividends with scientific certainty.

It is unfortunately only too true that if a poor man die now-a-days he must leave his family to beg or starve; but here the philanthropic speculator intervenes, and offers to guarantee the immediate payment of a certain sum at death, in return for a periodical payment during life, averaging three per cent. of such sum. Leaving out of consideration the enormous power wielded by the company over the individual when once in its grasp, it appears somewhat unjust to the unsophisticated mind that a man earning barely enough to maintain himself and his family during his life must squeeze a proportion out of his scanty earnings to rescue them from beggary after his death. Yet it is equally obvious, that under present conditions, it cannot be helped; as even Socialists who understand accurately the iron law of wages are compelled to submit to its relentless grip. The point to note, however, is that a system such as life assurance is only necessary under an artificial state of society like the present. It is a truism amongst Socialists, that if people are able to maintain themselves they should do so, and if not, whether children, aged persons, invalids, or lunatics, they should be maintained by the community. The practical application of this

simple principle would render life assurance unnecessary, and at once abolish assurance companies, a contingency as to which Mr. Bradlaugh once expressed himself in terms of horror, in which I am unable to join. The objection is hardly likely to be made that this change would benefit nobody, since those incapable of self-support would still have to be maintained; but if even the gloomiest forebodings entertained of bureaucratic kleptomania were to be realised, the substitution of communistic life assurance for capitalistic would be an immense gain. This explains the contrast between the disinterested professions and contrary practices of the advocates of life assurance above referred to. For while these "public benefactors" prate loudly of their exalted motives, they are really intent with instructive unanimity on a totally different object, namely, private gain, whether in the shape of fees, profits, or commissions. Indirect means are generally inefficient, and waste power. The directors, managers, superintendents, canvassers, and clerks of assurance companies are all busily "employed" in wasting their time, though a merciful ignorance hides from them the fearful fact; fearful indeed, even to him who knows that sooner or later the curtain will drop on this tragic farce.

If it be objected that the change I have predicted will tend to weaken the sense of individual responsibility, I reply that the sense of responsibility can only be developed in a full and complete corporate life, such as we trust will be the life of the future; a life in which the moral recklessness bred of the senseless struggle for life and wealth will totally disappear, leaving men free to merge the narrow and incomplete sense of responsibility to the private family into the higher ideal of duty towards the not less real though wider family of the whole human race.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

One of the most curious of the "signs of the times" is the unconscious support given to the cause of Socialism by our most inveterate opponents. The *Daily Chronicle* of June 8, in an excellent leaderette on the facts which transpired at the inquest the preceding day on the body of an over-worked letter-carrier, makes the following remarks:—

"No slave-driver would work his victims seventeen hours a-day. It would not pay him to do so. He has a vested interest in his slaves' flesh and blood, and therefore would not find it profitable to exhaust them by prolonged overwork. To Government employes under the system of "free labour" of which we boast in this country, however, it matters little whether the flesh and blood of the employes can stand abnormal exertion or not. If men break down under it there is an end to them, with no loss to the department, as there are always plenty of the unemployed ready to submit to the hardest conditions of work, provided only they can earn a pittance to keep them from starvation. The system of which we speak, however, is not one that we need feel particularly proud of."

This is but the repetition of the text from which our comrades are continually preaching. Truly we are making progress, when the ideas which we have struggled to put forward in humble leaflets and at small gatherings of the workers at street corners are beginning to appear in all the dignity of leaded type in the columns of the daily press.

The medical officer of health for Marylebone, Mr. A. W. Blyth, according to the *Daily Chronicle* of 10th June, in a report on the sanitary condition of that district, says: "Men and women either naturally feeble or actually suffering from chronic disease, unable to keep their places in the keen struggle for existence, gravitate down to the cheapest lodgings, which are naturally to be found in the least desirable courts and alleys. In this way, irrespective of sanitary state, the death-rate of such places is raised." And again: "An abnormally high death-rate may be due to the concentration into a particular place of a number of weakly and diseased lives. This human drift is constantly taking place in large cities." All this is too true, and is the strongest condemnation of the social conditions which produce and perpetuate such evils. In a decent and orderly Society there would be no need of the "keen struggle for existence," and the horrible consequences which now follow of disease, destitution, and abnormal death-rates would be rendered impossible.—B.

It is not co-operation where a few persons join for the purpose of making a profit by which only a portion of them benefit. Co-operation is where the whole of the produce is divided. What is wanted is that the whole working-class shall partake of the profits of labour. Of all the agencies which are at work to elevate those who labour with their hands, in physical condition, in social dignity, and in those moral and intellectual qualities on which so much is dependent, there is none so promising as co-operation.—*John Stuart Mill.*

LABOUR'S LAXITY.—Why is it that labour is trampled under foot by monopoly and its organs? The *Toledo News* answers in the following manner: "Labour has fattened and pampered monopoly. Labour has filled our legislatures and our congress with the agents and tools of monopoly. Labour has permitted monopoly to do its thinking and legislating, and fix its wages. Labour has permitted monopoly to seize the natural agencies by which wealth is produced, and tax labour for the use of them. Labour supports their monopoly press while monopoly boycotts the press that upholds labour. Labour stands by party, while the monopolists of all parties stand by the thief who fills their coffers and robs labour. Monopoly is thoroughly organised, while labour has been unorganised, and often disorganised, each man bidding against the other for a crumb of bread. Labour permits the products of its toil to enrich monopoly; and not one of ten wage-earners is doing anything to stop the plunder. Labour has the power to stop the encroachments of monopoly, and neglects to use it. These, together with many others, are the reasons why monopoly abuses labour and proclaims it a fool."

## THE WORKERS' SONG OF THE SPRINGTIDE.

WE have heard that the spring is lovely,  
That the whole earth leaps with glee  
When the young May brings to the woodlands  
The rapture of being free;  
But we know when the springtide cometh  
Though we cannot see its grace,  
For our prisoning walls grow closer  
With the sun's glare in our face.

For us, in the spring, not the singing  
Of birds, but the whirring of wheels,  
And the shrieking of noisy engines  
Till our brain with the discord reels;  
And the stifling air of our work-cells  
Grows hotter and fiercer far:  
Oh, curse we the sultry springtide  
Where pests and hot fevers are.

We have heard of the happy forests  
Where the gurgling streamlets play,  
And the merry flowers listen  
To the song of the birds all day;  
But for us, in our homes in slumland,  
What beauty is there at all,  
Where the very skies above us  
Are black with the smoke's cursed pall?

We know there are some with leisure,  
Who roam where the world is sweet,  
But we to our factory prisons  
Are chained by the hands and feet;  
For the cry of our babes is sounding  
For ever within our ears,  
And we toil for the bread to feed them,  
With a toil that is full of fears.

We built the homes of our masters  
Where alway at ease they dwell,  
And the sound of music greets them,  
Midst the comfort they love so well;  
But we know that their ease is builded  
On the hunger and pain we bear,  
Their pleasure upon our toiling,  
Their hope upon our despair.

The song of the merry springtide  
Which is sweet to them indeed,  
These wealthy whom we are clothing,  
Whose little ones we feed;  
But to us is the sun a furnace,  
The spring but a scorching hell,  
The sky but a burning cauldron,  
And life but a prison cell.

But the time will come when the beauties  
Of earth shall be for all,  
When none on his brother's slavehood  
Shall base his freedom from thrall,  
When the spring shall bring us gladness,  
And pleasure in place of pain,  
To us who have toiled and sorrowed,  
Nor tasted our toiling's gain.

FRED HENDERSON.

## "THRIFT."

THE following I have on excellent authority; it is of some interest as illustrating the nature of Government contractors and how they get their wealth. During the Crimean war the British Government, from some mismanagement, found themselves suddenly in need of some thousands of belts, knapsacks, etc., for the troops stationed in the Crimea. They therefore applied to one of the great army contractors, who undertook to supply the same at the rate of 18s. a set, and immediately set about getting them made. Half of the required number had been procured and were just about to be handed over to the Government when the war came unexpectedly to an end. The Government, having contracted for the belts, etc., at 18s. were obliged to pay for them, though, owing to the war having ended they were absolutely useless. They therefore went to the contractor and asked him what he would take them back for. He intimated that 1s. 6d. was his price, and so he made a clear gain of 16s. 6d. on each set; half not having yet been made, the transaction as regards these was carried through on paper only, while in the case of the other half he kept them and subsequently parted with them at 10s. a set to the French Government. After this, having by this "stroke of luck", as his friends described it, "made his fortune", he retired, and now lives in luxury and ease at Croydon.

T. D. A. COCKERELL.

Revolution is a work of the unknown. Call it good or bad, as you yearn towards the future or the past.—*Victor Hugo.*



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance should be attached to them because of the position they may occupy in these pages. None, therefore, are to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

QUESTIONS bearing upon the principles propounded and the objects had in view by the *Commonweal*, will be welcomed by the Editors.

CHUMP (South Hackney).—Thanks. Your interesting revelation of the loathsome imbecility produced in certain cases by the present system is most instructive. EUGENE TEESDALE.—"Woman's Place To-day," 1s., and "Papa's Own Girl," 1s. 6d., published by Julius Bordollo, 705 Broadway, New York. "Communist Manifesto of 1847," 2d., Scharr and Frantz, 133 E. Third Street, New York.

RECEIVED.—England: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record—Imperial Federation. Canada: L'Union Ouvrière (Montreal). France: Paris: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—Le Révolté—Le Socialiste—La Tribune des Peuples—Revue du Mouvement Social—La Citoyenne. Le Devoir (Guise)—Le Forçat du Travail (Bordeaux). Germany: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). Holland: Recht voor Allen. Hungary: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Buda-pest). India: Voice of India (Bombay)—Hindu Patriot (Calcutta)—People's Friend (Madras). Italy: Il Fascio Operaio (Milan)—La Lotta (Ancona). New Zealand: Watchman. Portugal: O Campino—Voz do Operário—O Protesto Operário (Lisbon). Spain: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social—Acracia—La Justicia Humana (Barcelona)—Bandera Social—El Socialista (Madrid)—El Socialismo (Cadiz)—La Perseverancia (Huelva). Switzerland: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich). U. S. A.: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country—Amerikanische Arbeiterzeitung—Truthseeker. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal. Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer—Little Socialist—Chicago (Ill.) Alarm—Detroit (Mich.) Labor Leaf—Princeton (Mass.) Word—Cleveland (O.) Carpenter. Cincinnati (O.) Unionist—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Petersburg (Ill.) Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Altruist. Kansas (Mo.) Sun—Pittsburg (Pa.) Labor Herald—Baltimore (Md.) Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.) Lucifer Newfoundland (Pa.) La Torpille—Litchfield (Minn.) Radical—Manchester (N. H.) Weekly Budget—Evansville (Ind.) Neue Zeit Milwaukee (Wis.) Volksblatt.

ARTICLES RECEIVED.—The following will appear in due course: "A Tramp's Wallet"—"A Parallel"—"Malthusianism"—"Capitalistic Theft"—"Ruskin as a Revolutionary Preacher."

### SENTIMENTAL BRUTALITY.

A FEW week's ago a question came up in the House of Commons, which, in the stress of Party manœuvring over the Home Rule question, received but little attention from press or public. We refer to the motion of Sir Joseph Pease for the abolition of capital punishment. Now we know nothing of Sir Joseph Pease beyond the fact that he is an opponent of capital punishment, though we conjecture that he is a survivor of the humane philanthropic bourgeois of the old Quaker type. But we are not concerned here with him or his motion so much as with the arguments used for the fiftieth time against the dastardly infamy enshrined in our criminal law under the high-sounding name of capital punishment.

The gladiator was butchered to make a Roman holiday. The criminal of to-day is butchered as a holocaust to bourgeois sentiment. Such is, according to the ex-luminary of the Home Office, Sir William Harcourt, one of the main uses of capital punishment. "There are cases," he said, "like that of Lefroy, where public opinion would refuse to be satisfied with anything less than the death-penalty." Thus at last the truth comes out. The argument from social necessity has been so conclusively refuted by the instances of States like Belgium and many of the Swiss cantons, where it is abolished, or even of countries like

Germany, where the infliction is so seldom as to be tantamount to abolition, that it needs support from other quarters. The uselessness, as regards prevention of murder, of capital punishment, is demonstrated in every direction. England, with its prodigality in the exercise of the rope, shows a record of capital crime as bad as if not worse than any other country, except perhaps the equally prodigal United States of America. There is no evidence that the Swiss cantons which adopt capital punishment, have benefited by it one jot. Indeed, all evidence tends to show that severity as part of a criminal system always fails in its professed object. In the canton of Geneva, where not only is the death-penalty abolished, but imprisonment means little more than simple seclusion, with few, if any, of the wanton barbarities inflicted in England and elsewhere under the name of "prison discipline," the statistics of crime are as favourable as in any European country. So that after all it comes to what the late Home Secretary said, capital punishment has to be maintained in order to tickle bourgeois sentiment. The sentimental bourgeois' sensibilities would be wounded were the murderer to escape his hanging—in some cases at least. Rather than forego the sweet morsel of a sensational criminal's judicial murder now and then, he is quite content to allow dozens of persons, for whom even he would admit extenuating circumstances, to go to the gallows simply because they technically fall within his bloodthirsty law.

The dastardly nature of a practice by which men are deliberately and with every circumstance of calculation and hypocrisy done to death after some weeks of suspense in a prison cell—that is, of detention under circumstances which would tend to break down the strongest nerves—is unequalled by any other of the actions of men. What if it were "deterrent," as its advocates would have us believe? The argument from "deterrence," even if based on fact, would tell much further than the bourgeois would care for. If, as is contended by the advocates of "deterrence," cruelty in punishment is justified by the "deterrent" effect—which these persons credit it with, then surely the rack, the wheel, and the thumbscrew are the last word of penal wisdom. If hanging and the plank-bed are "deterrent" and hence justifiable, then *à fortiori* the stake and the rack are more "deterrent" and hence more justifiable. The bourgeois is as illogical in this as in everything else. He has practically admitted that "deterrence" does not justify everything. He has tacitly conceded the principle (better the crime than repression by *certain* means). He must perforce be supposed to believe in the efficiency of oriental modes of punishment as "deterrents" if he believes in cruelty as "deterrent" at all; yet he dares not apply them. What does this reticence mean if not an admission in some form or shape of the above principle? We do but carry out the principle to its logical conclusion in saying, granted your allegation (disproved as it is by facts and figures) that the abolition of the death penalty would be followed by a certain increase of capital crime, better this increase, this infinitesimal fraction of enhanced danger of being privately murdered rather than otherwise disposed of by the resources of civilisation—crumpled-up in a railway accident, kicked to death by mounted police at a Socialist meeting, mangled at a street crossing, infected with typhoid in the improved dwellings for the working-classes or the cheap and serviceable suburban villa, slowly poisoned with adulterated goods,—better this than that Humanity should be outraged by the erection of the gallows as a permanent institution in its midst.

But have little doubt that so long as the present system lasts the bourgeois will require the periodic sop of "capital punishment" to be thrown to the wild beast within him. Criminals in high places who murder, *i.e.*, who "procure the death of another person"—like the authorities who were responsible for the tomfoolery at Liverpool during the Queen's recent visit there, when volunteers were compelled to stand for hours in the soaking rain, with the result that two have since died; the Russian bureaucracy, with its hecatombs of victims annually whitening with their bones the road to Siberia; the proprietor of unseaworthy ships, who sends them out with the certainty of their going down sooner or later; the railway company which works its pointsmen to a degree which renders effective supervision impossible, on the calculation that the score for damages for an occasional accident will be cheaper than the regular employment of an efficient staff of men,—all these escape with scarce even a word of censure. But woe betide the luckless East-ender who in a hasty moment strikes a drunken wife who is quarrelling with him a blow which indirectly causes her death. The law calls this murder, although there was no intention to kill, and although the act itself was done in the heat of passion and without any knowledge of the possible consequences. The man is hanged, with at least the complacent acquiescence of the bourgeois. And this he calls justice.

It must not be supposed that we condemn as an article of faith the taking of life under any circumstances. There are some cases—such as revolutionary crises—where, as a special measure, summary executions might be necessary. Its special loathsomeness consists in its being part of a system permanently established. What we condemn is the peculiar amalgam of the bourgeois character, which, while fattening itself on social conditions which produce criminals—capital and otherwise—derives a sentimental satisfaction from the hanging of them. This to our thinking is most offensive. E. BELFORT BAX.

All men are equal; it is not birth, but virtue alone, that makes the difference.—Voltaire.

No mendicant was tolerated in Peru. When a man was reduced by poverty or misfortune (it could hardly be by fault), the arm of the law was stretched out to minister relief; not the stinted relief of private charity, nor that which is doled out drop by drop, as it were from the frozen reservoirs of "the parish," but in generous measure, bringing no humiliation to the object of it, and placing him on a level with the rest of his countrymen.—Prescott.



## OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM.

(A Reply to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P.)

V.

THE changes are still rung on exchange, and all reference to production is still wholly omitted. One might think from the part of the "Objections" now under discussion, that only the distribution of goods needed changing and not the manner of their production. This strange omission, as I have said, makes the attack on Socialism partial and incomplete. The evils of to-day depend on the way in which goods are made and goods are distributed. Their remedy is in a revolution along both these lines.

Thus we find our opponent agreeing with us "that there are often too many concerned in the distribution of the necessities of life, and that the cost to the consumer is often outrageously augmented." But we believe that we go down to the root of the matter when we say that all this middlemanism is due to the hideous system of production for profit, and not merely for consumption. Now, against this system, Mr. Bradlaugh, as far as I know, never protests, and yet that very system is the cause of the over many concerned in distribution, and of the outrageous augmentation of cost to the consumer, against which he does protest.

Again, all these evils of exchange are to be reformed gradually and in detail. Let us suppose that they are; that middlemanism is gradually and in detail reformed off the face of the earth. You then have the very thing for which Socialism contends, as far as exchange of wares is concerned. Only you have it after a longer or shorter time of the misery that it is owned exists as a consequence of the present method of distribution. In a word, the agony is to be protracted instead of ended once for all. And note, of course, that if this slow revolution of the methods of distribution were effected, if, indeed, it could be effected without revolution of the method of production also, the chief source of the social ills would still remain.

All this, and the non-understanding of our position by our antagonist, comes out very clearly in his remarks on co-operative societies. These he extols. But in the extolling of them one little phrase creeps in, that is the proverbial fly in the proverbial ointment. They have so many members, so many yearly sales, so much stock-in-trade, so much working capital, and so much annual profit. In this last phrase the cloven foot of capitalism shows.

Whence is this profit to come? Until our opponents can show us any other source of it than unpaid labour somewhere or other, we are bound to regard the co-operative societies themselves as exploiters in so far as they have profit to divide among their members. Remembering this, the words "each [society] keeping its own property," has a ring only a little less sardonic than those of the man who, having never in his life done a stroke of work, talks at large about his own property.

Extension and perfection of this organisation of co-operative distribution are without doubt desirable, if it is understood that an organisation of co-operative production must accompany it, and that the aim of the workers is not to make profit out of the unpaid labour of those not within the ranks of their organisation, but to get all the means of production and distribution into the hands of the workers. Co-operation really thoroughly carried out, made at once national and international, would, of course, be Socialism pure and simple, *i.e.*, Communism.

On this follows the customary talk about the moral effects of these on the one hand, and the immoral effects of Socialism on the other. The understanding that the effective carrying out of co-operation would be Socialism, will help the reader to discount this antithesis. "The self-reliance of the individual workers who take part in co-operative stores" will certainly not be lessened by Socialism. For this very self-reliance of which there is so much talk, is in reality an unconscious reliance on others, and a reliance on those others yielding to the reliant co-operator more or less of their unpaid labour for him to take as profit on his investment.

So also when we read that "the organisation of all industry under State control must paralyse industrial energy and neutralise individual effort," we feel that the misconception of the moral is as great as the misconception of the economic position. Of course, the State control that Mr. Bradlaugh dreads is not to us the control by such a State as is now, and ever more shall not be. That primal misconception is the cause of much error. Our antagonists think that we are State Socialists, and are actually anxious to have things taken in hand by the powers that be at the present time. Nothing could be more erroneous than this idea. Even if a rare act for good is done by the State now, its good effect is marred by the fact that it has been taken in hand by the State of to-day. The hands are much too dirty.

And even under the terrible Frankenstein monster that we call the State to-day, when a feeble attempt in the direction of co-operation rather than that of pure Socialism is made, the paralysis of industrial energy, the neutralisation of individual effort are certainly not noticeable. The fact is that our opponents confuse the energy and effort of individuals with their energy and effort to get profit. The energies and efforts of ninety-nine hundredths of men at the present time are solely devoted to the getting more and more of the results of unpaid labour into their own possession. The paralysis of that kind of industrial energy, and the neutralisation of this kind of individual efforts are consummations most devoutly to be wished.

The next phase in the argument is the well-known device of setting against Socialism that large numbered class of people just on the

border-line between the exploited and the exploiters. Any one that has ever addressed audiences chiefly made up of this class knows the eagerness with which they respond to any appeal to their selfishness. So demoralised have they become by the frightful society in which they live and by its frightful methods, so narrow is their conception not only of duty but of mere matters of fact, that they take quite seriously the statement that Socialists desire "to take the private economies of millions of industrious wage-earners in this kingdom for the benefit of those who have neither been thrifty nor industrious." It is difficult to conceive a statement more misleading than this. In the first place we do not desire to take the private economies of wage-labourers. We desire to prevent any one's private economies from being used to exploit the labour of another. Nor is anything to be done for the profit of those who "have been neither thrifty nor industrious," except in so far as any revolution in the method of production and distribution will better the condition of all men, and so make the number of the non-industrious less. And there is here a complete omission of two facts that even the outraged would-be small capitalist might grasp. First, that it is just exactly the non-industrious people who are now the best off. The richest are the idlest. Second, from the purely selfish point of view the would-be small capitalist may be reminded that he himself would assuredly be better off under the system we propose than he ever could be under the present.

EDWARD AVELING.

(To be continued.)

## AN ANOMALY.

"BEHOLD us here, so many thousands, millions, and increasing at the rate of fifty every hour. We are right willing and able to work; and on the planet Earth is plenty of work and wages for a million times as many. We ask, if you mean to lead us towards work—to try to lead us, by ways new, never yet heard of till this new unheard-of time? Or, if you declare that you cannot lead us? And expect that we are to remain quietly unled, and in a composed manner perish of starvation? What is it you expect of us? What is it you mean to do with us? This question, I say, has been put in the hearing of all Britain; and will be again put, and ever again, till some answer be given it." These are Thomas Carlyle's words. This question was put "in the hearing of all Britain" in his earlier days, and here it is again to-day. How are we going to answer it? Answer it we must, whether it be with shot and shell—which God forbid, and which is really no answer at all, but a confession of imbecility—or by a diviner method, by a due examination of the disorder, by a manful facing of it, and by an honest effort to do what is righteous. Let us pray that our rulers may be tempted to follow this latter course.

It is, however, not the general problem that is fronting every civilised community that we mean to speak of, but only a corner of it—a corner alive just now with lessons so easy that "he that runs may read." Trade depression is in everybody's thoughts, and everybody is therefore gloomy. A foreboding of ill surrounds every earnest heart; pernicious doctrines are in the air—doctrines that have already been tried and found wanting. The fact is, the cause of trade depression has not yet been clearly grasped by the popular mind; consequently there is the additional pain that always accompanies suffering when the agent is unknown. A real and true explanation, therefore, of trade depression is one of the greatest boons that could be conferred on humanity just now; for besides the apprehensive fears that fill the mind of those far enough removed from want, we have throughout the world honest men, their wives and children, perishing.

Considering the outward signs of trade depression, we find an abundance not only of the necessities but also of the luxuries of life. Our power to produce, moreover—our machinery, our workmen—are all as effective in bad times as in times that are called good. We find that our warehouses, our markets, are crammed with commodities; our docks are full of idle ships; even our granaries are, according to the figures returned at the end of last year, fuller than they ever were before. To quote again from Carlyle, we may well say, "we have more riches than any nation ever had before; we have less good of them than any nation ever had before. Our successful industry is hitherto unsuccessful; a strange success, if we stop here! In the midst of plethoric plenty, the people perish; with gold walls, and full barns, no man feels himself safe or satisfied. Workers, master-workers, un-workers, stand fixed and cannot further . . . Have we actually got enchanted, then; accursed by some god?"

It looks very much like as though we had; for why do people starve? Is there anything scarce? We have seen not. Yes, one thing is scarce, and that is work, employment; and the reason that work is scarce is simply because everything else is abundant. If anything else were scarce, then work would not be scarce, for man would be required to make that thing until its scarcity were made up. Work, then, is scarce because we have plenty of everything that is made by work—plenty of everything that human beings can use or play with. All that is wanted is a market, consumers. For these many generations we have been striving after new and improved and more rapid methods of production and transit, striving to make it necessary for man to labour less and less; and now that we have attained our end, now that we have made work scarce and Nature productive, we think this a justification for starving.

Is not this an anomalous position for a community of grown-up people to get into? We are in a worse position than this, however,

as we shall see by and by. Meanwhile we would call attention to the words that Sismondi applied to decaying Rome, with the remark that they seem to be equally applicable to England: "Increasing opulence continued to meet the eye, but man became more miserable; the rural population, formerly active, robust, and energetic, were succeeded by a foreign race; while the inhabitants of towns sank in vice and idleness, and perished in the midst of riches they themselves had created."

It is generally accepted that our social disorders are due to over-population, and the only remedy that economic philosophers have hitherto been able to offer is that a limit should be set to the number of children in each family, especially amongst the working-classes. Emigration is another remedy suggested by the over-population theory.

The arguments of the Malthusian—we say the Malthusian, not Malthus, for a reason to be given presently—are these: This country is over-populated. Why? Because there are more people in it wanting work than can get work. Many are consequently compelled to idleness; these not having any other method of procuring the necessities of life except by labour, are consequently either thrown upon the generosity of their friends or become recipients of public relief, paupers, or criminals. In this simple way does the Malthusian explain all our social calamities; and, as the only remedy, he suggests, as already mentioned, that people must be more prudent, must regulate the number of children they bring into the world—in a word, the population of a country must correspond to the number of situations in that country. Such is the position of the Malthusian; it is not the same as the position of Malthus himself, as we shall now show.

What Malthus contended for was that population was limited by the means of subsistence—a contention that no one can deny, for it is impossible for more people than a certain number to live upon a certain quantity of food. Human suffering, poverty, and such like, arose, according to Malthus himself, from the strong tendency of population to press upon this limit, there being an ever-diminishing quantity of the necessities and comforts of life for each individual as population came nearer and nearer to this limit.

The reader will now see the difference between the position of Malthus and the position of the Malthusian. The former set up subsistence as the limit to population, the latter sets up employment or work to be done—the more work there is to be done, the more room is there for an increased population. This is a mighty difference.

Let us now follow the Malthusian position to its logical issue. Why do we call one method of production or transit an improvement upon another? Simply because it involves less labour, simply because it abridges labour, and that is the reason that we adopt the improved method. Now with every abridgment in the labour of making and transferring things there becomes relatively less and less labour to do, and consequently the ideal population of the Malthusian becomes less and less. In this way the most ingenious race would be the first to disappear from the face of the earth, the fittest to survive would be the most stupid, the unkindest countries would be the most densely populated; in a word, Nature and man would be at daggers drawn. We do not say that such is not the case to-day—in fact, it is the case. Proof of this is found in recent legislative action in America and Australia. Chinese labour was forbidden the markets of these countries because the Chinaman can underbid the Anglo-Saxon; he is also more docile, and therefore commends himself more to those in authority than the dauntless Briton; hence the reason of a recent letter to the *Times*, pointing out the fact that our navy was being over-run with Chinamen. One word more as to the attitude of America and Australia to John Chinaman. Laws are made to protect the weak against the strong; in this case the strong man is the submissive, resigned Chinaman; the weak, the fearless, brave, if rebellious, in favour of the right, Anglo-Saxon, who requires special protection. The fittest will always survive—that is a law that we cannot alter. What we can alter, however, and what we must alter if we wish to retain all that is commonly considered good in human nature, and if we wish to make any further progress at all, are the conditions that make the Chinaman and those that approach him in character the superior.

We come back now to the anomaly that we have already pointed out. That anomaly, the reader will remember, is the fact that the more abundant all kinds of commodities are, the less demand is there for labour, and consequently more people are thrown out of employment, and starve. In other words, the more bountiful Nature is, and the more ingenious we are in saving labour, the more do we suffer. All this is susceptible of an easy explanation; it is, however, entirely an economic problem, and it has been customary to sneer at economic science. Be this as it may, here is our explanation.

Suppose that the Malthusian doctrines were practically adopted and most rigidly carried out. Suppose that to-day our population was so regulated that there was not an idle man in the kingdom, not a pauper, not even a criminal. Every one is fed, and clad, and legitimately employed. There remains, however, in this happy state of things just one thing that we have got to-day, and that is our present economic system. Let us now step forward a year, say. In that time, improved methods of production and transit have been introduced. Linen can be manufactured with half the labour, goods can be conveyed to their destinations with less labour—in a word, in nearly every department of human effort improvements have been introduced within the year. They are called improvements because they lessen labour. What then would be the economic effect of a year's progress upon the ideal state of affairs that we have just been imagining? The first effect would be that to make the same quantity of manufactures less workmen would be required; masters would consequently have to discharge some of their men. Now, what becomes of these men? Well, they do not

want to be discharged, so they offer their services at a lower wage, competition amongst the workmen for such employment as there is to be had becomes keener, wages consequently become lower—for masters are obliged to follow the market rate of wages. No matter, however, whether wages be high or low, the masters cannot employ as many men as they did before the introduction of the supposed improvements. What, then, becomes of the surplus? Why, enforced idleness, and with it loss of independence; then as we go on improving we recruit the ranks of the enforced idlers—they are enforced idlers at first—and out of them springs the necessity for those vigorous institutions, police-courts, prisons, and workhouses.

One word more in connexion with improvements. We have seen their effect to be the lessening the number of those employed and the lowering of wages. Now here comes the economic effect *par excellence*. Fewer men in employment and at reduced wages means a diminution in the power of the community to consume. Improved methods of production, etc., are ever increasing our power over Nature, our power to produce; they are at the same time, by rendering competition amongst labourers keener and keener, diminishing our power to consume. This is going on all over the world, is operating upon nearly every class in every civilised community, is the noose in which we are strangling ourselves. Can any one wonder that the markets of the world are glutted? The supply-pipes are ever widening, the waste-pipes ever contracting; of course there is a running over, of course, as Carlyle says, "Our wealth is an enchanted wealth." R.

## SOCIETY AND THE REVOLUTION.

"WHAT shall we do with the Revolutionists?" is the cry of Society, filled with astonishment and terror as it hears the sounds that prelude the great eruption. "What shall we do with the creatures who will not be quiet, and will not let us rest amid the goods we have gathered, and in the mansions erected by the labour of our slaves, the people? We are comfortable and contented, we have all that makes life easy, plenty to eat and drink, plenty of luxuries! Why should these people be dissatisfied? What right have they to make all this disturbance? Is it not most unpleasant to open the paper at breakfast and have your appetite upset by London riots, insurrection in Belgium, and desperate fighting at Chicago, and then to be assured, in a kindly leader by the editor of our favourite journal, that this is nothing to what is coming, that the world, our world, the Society created by us is full of combustibles, which need but a spark to explode them, and then where are we going to?"

This is but a poor picture of what many are thinking in Society to-day. These judicious capitalists who can read the signs of the times, must feel very uncomfortable under the present most lamentable circumstances. They know that the favourite threat of their class, of the revolution frightening all the capital out of the country, is vain and foolish. For who supposes that the factories, the railways, the mines, and the land, will take wings and fly even at the word of the marvellous magicians who own all these because they say they have created them? What an age of wonders this is when there are men who by merely sitting at home, with their hands in their trousers' pocket and their minds perfectly vacant, can make the earth bring forth its increase, both vegetable and mineral, can throw long lines of rail across the country, and rear the lofty factories wherein their slaves are graciously allowed to toil! But can you not see that these claims are absurd, that it is not the loafing middle-class who created this wealth, but the toilers, from whom these gentlemen have extracted their riches, by seizing on that which has been made by the labour of the people? And these troublemakers of the world, these revolutionists, are calling upon the workers to take that which they have made, so the middle-classes are troubled greatly; the black cloud of misery and fear for the morrow, that fills the dens into which the people are driven is ascending into the palaces of the rich.

They know they are drifting into a new world, where they fear they may be treated to the same mercy they have shown to the poor and oppressed. The judicious capitalist is conscious that his beloved system is going to pieces; the night is far spent, and a new and awful dawn is breaking upon the world. The morning light will show him to the people as a monster, a trickster, a thief; there he will stand in his rags of smug hypocrisy and mock benevolence at the mercy of those whom he has made it his business to rob. He may well shudder as he thinks of it! Then he asks himself this question: "Cannot this revolution be stayed at least for my time?" But how to stave it off? How can he silence those tongues that are continually calling upon the people to rise and take their own? What can he do with the revolutionists? Shoot them down? That may stop their crying for a time. But musket shot will not silence discontent when the discontented are so many. Has he not tried it again and again, and with what result? Quiet for a time, but when the cry is raised again it is deeper and stronger than ever. The voices of the musket and cannon carry the new gospel from shore to shore, till the whole world is ringing with shouts for freedom and vengeance. Shall he make concessions, and give to the workers part of that which is due to them? That has also been tried and has failed. These morsels do but whet the hunger of the starving; they clamour for more, and will not be satisfied with anything but the whole of the wealth that is due to them. And, after all, the judicious capitalist is a rare animal; most men of his class are obstinate and pig-headed, they will hear of nothing but "blood and iron." They will discuss 'practical Socialism' with fixed

bayonets," and with marvellous results. There is but one way of dealing with revolt that springs from the misery of men: give them what they ask. The wealth they will have, or else the question will be not what Society will do with the revolutionists, but what the revolutionists will do with Society—a question soon to be answered.

D. J. NICOLL.

### FREE SPEECH.

OUR last, lingering bit of faith in the superiority of "American institutions" has been, I fear, for ever shattered. Real freedom of speech does not exist, under the stars and stripes any more than it does under the shadows of imperial thrones in Europe. Here, as elsewhere, when free speech aims at nothing in particular, people are allowed to glory in their freedom to their hearts' content. But once let any one mention a word against the existing order of things, the established government, whatever it may be, and here, as elsewhere, and as it has been in all ages, the cry of "treason" goes up, and the mighty arm of the law deftly chokes off your speech.

Our forefathers endeavoured to preserve the right to complain, to petition, to state grievances, and even to change governments, to the American people forever, but the old-world superstitious sacredness attached to established institutions, and carefully fostered by the classes in power, has been too much for even the brave "Declaration of Independence" to contend against. "Speak so long as you do not tell what is hurting you; write so long as you do not warn the people what to expect and how to prepare for it. Express yourself freely, but do not dare criticise the powers above you, that keep you in your miserable conditions." This is the true tenor of American freedom of speech to-day. I have been behind the iron bars, kept from communication with my dearest friends, debarred even from procuring decent food unless I paid three prices for it, for what? I have written my honest thoughts, given to the world the best ideas I could in a simple way, and did what seemed to me the best in my power for human freedom. I have never seen or handled dynamite, never possessed arms, and never have been able to kill anything bigger than a mosquito in my life. Yet I am liable to re-arrest any day.

But my short confinement is nothing to what others as honest and innocent are suffering. Every day men and women are thrown into prison, torn suddenly away from home and family and work, for something they have said or are suspected of having said. The more prominent men arrested are treated, not like men awaiting trial for what they may be innocent of, but like dogs without rights and unworthy of consideration. The capitalistic press have not had such a howl for vengeance and blood, such a hideous outcry of abusive, malignant talk since the days when those other freedom-lovers, the abolitionists, called forth their ire. I am as certain as I live that our speakers knew nothing of what was to occur on the evening of May 4. We were attending a meeting of the American group in the *Alarm* office. Both Parsons and Fielden were present, and expressed themselves as disinclined to attend the haymarket meeting; they had not been personally notified or invited to speak and did not know who had called the meeting. Later they were sent for, because a large and interested crowd had gathered and more speakers were needed. Ever ready to respond to such a call they went, some of the rest of us following and remaining at the outer edge of the crowd. The meeting was very quiet and orderly, and the speeches were of the same nature as had been given hundreds of times without calling forth the power of the law. The meeting was about to be dismissed, when suddenly, without warning, without even a hint that the meeting was objectionable or unlawful, 200 armed police marched up and peremptorily ordered this peaceable crowd of American citizens assembled according to acknowledged rights, to disperse.

The brutality of Chicago police is notorious. The deaths of many working-men, some innocent women, the crippling for life of children and peaceable men, lie at their doors. No one knows how the battle began; perhaps some single desperate individual, goaded to frenzy by the memory of his wrongs and those of his fellows, believed the time had come for him to act. No one will ever know the exact truth, perhaps, but it is certain that had the police remained away the meeting would have dispersed quietly and peaceably.

It is terrible that such things must occur, in the evolution of the human race, yet it seems convulsions and revolutions do come about, and will until humanity reaches that higher plane where reason alone shall have sway. I shudder to think of bloodshed; but I shudder over the deaths of fellow-workers in Milwaukee, at McCormick's, at Lemont, St. Louis, and elsewhere, as well as over the deaths of a few police. A human being is no more sacred to me because he wears the insignia of the law, than a poor, homeless, hungry labourer. A bullet speeding from a legal revolver is no less "fiendish" to me than a bullet from some desperate, unorganised, hungry working-man's gun.

My one hope is that the sensible, humane portion of the people will not take their cue from the howl of the capitalistic press. Only wait to pass judgment till more of the truth can be known. Be not like hounds in full cry at the bid of a savage hunter, but reasonable, thinking, justice-loving human beings, and reserve sentence for another day.

LIZZIE M. SWANK, in *Labor Enquirer*.

### LITERARY NOTICES.

"The Robbers of the Nineteenth Century," by Judson Grenell, is a small pamphlet published by the *Labor Leaf* of Detroit. It is an incisive exposure of rent, profit, and interest, and should be widely circulated by our American friends.

The Kansas City *Sun* devotes its current number to "Corporations," striking forcible blows at the "organised crime" of our present society. S.

When social conditions tend to brutalise men, we must expect men to become brutes; when industrial conditions tend to degrade them and make them dependent, we must not expect to find them moral, religious, intelligent, or manly; and we cannot make them so while the conditions continue. The industrial question is not one of charity or generosity; it is one of justice. The social question is not one of obedience by the individual to conventional law, but of obedience by society to natural law, which is also divine law. There are no great natural inequalities to be adjusted, but there are great artificial inequalities to be minimised.—*Louis T. Post*.

### THE KING OF BAVARIA.

EVEN a Socialist can hardly contemplate the career and fate of the poor mad monarch who has just destroyed himself, without a feeling of pity. Ludwig II. was the last of a type, the only surviving monument of the feudal monarch, and hence thoroughly out of sympathy with the shoddy commercial potentates around him. That his original eccentricities (as they appeared to his contemporaries) were complicated and exaggerated by inherited tendency to insanity, we do not deny. But a responsible head of a State who openly despised the Court society of his time, carefully kept himself to himself and the few artists and musicians with whom he associated, occasionally indulging in poetical midnight flights through his native mountains and forests in imitation of the Erl King, could not but be considered as an eligible subject for deposition and a lunatic asylum by the modern Court circles of Europe, even if he had not developed a taste for ordering members of his cabinet out to instant execution.

But that the simple Bavarian peasantry had a perfectly genuine and unfeigned affection for this strange, old-world, generous, and foolish being, who hated railways and all modern "improvements," and was such an utterly unfit person to be a monarch in a commercial age, there is every reason to believe. Him they could understand, and in a sense sympathise with; and hence the domination of such a one was always tolerable, as compared with the philanthropic capitalist who opens up and "improves" their country-side, or the joint-stock company whose last word is "Freedom of contract." E. B. BAX.

### THE PEOPLE'S PRESS.

These are stirring times. These who do not stir with the times will be overwhelmed by the oncoming tide of revolution.—*Labor Leaf*.

Twice as many honest men may be murdered in a coal mine as have been killed in Chicago, and there isn't any noise at all about it. The American press is a wonderfully lop-sided affair.—*Labor Enquirer*.

Strange that workmen have not only to combine to earn living wages, but to strike to get them after they have been earned. Yet capital is supposed to employ labour.—*Labor Leaf*.

Fools wonder that we should have poets in our ranks and that we should appreciate their works. But why should we not appreciate true poems?—we who would make human life a song instead of, as now, a curse or a shriek! —*Labor Enquirer*.

Instead of condemning and forbidding them, as the Jewish lawgiver condemned and forbade, the laws on which our social system are based not only recognise but sanction and approve of usury and land monopoly. These are the causes of the disease from which our modern civilisation is suffering, and which, if not cured, will destroy it.—*Worcester Times*.

If through bloody war the miseries of the people can be removed in six months, then it is stupid folly to suffer for generations for the mere privilege of removing the misery by education. People who see wickedness in war, but none in starvation and oppression, are simply blockheads. But if by the slow process of education alone, the people as a whole, will suffer no more than through war, in accomplishing the same end, then education is better than war; but not otherwise.—*Labor Enquirer*.

It might be well if the papers and people who are howling about the "foreign element" would remember how this country became "infested" with the "scum of Europe." They were imported by the capitalists to be used in crowding down the wages of native working-men. Organised labour in this country has been protesting unceasingly for ten years against the wholesale importation of foreign workmen, but congress and the general public have scoffed the protests down; now let them take the consequences. They shall reap as they have sown. It is another singular thing that this "foreign element" argument is not applied to the Chinese question.—*Labor Enquirer*.

The problem of the day is not how to furnish more work for the workers, or at least should not be. The problem should be how to lessen the hours of toil for those who labour and divide them out among those who do not, and then permit the labourer to have what he produces. Upon every hand we see granaries and storehouses filled to overflowing with productions of labour until people in their stupidity cry out that there is an over-production. Yet producers are compelled to toil 12 or 16 hours each day to get enough of these articles to sustain life. Better means of distribution, distributing the hours of labour and the products thereof among the people is what is needed, not more labour for them to perform. —*Carthage (Mo.) Press*.

Now they are using dynamite, these discontented working-men. For they are working-men, whether they are foreigners or not. We do not say they are in the right, but are they wholly to blame? Is there not some reason for these outbreaks? To cure an evil it is necessary to eradicate the cause. The killing of a few rioters here or there does little or nothing toward stopping the spread of Anarchistic ideas. The proper way would seem to be to lay aside all prejudice and inquire into the cause of this growth of Anarchism. There must be a reason for it. It is not right to condemn ideas without first inquiring into the causes which produce them. If reason teaches any considerable body of men that they have been wronged, there certainly must be some ground for the conclusion.—*Topeka Citizen*.

"Once upon a time a man found a rude boy in his apple-tree, and he bade him come down. The boy refused, whereupon the farmer threw clods at the boy, who merely laughed at the efforts of the agriculturist. The farmer then threw stones at the urchin, who was glad to descend and 'arbitrate' the differences between them. Capital and Labour are now in that position. The precocious Monopolist is stealing all the fruit grown by his ancient relative, Labour. The only method by which he can be made to arbitrate is to feel the necessity for arbitration."—*Craftsman*. That's a pretty good comparison, brother; but when you catch a thief in your own house and corner him, we should think you'd make him disgorge first, and then, if you were bent on "arbitration," you might compel him to "agree" to that in a police court. As for us, we don't seem to "enthuse" much for arbitration between Capital and Labour: the trouble is, that you can't find disinterested arbitrators.—*Workmen's Advocate*.



## FREE SPEECH AT STRATFORD.

LAST Saturday, comrades Mowbray and Lane went down to Stratford to follow up the success of Morris, Aveling, and Messrs. Ellis and Rose on the previous Saturday, but not being like them either middle-class men or Radicals, the police immediately interfered, with the result that before Mowbray had spoken ten minutes he was being taken to the station with all the traditional brutality of the police. It may be as well to state that the crowd was no larger than on the previous Saturday, and that there was neither obstruction nor disturbance. The detective force engaged themselves in arresting the speaker's chair.

Comrade Mowbray was brought up before Mr. Phillips, on Monday, charged with wilful obstruction. After some useless fencing from both sides, together with much contradictory evidence from the police, Inspector Rooks was placed in the witness-box, and being asked: "Is it not a recognised meeting-place?" "Why did you not arrest Morris, Aveling, Ellis, and Rose on the Saturday previous?" "Can you give us a list of men who may speak at Stratford?" "Can you give a list of men who may not speak at Stratford?" looked blank and sulky. The trick had now become so transparent that the magistrate saw it, and found occasion to point out that it looked as if Mowbray was up for his opinions and not for obstruction. Nevertheless, he fined Mowbray £1. The police, headed by Inspector Scott, thought this the right time to come in and say that no meetings had been held since eleven of our comrades had been prosecuted. This also was such a transparent lie, that again Mr. Phillips had to interfere and point out that he himself had seen meetings since, both by Socialists and others. The police on this as on previous occasions were remarkable for their contradictory evidence. *E.g.*, K R 37 could not or would not distinguish the difference between standing in a chair and standing on a chair as he probably meant; likewise K R 37 and K R 69 could not agree whether Mowbray spoke three or fifteen minutes, but happily Inspector Scott came to the rescue, and explained that K R 69 was not on duty at the time, so his statement should be discounted. Among the distinguished people in court, Mr. Jennings, the pseudo-schoolmaster, sat and listened attentively, evidently in the hope of learning how to conduct his next case with success, or perhaps to become better acquainted with our looks, as indeed it turned out afterwards. For as we passed through the waiting-room Mr. Jennings, addressing me by name, requested a few words, and with conscious guilt stamped on every feature, began to complain of the humiliating way certain Socialists had looked at him last Saturday, and even in court. Also of the unfairness of Aveling's report. While making his excuses and giving explanations, I could not help thinking how much better he would have looked in blue with silver buttons. For then only would he have shown in his true light, in spite of his last remark that there was no one so unwilling as himself to give evidence for the police.

THOMAS E. WARDLE.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

## Notices to Members.

**Library.**—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

**Reading Room.**—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. All papers received by the Secretary are sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members.

## Notices to Lecturers and Branch Secretaries.

To avoid confusion and mistake, lecturers and Branch secretaries are requested to at once advise the Lecture Secretary of all engagements made by them. Branches will find it more convenient to make their arrangements with speakers through the Lecture Secretary, who will undertake to make all necessary announcements unless otherwise instructed.

## Second Annual Conference.

On Sunday last the Annual Conference of the League met at 13 Farringdon Road, when 18 Branches were represented. Reports on the past year's work were submitted and approved. The Rules were discussed and amended. A full report of the proceedings will be issued to all Branches shortly, and a descriptive article will be given in next number. The number of the Council was altered to 15, and the following elected to serve for the ensuing year: Edward Aveling, H. A. Barker, E. Belfort Bax, Reginald A. Beckett, Thomas J. Binning, H. Charles, A. K. Donald, W. Knight, Joseph Lane, May Morris, William Morris, Lena Wardle, T. E. Wardle, Philip Webb, C. W. Mowbray. William Morris and E. B. Bax were appointed Editor and Sub-Editor of the *Commonweal*.

## Excursion.

On Monday an excursion was carried out in accordance with arrangements previously announced. 196 members and friends, including the provincial visitors, went to Box Hill and Dorking, spending a most enjoyable day, despite some heavy showers which fell during the afternoon. No mishap of any kind occurred to mar the pleasure of those assembled; and the wish was unanimously expressed that it were possible to have such an experience more often.

## Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Marylebone to March 31. Bloomsbury, Hackney, Hammersmith, Leeds, Norwich, Oxford, Dublin, to April 30. Manchester, Bradford, Croydon, North London, to May 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), to June 30.—P. W.

## The "Commonweal."

"Socialism from the Root Up," by Bax and Morris, will be continued in the number for July 3, which will also contain the conclusion of "The Pilgrims of Hope." Next week will be printed the first instalment of the paper read by W. Morris at the Fabian Conference, entitled, "Whigs, Democrats and Socialists."

Branches are reminded of the absolute necessity of their paying for the paper week by week.

Copies of the cartoon by Walter Crane given with the first number of the weekly issue, can now be had printed on fine hand-made paper for framing, price 6d., postage 1d.; protection roll, if desired, 2d. extra.

Boards for the use of newsagents can be supplied to Branches at 1s. each.

## Branch Reports.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

**BLOOMSBURY.**—Edward Aveling lectured on Friday 11 to an audience of about 150. Sale of literature and collection good.—T. W.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, June 9, W. Chambers gave a very interesting lecture on "Clerks," pointing out how clerks were thoroughly bourgeois in sentiment, although much-abused wage-slaves in reality; a good discussion followed; one quire of *Commonweal* sold.—No lecture on Sunday evening, June 13, the Conference being held in the hall on that date.—W. B., sec.

**MARYLEBONE.**—We had a large and attentive audience in the Harrow Road on Saturday evening, and at the close of the meeting we took seven names for the purpose of forming a Branch of the League in the district.—On Sunday

morning there was a large audience at Bell Street. Over seven quires of the *Commonweal* have been sold by the Branch this week.—H. G. A., Sec.

**LEICESTER.**—A Debate on Socialism took place at the Secular Hall on Sunday 13th inst. between our comrade Barclay and Mr Wallace Nelson of Sheffield. In opening the debate Barclay said that Socialists proposed to abolish private property in land and the means of production and distribution, by this means giving leisure, comfort, and plenty to all. There would be no idlers existing on the labour of others, and poverty would be unknown, for those who would not work would cease to exist. It was slavery to be forced to toil for another's enjoyment. Under Socialism there would be no power of enslaving others in any one's hands. Mr Nelson made the stereotyped attack, saying incidentally that Socialism would result in a government of ignorant and stupid majorities, and be most tyrannical. He believed in co-operation, which aimed at doing some very good work by some very good ways; but Socialism sought to do some very bad work by some very bad ways. He was very ably answered by Barclay, much to the satisfaction of a large audience. The debate lasted two hours and a half. The hall was full, although it was holiday time, and great interest was manifested throughout.—R.

**DARWEN.**—On Sunday, Mr. Skethley, of Birmingham, delivered three lectures in the Co-operative Hall, which were of a most interesting nature. The evening lecture, "Capital and Labour, Profit and Wages," elicited an animated discussion, and the meeting expressed its satisfaction at the able and honest fashion in which the lecturer had replied to the questions and criticism.—J. W.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W. Friday, June 18, at 8.30 p.m., Thomas E. Wardle, "The Fallacies of Society." Edward Aveling in the Chair. Music before and after. Business meeting at 7.30, election of officers for ensuing year.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday June 20, at 7.30 p.m. George Bernard Shaw, "Socialism and Malthusianism." Wednesday 23 (8.30). Fred. Verinder, "The Land and the Drink Question." Saturday 26 (8 p.m.). Smoking Concert. Sunday 27 (7.30). H. H. Sparling, "What is a Religion?" Wednesday 30 (8.30). A. K. Donald, "The Prophecy of Socialism." Music occasionally.

**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday June 20. R. Banner, "The Fraud of Politics." Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.

**Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every Monday at 8, for the enrolment of members and other business.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m. **Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sundays, at 7.45 p.m. June 20, H. Davis, "Are we Over-Populated?"

**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m. **Mile-end.**—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. June 22. Mrs Wilson, "The Future of Radicalism."

**North London.**—Communications to R. A. Beckett, St. Mildred's House, Poultry, E.C. **South London.**—Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 at 112 Hill Street, Peckham, S.E.

## Country Branches.

**Birmingham.**—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30. **Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Lecture and discussion in new rooms of the Branch, 84 John Street, every Sunday at 7 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. Donations of books for library will be gladly received.—J. B. G. **Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.

**Leeds.**—No meeting-room at present. Out-door stations notified below. **Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—County Forum. Thursdays, at 8 p.m. **Norwich.**—Gordon Café. Every Monday at 8 p.m.

**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30. **Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 27 Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

LONDON.					
Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.	
Sat. 19.	Harrow Road—opposite the "Prince of Wales"	7		Marylebone.	
	Stratford—at end of Church	7		Central.	
S. 20.	Canning Town (Beckton Rd.)	11.30		Central.	
	Edgware Road—Bell Street	11.30		Marylebone.	
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30		Hackney.	
	Hammersmith—Beadon Road	11.30		Hammersmith.	
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30		Hoxton.	
	Mile-end Waste	11.30		Mile-end.	
	Regent's Park	11.30		N. London.	
	Soho—Broad Street	11.30	T. E. Wardle	Bloomsbury.	
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30		N. London.	
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30		Marylebone.	
	Victoria Park	3.30	T. E. Wardle	Hackney.	
	Merton—High Street	7		Merton.	
Tu. 22.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7.30	T. E. Wardle	N. London.	
Th. 24.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8		Hoxton.	
	Mile-end Waste	8		Mile-end.	

## PROVINCES.

**Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.

**Leeds.**—June 13. Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.

**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

## MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

**CHAMBERLAIN CLUB**, 21 Choumert Road, Peckham. Sunday June 27, at 8 p.m., A. Scheu, "The Essence of Freedom and of Servitude."

**NOTTING HILL DEBATING SOCIETY**, "Monarch Tavern," Manchester Street (near Latimer Road Station).—Sunday June 20, at 7.30. F. Kitz, "Criminal Classes, High and Low. 27. Charles Murray (S.P.E.L.), "Why have Revolutions failed to Emancipate the Working Classes?"

**PROGRESSIVE DEBATING SOCIETY**, "Bee Hive," Warner Street, New Kent Rd. Sunday June 20, at 8 p.m., C. W. Mowbray, "Woman: Her Position under Socialism and To-day."

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 24.

SATURDAY, JUNE 26, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

Hospital Sunday is nearly upon us once again. More than ever it behoves Socialists to press upon the labour-classes that they abstain from subscribing, and that they give their reasons for abstaining. The hospitals are for the most part on the same footing as the workhouse. They are, as regards most of the ills treated in them, and as regards the needy position of all that use them, an outcome of our present commercial system. Let those, therefore, who batten on the system, not those that are crushed under it, see to the keeping up of the institutions for the "sick poor."

Any one in want of arguments against working-class contributions to the Fund, should read the reports of the meeting held at the Mansion House on Monday, under the auspices of the Council of the Fund. At the Mansion House! Not that the sick poor live there. But this is the official home of the official representative of metropolitan capital. Besides, a police-court is held there.

Sir Andrew Clark, a baronet and a guinea-a-minute pocketeer (he is a fashionable physician), Sir Edmund Currie (a successful brewer), a General, an M.P., a Canon, a Dissenting minister, were all to the fore. The first-named urged the paying of "the balance of the bill for the treatment of the sick poor"—on "moral grounds as well as those of *self-interest*"—a fine distinction difficult to follow at the Mansion House. And if the balance only is to be paid by the Fund, there is tacit admission that the bulk of the account is discharged by the "poor."

Another unconscious admission is made in the words that "hospitals were more advantageous to society at large than to the sick poor themselves"—for they have, besides other blessings to the capitalist, "increased the quantity and quality of both bodily and mental work," and thus rendered the possibilities of surplus-value the greater.

The Corporation have been spending £93,000 of their enormous mass of surplus-value on premises for a picture-gallery. "It has always been a reproach to the wealthiest city in the world that it has no art gallery," says a newspaper, forgetting the unimportant fact that "the wealthiest city in the world" has no art. The busts of the illustrious include those of Cobden, Nelson, Wellington. These be thy gods, oh City!

More obstruction! This time by costermongers. The Westminster District Board of Works are attacking these "harmless necessary" folk (harmless and necessary when pursuing their calling), because they have come between the wind and the gentilities of Westminster on their way to church on Sunday.

"We are glad that these workmen have decided to unite as one body. . . . No outside agitation can be of much avail unless the men themselves unite and take an interest in the matter. Let this be done, and the workers will see that they have an unlimited power in their hands. . . . Let a blow be struck at the root of the evil, and the system itself destroyed. Until this is done the evil will remain." This is not bad for a capitalistic print, is it? Only it refers to the "sweating-system," not to the capitalist system. Even Mr. Fox Bourne, however, must have some faint glimmering of the fact that all he says here of the less applies in larger degree to the greater system.

Here is another quotation from the same paper—the *Weekly Dispatch*. "When men begin to recognise their own skill and ability, employers will be forced to take advantage of them." Unfortunately, employers have been "taking advantage of them"—skill, ability, and men—any time this 300 years. When men really recognise these, there will be no more employers to take advantage of them.

The Co-operative Society has been meeting at Plymouth. The unfortunate fallacy, from our point of view, that runs through all papers and discussions read or carried on there is the belief that the old system of employer and employed, of profit and wages, is likely to last.

A conference of tenant-farmers of Wales has passed resolutions in favour of the establishment of a Land Court in Wales and a general

reduction of rent. A good sign. The necessary forerunner of an understanding of Socialism is with most Radicals an understanding of the land monopoly. That leads to the comprehension of the monopoly of all the other means of production.

A fashionable wedding in Paris. The bride's veil alone cost £400, and a mere trifle of neck ornament £20,000. The man's fortune was made out of *extractum carnis* (extract of flesh). Add the word *humani*, and I'll believe it. Fortunes can only be made out of *extractum carnis humani*.

On August 17, at Paris, an International Congress of Working-Men is to take place. The debates are to be non-political—only economical, trade, and technical topics are to be considered. A fatal limitation. No real work will be done for Socialism until the workers understand that they are to be a political party, distinct from, antagonistic to all others, destined to swallow up all others and to leave but one party, one class—the workers.

A quotation from an appeal in respect to this Conference issued by the Parliamentary Committee of the English Trades' Unions: "Differences in forms of Government, varying social customs, or divergent commercial policy have not saved the workers from the effects of the depression [of trade]." That the Parliamentary Committee are beginning to see that only one cause underlies all suffering in all countries, is great gain. Only let them look to it that they find out that cause. It is the method of production and of distribution of goods to-day.

There is in all lands, however, but one commercial policy—"Beggars my neighbour." Only the unanimity with which all civilised nations are striving for the world-markets means a startling want of unanimity among the nations. And the outward and visible signs of this are annexations, wars, and the like.

Female labour among the Staffordshire nailers is now under attack. Its advocates point out that "after the first astonished shock" [*sic*] at dirty faces, filthy clothing and so forth, "it is no more repellent to see a woman using a hammer than to see her washing tin at the pit's mouth, weaving in a cotton-mill, or even bending with pale face and contracted chest over a needle." Certainly, it is no more repellent. But it is no less repellent.

If the East-End tailors can only prove and keep before the public that the "hands" in the sweating-dens are systematically got out of the way when an inspector is coming, some transient alleviation may follow. For your average Briton who will see with perfect equanimity men, women and children die, if the murder is legal, rebels against an infraction of the law—so long as his own trade is not concerned.

E. B. A.

## WHIGS, DEMOCRATS, AND SOCIALISTS.

[Read at the Conference convened by the Fabian Society, at South Place Institute, June 11.]

WHAT is the state of parties in England to-day? How shall we enumerate them? The Whigs, who stand first on the list in my title, are considered generally to be the survival of an old historical party once looked on as having democratic tendencies, but now the hope of all who would stand soberly on the ancient ways. Besides these, there are Tories also, the descendants of the stout defenders of Church and State and the divine right of kings. Now, I don't mean to say but that at the back of this ancient name of Tory there lies a great mass of genuine Conservative feeling, held by people who, if they had their own way, would play some rather fantastic tricks I fancy; nay, even might in the course of time be somewhat rough with such people as are in this hall at present. But this feeling, after all, is only a sentiment now; all practical hope has died out of it, and these worthy people *cannot* have their own way. It is true that they elect members of Parliament, who talk very big to please them, and sometimes even they manage to get a government in power that nominally represents their sentiment, but when that happens the said government is forced, even when its party has a majority in the House of Commons, to take a much lower standpoint than the high Tory Ideal; the utmost that the

real Tory party can do, even when backed by the Primrose League and its sham hierarchy, is to delude the electors to return Tories to Parliament to pass measures more akin to Radicalism than the Whigs durst attempt, so that though there are Tories there is no Tory party in England. On the other hand there is a party, which I can call for the present by no other name than Whig, which is both numerous and very powerful, and which does, in fact, govern England, and to my mind will always do so as long as the present Constitutional Parliament lasts. Of course, like all parties it includes men of various shades of opinion, from the Tory-tinted Whiggery of Lord Salisbury to the Radical-tinted Whiggery of Mr. Chamberlain's present tail. Of course I don't mean to say that they are conscious of being a united party; on the contrary, the groups will oppose each other furiously at elections, and perhaps the more simple-minded of them really think that it is a matter of importance to the nation which section of them may be in power; but they may always be reckoned upon to be in their places and vote against any measure which carries with it a real attack on our constitutional system; surely very naturally, since they are there for no other purpose than to do so. They are, and always must, as long as they have any cohesion as Tories, Whigs, Liberals, or Radicals, be conscious defenders of the present system, political and economical. Not one of them probably would go such a very short journey towards revolution as the abolition of the House of Lords. A one-chamber Parliament would seem to them an impious horror, and the abolition of the monarchy they would consider a serious inconvenience to the London tradesmen.

Now this is the real Parliamentary Party, at present divided into jarring sections under the influence of the survival of the party warfare of the last few generations, but which already shows signs of sinking its differences so as to offer a solid front of resistance to the growing instinct which will before long result in a party claiming full economical as well as political freedom for the whole people.

But is there nothing in Parliament or seeking entrance to it except this variously-tinted Whiggery, this Harlequin of Reaction? Well, inside Parliament, setting aside the Irish party, which is, we may now well hope, merely temporarily there, there is not much. It is not among people of "Wealth and local influence", who I see are supposed to be the only available candidates for Parliament of a recognised party, that you will find the elements of revolution. We will grant that there are some few genuine Democrats there and let them pass. But outside there are undoubtedly many who are genuine Democrats, and who have it in their heads that it is both possible and desirable to capture the constitutional Parliament and turn it into a real popular assembly, which, with the people behind it, might lead us peaceably and constitutionally into the great Revolution which all thoughtful men desire to bring about, all thoughtful men that is who do not belong to the consciously cynical Tories, *i.e.*, men determined, whether it be just or unjust, good for humanity or bad for it, to keep the people down as long as they can, which they hope, very naturally, will be as long as they live.

To capture Parliament and turn it into a popular but constitutional assembly is, I must conclude, the aspiration of the genuine Democrats wherever they may be found; that is their idea of their policy. The questions to be asked of this, as of all other policies, are first, What is the end proposed by it? and secondly, Are they likely to succeed? As to the end proposed I think there is much difference of opinion. Some Democrats would answer from the merely political point of view, and say: Universal suffrage, payment of members, annual Parliaments, abolition of the House of Lords, abolition of the monarchy, and so forth. I would answer this by saying: After all, these are not ends but means to an end, and passing by the fact that the last two are not constitutional measures, I would say if you had gained all these things and more, all you would do would be to establish the ascendancy of the Democratic party; having so established it, you would then have to find out by the usual party means what that Democratic party meant, and you would find that your triumph in mere politics would lead you back again exactly to the place you started from. You would be Whigs under a different name. Monarchy, House of Lords, pensions, standing army, and the rest of it, are only supports to the present social system,—the present system of economics,—and are worth nothing except as supports to it. The real masters of Society, the real tyrants of the people, are the Landlords and Capitalists, whom your political triumph would not interfere with. Then, as now, there would be a proletariat and a monied class. Then, as now, it would be possible sometimes for a diligent, energetic man, with his mind set wholly on such success, to climb out of the proletariat into the monied class, there to sweat as he once was sweated; which, my friends, is, if you will excuse the word, your ridiculous idea of freedom of contract. The sole and utmost success of your policy is that it might raise up a strong opposition to the condition of things which it would be your function to uphold; but most probably such opposition would still be outside Parliament and not in it; you would have made a revolution probably not without bloodshed, only to show people the necessity for another revolution the very next day. Will you think the example of America too trite? Anyhow, consider it! A country with universal suffrage, no king, no House of Lords, no privilege as you fondly think, only a little standing army, chiefly used for the murder of red-skins; a democracy after your model; and with all that, a Society corrupt to the core, and at this moment engaged in suppressing freedom with just the same reckless brutality and blind ignorance as the Czar of all the Russians uses.

But it will be said, and certainly with much truth, that the Democrats are not all for mere political reform. I say that I believe that

is true, and is a very important truth too. I will go further and will say that all those who can be distinguished from Whigs do intend social reforms, which they hope will somewhat alter the relations of the classes towards each other, and there is, generally speaking, amongst Democrats a leaning towards a kind of limited State-Socialism, and it is through that that they hope to bring about a peaceful Revolution, which, if it does not introduce a condition of equality, will at least make the workers better off and contented with their lot. They hope to get a body of representatives elected to Parliament, and by them to get measure after measure passed which will tend towards this goal; nor would some of them, perhaps most of them, be discontented if by this means we could glide into complete State-Socialism. I think that the present Democrats are widely tinged with this idea, and to me it is a matter of hope that it is so; whatever of error there is in it, it means advance beyond the complete barrenness of the mere political programme. Yet I must point out to these semi-Socialist Democrats that in the first place they will be made the cat's-paw of some of the wilier of the Whigs. There is no end of these semi-Socialist looking measures one may name; for instance, the allotment scheme, and other schemes tending toward peasant proprietorship, co-operation, and the like, which after all, in spite of their benevolent appearance, are really weapons in the hands of reactionaries, having for their real object the creation of a new middle-class made out of the working-class and at their expense; the raising, in short, of a new army against the attack of the disinherited. There is no end to this kind of dodge, nor will be apparently till there is an end of the class which tries it on; and a great many of the Democrats will be amused and absorbed by it from time to time. They call this sort of nonsense "practical;" it seems like doing some thing, while the steady propaganda of a principle which must prevail in the end is, according to them, doing nothing. For the rest it is not likely to become dangerous farther than as it clogs the wheels of the real movement somewhat, because it is a mere piece of reaction on the one side if, I mean, it takes the form of peasant proprietorship, flying right in the face of the commercial development of the day, which tends ever more and more towards aggregation, thereby smoothing the way for the organised possession of the workers when the true Revolution shall come. On the other hand, when this attempt to manufacture a new middle-class takes the form of co-operation and the like, it is not dangerous otherwise than as above stated, because it means nothing more than a slightly altered form of joint-stockery, and everybody almost is beginning to see this. The greed of men stimulated by the spectacle of profit-making all around them, and also by the burden of the interest on the money which they have been obliged to borrow, will not allow them even to approach a true system of co-operation. Those benefited by the transaction presently become rather eager shareholders in a commercial speculation, and if they are working-men are also capitalists. The enormous commercial success of the great co-operative societies and the absolute nothingness of that success on the social conditions of the workers, are sufficient tokens of what this non-political co-operation must come to: "Nothing—it shall not be less."

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

## THE PHYSIOLOGICAL BASIS OF SOCIETY.

### NATURAL.

The smallest unit of life is a single cell.

Cells may either remain independent of, and aggressive to, each other, or may be united together in a compound organism, as a human being.

In the former or individualistic state each cell prospers in proportion to the decline of its fellows, and the power of each is extremely limited.

In the latter or Socialistic state the cells act in harmony with and are dependent on one another, while the premature decline or death of any is directly harmful or even fatal to the whole.

The power of the whole is enormously greater than that of a similar number of independent cells, as for instance in the matter of locomotion.

A single cell cannot by itself progress at a greater rate than seems slow even under the microscope, and any number separately will obviously get along no faster; but the compound organism may readily move at the rate of several miles an hour.

A single independent cell fulfils in itself all the possible functions of existence, but, since its powers are limited, only in the most simple

### SOCIAL.

The smallest unit of human life is a single individual.

Individuals may either remain independent of, and aggressive to, each other, or may be united together in a compound organism, called Society.

In the former or individualistic state each individual prospers in proportion to the decline of his fellows, and the power of each is extremely limited.

In the latter or Socialistic state the individuals act in harmony with and are dependent on one another, while the premature decline or death of any is directly harmful or even fatal to the whole.

The power of the whole is enormously greater than that of a similar number of independent individuals, as for instance in the matter of locomotion.

A single individual cannot by himself progress at a greater rate than a few miles an hour, and any number separately will obviously progress no faster; but the whole acting together in society may readily contrive a means of increasing their speed tenfold.

A single independent individual fulfils in himself all the possible functions of existence, but, since his powers are limited, only in the



and elementary manner, with no possibility of much progressive improvement; but a compound organism deposes each function to a special set of cells, and these, being able to devote themselves to this alone, perform their duties in an infinitely better and more efficient manner, and progressive improvement is possible by the increased differentiation of the deputed parts.

It is recognised by the individual that he is dependent equally on every part of his body for a healthy existence; and he would be considered mad if he were to deprive any part of a proper blood-supply—that is to say, of the necessary means of vigorous life and full development.

And should any part of the body seek to become developed at the expense of the rest—that is, to act in an individualistic manner—(as in the case of *cancer*) the immediate result is pain in the suffering parts, and the growth is spoken of as a disease, because it is contrary to the normal functions of the body.

The individual, as soon as the pain makes him aware of the disease, endeavours first to correct and cure the affected part, and remove the cause of the pain, and failing in this he does not hesitate, but cuts it out and destroys it utterly, even though it may cause unpleasant sensations for the moment.

And if the pain should not be sufficiently acute, or if from any cause the individual suffers the disease to continue until it can no longer be mended, the whole organism will come to a miserable end, probably with great suffering.

It is therefore universally recognised that pain, so far from being the cause of disease, is the salvation of the organism, since it points out the growth of evil and necessitates its cure; and if measures are taken to suppress and dull the pain, the disease only goes on with increased vigour, becoming each moment more difficult of cure, while if the disease, the cause of the pain is removed, the pain will immediately cease, never more to return so long as the parts are healthy.

Therefore, *organise* that you may have power, *educate* that you may see and understand the evil, and *agitate* without ceasing for its removal.

T. D. A. COCKERELL.

"I remember," says Macaulay, in one of his brilliant orations, "that Adam Smith and that Gibbon had told us that there would never again be a destruction of civilisation by barbarians. The flood, they said, would no more return to cover the earth; and they seemed to reason justly, for they compared the immense strength of the civilised part of the world with the weakness of that part which remained savage, and asked from whence were to come those Huns, and from whence were to come those Vandals, who were again to destroy civilisation? Alas, it did not occur to them that civilisation itself might engender the barbarians which should destroy it; it did not occur to them that in the very heart of great capitals, in the very neighbourhood of splendid palaces, and churches, and theatres, and libraries, and museums, vice, and ignorance, and misery might produce a race of Huns fiercer than those who marched under Attila, and Vandals more bent on destruction than those who followed Genseric."

Machinery is dispossessing labour from one field after another at an alarming rate. The population of England and the United States together equals some 80,000,000 to 90,000,000, but measured by the productive power of machinery these two countries alone have to-day a population of 1,000,000,000. This represents the real extent of the crowd in the labour market. Machinery is pushing men increasingly aside and substituting the labour of women and children. Women work on the average for one-half the wages of men, and children for one-third those wages. How portentous then is the fact that, whereas our increase of labour at large between 1870 and 1880 was 52 per cent., the increase of child labour in the same period was 98 per cent. "A man's foes shall be those of his own household." This is coming to pass literally, as men's wives and children are called into the places which they themselves have hitherto filled.—Heber Newton.

most simple and elementary manner, with no possibility of much progressive improvement; but society deposes each function to a special set of individuals, and these, being able to devote themselves to this alone, perform their duties in an infinitely better and more efficient manner, and progressive improvement is possible by the increased specialistic skill of the deputed individuals.

It ought to be recognised by society that it is dependent equally on every individual for a healthy existence; and it should be considered madness to deprive any of the proper amount of food and clothing—that is to say, of the necessary means of vigorous life and full development.

And should any member or members of society seek to enrich himself at the expense of the rest—that is, to act in an individualistic manner—(as in the case of *capitalism* and *landlordism*) the immediate result is disturbance among the suffering individuals, and the phenomenon should be spoken of as a disease, because it is contrary to the normal functions of society.

Society, as soon as the disturbance makes it aware of the evil, should endeavour first to correct and cure the erring individuals, and remove the cause of the suffering, and failing in this it should not hesitate, but cast them out or destroy them utterly, even though it may cause unpleasant sensations for the time being.

And if the disturbance is not sufficiently felt, and if Society takes no measures to correct or cure the disease from which it suffers until it is too late, it will inevitably come to a miserable end, probably with great suffering.

It should therefore be universally recognised that agitation, so far from being the cause of the evil, is the salvation of Society, since it points out the growth of evil and necessitates its cure; and if measures are taken to suppress it or render it inefficient the evil only goes on with increased vigour, becoming each moment more difficult to cure, while if the evil, the cause of the agitation, is removed, the agitation will immediately cease, never more to return so long as Society is healthy.

## "VIENNA."

(By FERDINAND FREILIGRATH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

[Written in contemplation of the suppression, by the tools of the Austrian Court Camarilla, of the popular political rising in October 1848.]

If we knew how to kneel at all, we'd kneel upon the dust to-day;  
If we knew any word of prayer, 'tis for Vienna we would pray;  
But long have we forgot the way to do obeisance and entreat,  
We count for worthiest him alone who stands erect upon his feet;  
We count that hand the best of hands that best the sword and spear can wield,

And that the holiest mouth that sings war-songs upon the battle-field.  
What help in meek and muttered prayer? Be men, and on your rights insist!

Is this a time to fold the hands? Nay, rather rise and clench the fist!  
Nay, 'tis no more the fashion now to sit with hand in folded hand;  
Your left must grasp the sheath, your right the handle of the burnished brand;

Your left must seize a rascal's throat, for every rascal is our foe,  
Your right must poise the blade on high and strongly deal the telling blow.  
A stir and sweep of brandished swords, a struggle in the fiercest fray—  
That is the only form of prayer that meets Vienna's needs to-day.

My country! Yes, the time has come, the time to do a noble deed,  
Nor there alone where far to South our friends to-day for Freedom bleed;  
Not only where embattled hosts are shaking Danube in his bed;  
Nor where beneath their Stephen's tower a denser smoke enshrouds the dead;

Not there alone where Southern guns spit out their load of shot and shell;  
Not only there our steadfast North shall help the helpless to rebel!  
Not thither need she turn her steps—where'er she lays her spear in rest,  
Where'er she takes her sword in hand, there can she help her brothers best.  
'Tis here that each must play the man; small need is yours abroad to roam;  
Look round you, and ye shall not fail to find a tyrant nearer home.  
A stroke for Freedom in the North is struck as well for friends afar,  
And Southern tyrants quake to hear of risings 'neath the Northern star.

Late autumn is already here, chill winter's step approaches fast.

My country! may a daring deed ennoble all thy sons at last!  
The tense wires throb throughout the world; the trains their nightly vigil keep;

Comes stirring news from every land—but thou art fallen fast asleep!  
Is Freedom's final hope forlorn, her last and worst death-struggle near?  
O shame! and is thine only aid nought nobler than a coward's cheer!

## THE OLD STORY—"ECONOMY."

THE old insult is revived about every so-often, with some changes in the form, but always under the guise of "charity," "kindness to the poor," or "friendliness to the labouring-man." Societies are being formed in the larger cities to teach poor working-women how to use their small wages to the best advantage. "Economy reduced to a system," is the panacea urged by these short-sighted mortals. What mocking nonsense! Can a woman making shirts at sixty cents a-dozen be anything else but stingily economical, to save her life? Can a man on a dollar a-day—and a scant number of days in the year at that—with a wife and three or four children, be anything else but niggardly in economy, if he does his worst? He may be foolish and lay out the pittance for more beer than bread, but the fact that he has precious little to be extravagant with remains the same. Think of a man who spends a small fortune a-year on cigars and perfumery teaching economy to a man who hasn't had a chance to earn a cent for six months! The worst a working-man could do would be to fling away a few dimes at a time—for he never has more at once—which might in a year's time amount to what the "gentleman" would spend treating his friends in one evening.

I think some of our poor working-women and girls could give these would-be philanthropists lessons in economy that would make their eyes open. I know a busy little woman who makes trimmed calico dresses at one dollar twenty-five cents a-dozen, and keeps herself and two little girls neatly dressed in calico, her one little room bright and clean, and nearly enough of food of some kind to keep them going. But her once bright eyes are losing their lustre, her cheeks are growing sunken and pale with the toil that lasts without cessation from daylight until eleven or twelve at night. She is famishing, body and soul; for her food is not of a nourishing kind, and she has no time or opportunity for mental or social enjoyment. She is compelled to send her little girls away with tears in their eyes when they plead for the "penny" so dear to every childish heart, for she cannot indulge in the least luxury, either for herself or them. A lady living within a stone's-throw of her, spends more on flowers and gloves for one evening than the sewing-woman's wages are for a whole week. And this lady is a great advocate of economy as a remedy for poverty. She herself imagines she is economical when she makes a street dress cost less than fifty dollars, and does not spend more than twenty dollars a-month for nick-nacks. With what ill grace does advice on economy come from such a woman to a woman like my friend!

The truth is working people—working women especially—have economy down to a fine point; so fine a point that employers are finding out that they can be hired for less and less every year, and they are not slow to push their advantage; so fine that stores and warehouses are overflowing with unconsumed but needed products, and shallow political economists are crying "over-production," while lean and haggard labour goes without. The most arrant nonsense, as well as the most heartless insult, is this smooth talk of the well-fed and well-satisfied bourgeois about economy. With a full stomach and pleasant surroundings, it is an extremely easy thing to let some other man be saving. With every want curtailed and barest necessities already cut down to the lowest point, economy then means calamity, suffering, death. Rob a man of what he produces and is honestly his own, and then persuade him that his own extravagant use of the pittance you have left him is all that ails him! Oh the morality which this great civilisation has developed!

LIZZIE M. SWANK, in *Labor Enquirer*.

Dangerous classes! I do not only find them in the slums, but in the chairs of political economy and the seats of enormous wealth, where brains and wealth unite in the chorus: "It can't be helped!"—Heber Newton.



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance should be attached to them because of the position they may occupy in these pages. None, therefore, are to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

QUESTIONS bearing upon the principles propounded and the objects had in view by the *Commonweal*, will be welcomed by the Editors.

CHUMP.—If you will kindly put your objections into publishable shape, we shall be pleased to insert any letter of reasonable length, if the conditions at the head of this column are complied with. No good purpose can be served by anonymous letters addressed to an individual.

RECEIVED—England: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record—Imperial Federation. Belgium: Le Chante-Clair (Bruxelles). Canada: L'Union Ouvrière (Montreal). France: Paris: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—Le Révolté—Le Socialiste—La Tribune des Peuples—Revue du Mouvement Social—La Citoyenne. Le Devoir (Guise)—Le Forçat du Travail (Bordeaux). Germany: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). Holland: Recht voor Allen. Hungary: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Buda-pest). India: Voice of India (Bombay)—Hindu Patriot (Calcutta)—People's Friend (Madras). Italy: Il Fascio Operaio (Milan)—La Lotta (Ancona). New Zealand: Watchman. Portugal: O Campino—Voz do Operario—O Protesto Operario (Lisbon). Spain: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social—Acracia—La Justicia Humana (Barcelona)—Bandera Social—El Socialista (Madrid)—El Socialismo (Cadiz)—La Perseverancia (Huelva). Switzerland: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich). U. S. A.: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country—Amerikanische Arbeiterzeitung—Truthseeker. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal. Denver (Col.): Labor Inquirer—Little Socialist—Chicago (Ill.): Alarm—Detroit (Mich.): Labor Leaf—Princeton (Mass.): Word—Cleveland (O.): Carpenter. Cincinnati (O.): Unionist—Stockton (Cal.): Mail—Petersburg (Ill.): Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.): Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Altruist. Kansas (Mo.): Sun—Pittsburg (Pa.): Labor Herald—Baltimore (Md.): Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.): Lucifer Newfoundland (Pa.): La Torpille—Litchfield (Minn.): Radical—Manchester (N. H.): Weekly Budget—Evansville (Ind.): Neue Zeit Milwaukee (Wis.): Volksblatt.

ARTICLES RECEIVED.—Will appear: "Malthusianism." Under consideration: "Labour Troubles in Dublin"—"Moderation." Declined with thanks: "Remarks on Socialism."

### HOME RULE OR HUMBUG.

It would be but waste of time to go through all the election addresses of even the principal leaders of parties which have been put before the public during the last few days; but those addresses, and the reception of Mr Gladstone on his journey northward, seem to foreshadow the nature and issue of the coming contest, and a few words seem desirable about it. Mr Gladstone has definitely given up his Bill, and takes his stand on the principle of a parliament for Ireland. It is clear that this may mean compromise—that he is prepared to accept something less like independence than the Bill intended; but it may not mean anything more than electioneering vagueness, trying to make the sweep of the net as wide and inclusive as possible,—a dangerous manœuvre, but which will always be tried at elections, and by Mr Gladstone.

The point is, whether the Irish people are prepared to accept anything less like independence than the Bill; or rather, will the march of Parliamentary events compel them to do so. The Chamberlainites have the power, perhaps, of forcing them to accept a compromise. The immediate purpose of Mr Gladstone's declaration of the death of the

Bill is an olive-branch to Radical dissentients. If they accept it as a body, the whole Liberal-Radical party (outside Lord Hartington's Whigs) will be pledged to shaving down the measure for the new Parliament to something less than the defunct Bill. The Irish, at all events their central group, will shrink from the attitude of irreconcilability if the shaving down is not very flagrant, especially if it gives them, as it almost certainly will do, an immediate opportunity for carrying on the agitation. Unless, therefore, the Chamberlainites are dead against any real Home-Rule, they will give up their present opposition to Mr Gladstone, and leave their Tory-Whig friends in the lurch.

It is much to be hoped that they will not take this course, for in their coming into the Gladstonian camp again lies the real danger to the success of Irish independence. Whether Mr Gladstone is strong enough to win in the elections or not, he will at least have at his back a minority strong enough in opposition to prevent the passing of a measure intended for the complete shelving of the question, which would have to be enforced by the usual method by which English gifts are presented to Ireland—coercion, to wit. But on the other hand, a majority of men merely pretending to support Home Rule, joined to the usual amount of waverers, might so dally with the question as practically to draw us back again into the trouble from which we have seemed to be emerging. A firm and strong minority would educate people somewhat: a sloppy majority would wear them out and make them languid as to the whole subject.

Meanwhile it is observable that no party professes to intend shelving the question; and further, that in spite of all the bluster of the Tory press, the Tories are beginning to see the impossibility of dragooning Ireland in the future, and are loudly disclaiming coercion. Even the *St James's Gazette* is driven to this retreat, and talks about Lord Salisbury's "unguarded moment,"—the moment in which he very frankly expressed the intentions or hopes of the Tory party as regards Ireland; intentions which would have to become those of Whigs and Jingo-Radicals if they were to succeed in getting support enough to impose their schemes on that country. This looks very like throwing up the sponge. Things have come to this point, that even those who, if they could, would coerce Ireland by any and every means, including a scheme of depopulation, which Lord Salisbury is now driven to disavow, perceive that the thing is impossible in the face of the gathering instinct of the English people against their forcible benevolence in favour of the landlords.

It is becoming impossible then to impose the rule of the English bureaucracy in its worst form on Ireland. What alternative is left then to the reactionists in dealing with her? Apparently, to involve the whole question in a hopeless, lawyer-like muddle, so as to sicken people of it, and to get up the old cry of the impossibility of dealing with the Irish. This is what is being attempted; and, on the whole, Mr Gladstone's answer to it must be considered an effective one, and none the less so because of its simplicity; he has for once thrown off all finesse, and puts the broad question before the country of Home Rule or Humbug; it was necessary to do this in order to break through the network of evasions, intrigue, and compromise that the end of last Session had woven round the question. It is no use prophecying as to the result of the elections, but if they go against Home Rule this simplifying of the present issue will give force and distinctness to the powerful opposition which, as above said, is the alternative to a success at the polling booths.

One may say about the Radicals generally, looking at them from the Socialist point of view, that they may be divided into two sections. The first are the pedantic Radicals with certain party shibboleths on their tongues, and in their hearts bitter hostility to everything which seems to interfere even temporarily with the party game which they are playing. Between them and us there is and must be mere war; they will not even listen to us. They look upon us with more hatred than they do upon the Tories, for without the latter they could not carry on their game. But besides these pedantic Radicals, there is another Radical section who are on the look out for progressive ideas, and are the representatives of advancing Democracy. These may, and often do, oppose us as inconvenient impracticable persons, who interfere with what they have learned to consider progress, but they are not really unfriendly and are willing to hear us, and when they have done so they will find, many of them, that they are Socialists after all.

Well, the Chamberlainite Unionist Radicals, many of whom are quite fanatical in their opposition to Home Rule, do on this occasion represent to us the hostile pedantic Radicals, while those who are championing Home Rule represent our Radical friends, who are waiting to be told what Socialism really is, or at any rate waiting to find

out what it is, and who when they have found out will become Socialists. As Socialists, therefore, we are bound to wish the utmost success to those who can at least see that it is necessary for Ireland to take her own affairs into her own hands, whatever the immediate results may be. To the pedantic Radicals, the new Jingoese, we need scarcely wish ill-success, for as things are going they are getting themselves deeper into the mire at every step.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## RUSKIN AS A REVOLUTIONARY PREACHER.

### I.

"ILLOGICAL, incoherent, and dogmatic, yet with so much of beauty both of ideals and of words; unreasonable in much, but yet so full of pity for the evils all around and so sincere in desire to remove them, it is much to be regretted that this writer has prevented the full knowledge of his works to be spread. Ruskin professes to be a Communist, and seems to have some amount of dread at the spread of Socialism" (see Guild of St George, Master's Report, 1885, p. 3). In no one thing do his peculiar notions and contradictions shine out more than in his ideas on publication and selling his books.

I propose to put before the readers of the *Commonweal* the most extreme passages of this writer, and to give them a weapon which the original maker has allowed to get into hands little likely to use.

Over and over again does he pour out his wrath on capitalists, landlords, financiers—"these swine of the five per cent.," as he calls them ('Fors Clavigera,' No. 8, p. 11, Aug. 1871). I have sometimes thought that his method of issuing his books was to prevent too many of the workers knowing the truth; that he felt compelled to write the truth, but hoped it would not spread too fast. This idea is again and again suggested by his continual opposition of desire for improvement and extreme mistrustfulness of the workers. As to his ideas of publishing, in 'Fors,' No. 6, June 1871, he has the following:

"It is no affair of mine whether you attend to me or not, but yours wholly. My hand is weary of pen-holding, my heart is sick of thinking; for my own part, I would not write you these pamphlets, though you would give me a barrel of beer instead of two pints for them,—I write them wholly for your sake. I choose that you shall have them decently printed on cream-coloured paper, and with a margin underneath, which you can write on if you like. That is also for your sake: it is a proper form of book for any man to have who can keep his books clean; and if he cannot, he has no business with books at all. It costs me ten pounds to print a thousand copies, and five more to give you a picture; and a penny off my seven pence to send you the book. A thousand sixpences are twenty-five pounds: when you have bought a thousand 'Fors' of me, I shall therefore have five pounds for my trouble, and my single shopman, Mr. Allen, five pounds for his. We won't work for less, either of us: not that we would not, were it good for you, but it would be by no means good." [It is just here the debatable point comes in.] "And I mean to sell all my large books, henceforward, in the same way,—well printed, well bound, and at a fixed price; and the trade may charge a proper and acknowledged profit for their trouble in retailing the book. Then the public know what they are about, and so will the tradesman. I, the first producer, answer, to the best of my power, for the quality of the book—paper, binding, eloquence and all. The retailer charges what he ought to charge, openly; and if the public do not choose to give it, they can't get the book. This is what I call legitimate business."

And so, I take it, will most readers of this paper. The unfortunate thing is, that as legitimate business is not very general, all those who set themselves against the general current are badly placed. This has been proved by Ruskin. The book-trade practically boycotted him out of the market, and by the difficulties placed in the way of getting his books, added to their very high price, his writings are not well known. Here, too, it may be interesting to mention that even John Ruskin had in time to give in to surroundings. The passage I have quoted was stringently acted upon for some years; but I have before me as I write one of his circulars, dated July 1882, announcing that in future a discount would be allowed to booksellers and librarians. To some the connection may seem remote, but to me it seems a very positive proof that in the long-run environment is the stronger, and what a farce freedom of contract is in relation to the worker really depending on his work for bread.

Ruskin is constantly saying hard things about scientists, and yet by his exquisite mixing-up of poetry, painting, geology, botany, and political economy, proves to completeness the doctrine of eternity and interchangeability. In his 'Queen of the Air' (Smith, Elder, and Co., 1869—I shall always quote from this edition), p. 134, is the following, which many of the nostrum-mongers on trade depression will do well to take to heart:

"It is not political economy to put a number of strong men down on an acre of ground, with no lodging and nothing to eat. Nor is it political economy to build a city on good ground and fill it with store of corn and treasure, and put a score of lepers to live in it. Political economy creates together the means of life and the living persons who are to use them; and of both the best and the most that it can, but imperatively the best, not the most: a few good and healthy men, rather than a multitude of diseased rogues, and a little real milk and wine rather than much chalk and petroleum. But the gist of the whole business is, that the men and their property must both be produced together, not one to the loss of the other. Property must not be created in lands desolate by exile of their people, nor multiplied and depraved humanity in lands barren of bread."

Following on this, he has something on "wealth" and "money," too long to give now, but from which I give just one sentence, showing how opposed he is to the orthodox economists: "A thing is worth precisely

what it can do for you, not what you chose to pay for it" (p. 140). "The wealth of the nation, then, first, and its peace and well-being besides, depend on the number of persons it can employ in making good and useful things" (p. 141). A few pages on in this same book is something on how to employ all the people; but I leave that for the present, to give a few quotations on the land and rent question. "It begins to be asked on many sides how the possessors of the land became possessed of it, and why they should still possess it, more than you or I; and Ricardo's 'theory' of rent, though, for an economist, a very creditably ingenious work of fiction, will not much longer be imagined to explain the 'practice' of rent. The true answer, in this matter as in all others, is the best. Some land has been bought, some won by cultivation, but the greater part, in Europe, seized by force of hand" ('Fors,' No. 2, Feb. 1871, p. 6). He breaks down in the next, for he goes on to qualify in a very weak manner. He does not try to explain of whom any land was originally bought, or who originally had any right to sell land to all eternity.

The next quotation is rather long, but as it cuts to the very core of so much bourgeois teaching, it is exceedingly useful. In 'Fors,' No. 4, April 1871, he is mostly occupied in poking fun at John Stuart Mill and Co., and their peculiar use of such words as "utilities," "commodities," and the like. Particularly he wants to know what "money" is, and what he may do with it, also where he gets it from. He says he is afraid to give it away, even to give a penny in charity, without looking up and down the street first, to see if a "clergyman is coming." He gave thirty pounds for some geological specimens, and that was, "if you must have the truth, because I was a fool."

"But if I hadn't bought it, what would you have had me do with my money? keep that in the drawer instead? Or at my banker's, till it grew out of thirty pounds into sixty and a hundred, in fulfilment of the law respecting seed sown in good ground? Doubtless, that would have been more meritorious for the time. But when I had got the sixty or the hundred pounds, what should I have done with them? . . . Of course, I know I might buy as many iron railings as I please, and be praised; but I've no room for them. I can't well burn more coals than I do, because of the blacks, which spoil my books; and the Americans won't let me buy any blacks alive, or else I would have some black dwarfs with parrots, such as one sees in the pictures of Paul Veronese. I should of course like myself, above all things, to buy a pretty white girl, with a title; and I should get great praise for doing that,—only I haven't money enough. White girls come dear, even when one buys them only like coals, for fuel. The Duke of Bedford, indeed, bought Joan of Arc from the French, to burn, for only ten thousand pounds and a pension of three hundred a-year to the Bastard of Vendôme; and I could and would have given that for her, and not burnt her; but one hasn't such a chance every day."

"Will you, . . . I challenge you, . . . tell me what I am to do with my money? I mean, indeed, to give you my own poor opinion on the subject in May; though I feel the more embarrassed in the thought of doing so, because, in this present April, I am so much a fool as not even to know clearly whether I have got any money or not. I know, indeed, that things go on at present as if I had; but it seems to me that there must be a mistake somewhere, and that some day it will be found out. For instance, I have seven thousand pounds in what we call the Funds or founded things, but I am not comfortable about the founding of them. All that I can see of them is a square bit of paper, with some ugly printing on it; and all that I know of them is that this bit of paper gives me a right to tax you every year, and make you pay me two hundred pounds out of your wages; which is very pleasant for me: but how long will you be pleased to do so? Suppose it should occur to you, any summer's day, that you had better not? Where would my seven thousand pounds be? In fact, where are they now? We call ourselves a rich people; but you see this seven thousand pounds of mine has no real existence—it only means that you, the workers, are poorer by two hundred pounds a-year than you would be if I hadn't got it. And this is surely a very odd kind of money for a country to boast of. Well, then, besides this, I have a bit of low land at Greenwich, which, as far as I see anything of it, is not money at all, but only mud,—would be of as little use to me as my handful of gravel in the drawer, if it were not that an ingenious person has found out that he can make chimney-pots of it; and every quarter, he brings me fifteen pounds off the price of his chimney-pots; so that I am always sympathetically glad when there's a high wind, because then I know my ingenious friend's business is thriving. But suppose it should come into his head, in any less windy month than this April, that he had better bring me none of the price of his chimneys? And even though he should go on—as I hope he will—patiently (and I always give him a glass of wine when he brings me the fifteen pounds), is this really to be called money of mine? And is the country any richer because, when anybody's chimney-pot is blown down in Greenwich, he must pay something extra to me before he can put it on again?"

Than the above, I take it, it will be hard to put together a neater summing-up of the villainy of our national debt, and also of mining royalties—methods of taxing the workers without making anybody the richer. Surely, as he says in another place, a strange wealth to guard with iron railings—i.e., bayonets. But he has not done with rent yet. He goes on:

"Then, also, I have some houses in Marylebone, which, though indeed very ugly and miserable, yet, so far as they are actual beams and brick-bats put into shape, I might have imagined to be real property; only, you know, Mr. Mill says that people who build houses don't produce a commodity, but only do us a service. So I suppose my houses are not 'utilities embodied in material objects' (and indeed they don't look much like it); but I know I have the right to keep anybody from living in them unless they pay me; only suppose some day the Irish faith—that people ought to be lodged for nothing—should become an English one also, where would my money be? Where is it now, except as a chronic abstraction from other people's earnings? So, again, I have some land in Yorkshire, some bank 'stock' (I don't in the least know what that is), and the like; but whenever I examine into these possessions, I find they melt into one or another form of future taxation, and that I am always sitting (if I were working I shouldn't mind, but I am only sitting) at the receipt of Custom, and a Publican as well as a Sinner. And then, to embarrass the business further yet, I am quite at variance with other



people about the place where this money, whatever it is, comes from. The *Spectator*, for instance, in its article of 25th June of last year, on Mr. Gladstone's 'lucid and forcible speech of Friday week,' says that 'the country is once more getting rich, and the money is filtering downwards to the actual workers.' But whence, then, did it filter down to us, the actual idlers?"

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

## A TRAMP'S WALLET.

### I.

IT was on a bright July day that I determined, after a long and fruitless search for employment, to do what so many thousand unfortunates of my class have done under the same circumstances, viz., to tramp the country. Weary with the daily marchings about the hot pitiless streets, sick of the ever-repeated "No!" in answer to a plea for work, varied at times with insolent rebuffs from pert shopwomen, albeit workwomen themselves, the idea of taking to the road had the charm of novelty to my inexperienced mind. Born and bred in London, and yet an ardent lover of Nature, my opportunities of viewing her had been of the usual kind afforded to the unfortunate children who are brought up in the "Prison built stark," a few truant wild flowers in the fields, that now, alas! have for ever disappeared under the hideous régime of the Jerry builder.

Despite the saddening experiences I had undergone and the privations I had endured, the prospect of seeing strange places and really the "country," endowed me with fresh hope; and, after getting a little assistance from friends, who significantly remarked that they hoped I should do better than I had in London, which interpreted meant that their last contributions were in, I walked with a light heart through London out into smiling Surrey. As I passed through hedgerows, under shady trees, here and again catching glimpses of the distant hills, my spirits rose, and I carolled gaily to myself as I hastened along the highway.

Gradually, however, a change came over me. The July sun made the road hot and dusty. Dust was everywhere; it worked into my nearly soleless boots, and invaded my eyes and mouth. The slow process of starvation I had been undergoing while out of work now began to tell on me, and I ended my song, and plodded sullenly along, envying with a growing bitterness the careless occupants of the dashing equipages that passed me. An indefinite sense of injury possessed me. Why, I asked, should I, willing to work, anxious for honest employment, be enduring this weary walk and all that has preceded it, while those who have never done a useful day's labour should enjoy the sweets of life? What added to my bitterness was, that in trying to follow out my—boyish perhaps—instincts, to secure some rare wild flower, I had been confronted everywhere with the notice "Trespassers will be prosecuted!"

I stopped at a pleasantly situated lodge at the corner of a private road to ask for a drink of water, and a savage dog pounced upon me. Every passer-by gave me a scornful or indifferent glance, and once I heard the word "Tramp!" uttered. Yes, I was a tramp! How that word has been burned into my memory! In all my after wanderings and the miseries I witnessed and endured myself, that word has assailed me. Written up on warning notices in obscure villages that all tramps and vagrants would be arrested, or in the mouth of some bloated farmer or squire when refusing a request for food, it has met me. Years since, when back in the huge city and at work, or in Sunday best at some pleasant resort I have relieved the passing wayfarer, how my memory has been crowded with reflections of the time when I also was "a tramp"; and now that the indefinite feeling which held me then that something wrong in Society was the cause of my undeserved sufferings has given place to definite ideas upon the injustice of the system, I renew my pledge to work for its overthrow.

My first day's journey ended at the little village of —, where, weary and footsore, I sought a lodging to suit my slender means. For 3d. I secured a "bed" in a large room, filled with others closely packed together, among them a number of drunken harvesters, who, in searching for their litters trod unceremoniously over me. When all had found their corners, bottles with the remainder of the day's allowance of beer were forthcoming, and the company indulged in the rollicking chorus of the "Farmer's Boy." One by one, however, the singers lapsed into slumber, until only one obstinate minstrel maintained the refrain. At last he also succumbed, and I closed my first day's tramp in refreshing sleep.

JOHN LITSTER.

(To be continued).

## LABOUR NOTES.

**AN EMPLOYERS' TYRANNY.**—There is in Bradford an establishment that well deserves to be nailed down as a sample of the tyranny of employers. A large number of young men and women are employed in a certain drapery warehouse, and a glance at the rules under which they live is interesting. When a girl accepts a place in this shop, she finds that the first tax on her resources is that she must pay her own railway fare, and this although most of them are strangers to Bradford, often coming from a distance of 200 miles. When she arrives, she is invited to sign an agreement which states that one moment's notice on either side is sufficient, and one condition is, "if seen sitting down, discharged at once." Shop hours are from 9 a.m. until 8 p.m., and on Saturdays

still later. The intervals for meals make up an hour in all—a quarter for breakfast, half-an-hour for dinner, and a quarter for tea. In order that he may be the better able to enforce his rule which prohibits sitting down under penalty of instant dismissal, he has arranged a series of mirrors and openings in the floors, so that no matter where the assistant is, upstairs or downstairs, her kind-hearted employer can see her. "It is a very cold shop," says one of them in a letter; "even in the depth of winter they have no fire, nor is there any other means of warming it." But the employer is not contented with exercising his sway over them during shop hours. With the exception of a very few who are natives of Bradford, he makes them live together in a large house which he rents for the purpose. They must under penalty of being locked out, be in here by 10 o'clock, although the shop closes at 8 (but before assistants can get away it is 8.30); while if they are not in by 9 they get no supper. Lights are all out at 10.30. Theatres and balls are prohibited. A week's money is kept back, and 12s. per quarter are deducted for "washing." "We clean our own boots," says Miss — "and go from the house to the shop without our breakfast. Last week the weather was very bitter and rainy; and one morning I was so sick and faint I was obliged to go into a shop and rest." Sunday is spent in bed to a large extent, "for then," continues Miss —, "we are too tired even to read." The girls, before coming to this life-crushing den, are led to understand that they will receive a premium on their sales, but when they get there, they find that they get nothing on any sale under two guineas. And the employer, like a sordid spider, sits in the midst, sucking the life out of these poor human flies trapped in his web. Many of the girls are educated and intelligent, but neither education nor intelligence can stay the pangs of an empty stomach, and if, to fill this they must submit to tyranny, how is their education to help them? In what respect are they better than those bondsmen of whom we read, over whom the driver stood with whip and chain? "They are free to go," says one. Yes, but whither? To the streets, no doubt, and it is a wonder that more of them do not; or to the river where they can end it all. For they are toiling for bread, and the crust eaten under the hardest conditions is not so easily regained if once thrust aside. As soon as a better place offers, they do go; but in most cases the choice is between staying and starving, or plunging into the black gulf of a life of shame. I say that such men as this employer are directly responsible for many who are now living a life of prostitution, for many who have thrown life to the winds, and found a resting from labour in the river. But the employer makes a profit, and so what do these slave-crushed lives matter? The profit is the only consideration.

F. H.

**CAPITALISTIC THEFT AND BRUTALITY.**—The cotton workers complain loudly and clearly of violations of the Factory Acts. In the current quarterly report of the Amalgamated Association of the Operative Cotton Spinners of Lancashire the following passage occurs:

"One of the principal topics which has of late been occupying the attention of our members, is the shameless cribbing of time which goes on in our cotton mills. Whether the inspectors cannot stop this wholesale robbery, or whether they have private instructions not to meddle with it too much, we do not know. What we do know is that it must, at all cost, be stopped if we are to prevent factory inspection degenerating into a farce. We are glad to see that the textile trades have arrived at an understanding to prosecute this object conjointly and with similar machinery to that which proved so successful in reducing the hours of work twelve years ago. All operatives ought to have the full specified times for meals, which times ought to be specified on the time-table accompanying the abstract of the Factory Acts placed in the entrance to the mill. We know we have not yet reached this point, and under a system of piece-work probably never will universally, but if we cease to do our best to reach it we shall rapidly go the other way. The textile trades are so arranged that there is a constant temptation to weak minds to assist employers in over-riding the legislative enactments made for our benefit. It is only by constantly and persistently watching and putting down this tendency that we can keep employers any where near the mark. The true remedy for cases in which sufficient time is not allowed for cleaning is to let it remain undone."

In Preston spies are planted to give notice of the Inspector's approach. In one instance the engine starts before six in the morning instead of at half-past six, and if the weavers are not at work by six they are fined. Ten minutes are allowed for breakfast instead of thirty; the dinner time is shortened, and overtime is worked at night. At a meeting of operatives held recently in Padiham, a worker (Mr. Burrows) said:

"There were mills in Padiham that were started at ten minutes or a quarter to six in the morning, and were run until five or nearly ten minutes past eight. Then they started at half-past eight or twenty-five minutes to nine, instead of twenty minutes to, and stopped again at a quarter or ten minutes to one, instead of twenty minutes to, restarting after dinner at twenty-five past one, instead of half-past, and in the evening the engine was run five, ten, and in some cases fifteen minutes after the proper time."

Another speaker stated:

"That a weaver at a certain mill had asked for leave of absence to attend his child's funeral, but he was asked if the funeral could not be put off until Saturday. The employer also addressed some insulting remarks to him, and in his opinion it was time such work was put a stop to. Mr. Burrows said the action in some workshops was most brutal, and he would not like to have the conscience of one employer for all he had in his mill. He (Mr. Burrows) had been attending the funeral of his brother that day, and he was satisfied that he had been killed by overtime and tyranny on the part of the employer."

Cases of most cruel hardship constantly come under my notice. The inspector in this district is highly praised by the "hands" for his honest discharge of his duties, but his district is too large for effective super-

vision. Even when convictions are obtained, the fine inflicted bears a most inadequate relation to the value of the time that has been stolen. Three-quarters of an hour stolen daily in a mill employing 600 workers, represents a theft of two thousand seven hundred hours in one week, or—allowing two weeks for “play”—of one hundred and thirty-five thousand hours in the year! Truly Dick Turpin was a novice, and Bill Sikes a bungler.

W. S.

### AMILCARE CIPRIANI.

THE patriot-martyr whose portrait we give below lies under sentence unjustly. The attempt has just been made to secure his release by electing him as a deputy, but although returned for two constituencies, he is not free. The election of Cipriani for the districts of Ravenna and Forti has not helped him out of prison. The Camera have declared the election to be null and void—have quashed it; so the Bagno of Portolongone will retain its “convict-patriot” after all.



In view of the interest excited by the attempt to release him, we subjoin a brief sketch of the life of this extraordinary man.

The Socialists of Piedmont have lately published an account of his life from the time when he joined Garibaldi at Palermo in 1860. After the disaster of Aspromonte in 1862, doubly a deserter and rebel (for he had twice left his regiment to join Garibaldi), Cipriani had to leave the country as best he might, his revolutionary instincts turning him to the troubles of Greece, where he threw himself energetically into the insurrection, and finally shared the fate of exile with those whose cause he had taken up. We find him next in Egypt, organising the “Società Democratica Italiana” among the Italian residents in Alexandria, and gathering around himself youthful enthusiasm into a “Falange Sacra,” who hold themselves in readiness for a call from Garibaldi. Meanwhile they are not idle, but in the cholera scare exert themselves ceaselessly in the hospitals and stricken houses. Inaction seems impossible to Cipriani. After returning to Italy to help in the '66 fight, he joined in the insurrection of Crete, and enrolled himself among the “rebel band” of Zimbrakakis. It was here he met Flourens, with whom he afterwards worked in the Paris Commune. When the struggle in Crete was suppressed, Flourens was arrested and handed over to the care of the French police, and Cipriani took refuge again in Alexandria, where the incidents took place which were the pretext for his condemnation to penal servitude by the Italian Government. In Egypt Cipriani was the representative of Dervieux and Co., the great bankers. He was invited one night to a supper-party of supposed friends and comrades, where a dispute arose which became of a violent nature. Some Italians, thinking he had money, attacked him and demanded that money. Cipriani was forced to save himself against the aggression of so-called friends, and in so doing mortally wounded one of them, the Italian Santini. Whilst trying to escape from his dangerous position, he was surrounded by a patrol of *zaptiehs* (police), and was on the point of being arrested; but he resisted, and as they used their arms, he forced his way through them by shooting at them and killing one. Having escaped, he took refuge in the interior of Egypt, where he lived for some time under a false name. He succeeded in embarking for and reaching London, where he was a photographer for some time. On hearing of the proclamation of the Republic in France in 1870, he hastened to Paris, enlisted in the Garde Mobile, in which he greatly distinguished himself by his indomitable courage. After the battle of Montreuil he was offered the cross of the legion of honour, which he declined, in accordance with Socialistic principles. He was named and praised in the *Ordre de jour*.

He was one of the organisers of the movement which terminated in the proclamation of the Commune. He raised the Battalion of Belleville (the most revolutionary part of Paris), which was commanded by Flourens, whose aide-de-camp he was, and whose devoted friend he had become whilst fighting for the liberty of the Cretans. In the last sortie made by the Commune towards Mont Valérien, Flourens, deceived by a Versailles spy, was treacherously killed. Cipriani, in defending him, was seriously wounded, and afterwards carried to Versailles, where a court-martial condemned him to be shot. His wound saved his life; for the five soldiers who were to be shot with him arrived at Satory before Cipriani could be lifted from his bed and carried to the place of execution. At the moment they were taking him down from the cart to be led before the platoon which was to shoot him, a messenger from Thiers arrived with orders to put off the execution. (This fact is not generally known.) For eighteen months he was kept in a cell and exposed to the most abominable treatment by the Versailles

authorities. Tried a second time by court-martial, he was condemned to transportation to New Caledonia for life. On the transport-boat, “*La Danaë*,” he showed his usual intrepidity in resisting arbitrary orders. He was condemned by the admiral to seventy days’ imprisonment in a cell, with nothing but bread and water, for refusing to clean the floor—a business which had nothing to do with political prisoners. He fell so dangerously ill from this treatment, that when he was landed his grave was immediately dug, as it was thought to be impossible for him to recover; but his strong constitution disappointed his enemies. In New Caledonia Cipriani resisted all arbitrary orders of the authorities. He defended all those whom he saw ill-treated, and to the last he was a staunch defender of the principles of the Commune amongst the conquerors. He was condemned to three years’ hard labour for having denounced an order of the governor of the island. He was one of the last to be brought back to France. In Paris he entered the staff of the Socialist paper, *La Citoyenne*. When Louise Michel returned and an ovation to her was prepared at the railway station, Cipriani defended a Socialist lady (Mme. Cadol) attacked by the police. He was arrested, tried, and immediately expelled France. He was led to the frontier, and arrested a few days later at Rimini, where he had gone to see his parents. Cipriani was then tried by an Italian tribunal and condemned to twenty-five years’ penal servitude with hard labour for the event of Alexandria in Egypt, though the time had long since passed. An eminent Italian lawyer, Caio Rengetti, published in 1883 a small book to prove that Cipriani’s condemnation was a violation of the law and the constitution. The volume contains opinions to that effect by the most distinguished lawyers of Italy, among whom is the present Minister of Justice. Everybody recognises that no judge had a right to condemn Cipriani, as twenty years had elapsed since the accident complained of. But no one need make ceremonies towards Socialists, and the best place for a revolutionist of that stamp is to be under lock and key, or in chains. He thus will be unable to prevent the Italian Government from plundering, imprisoning, or starving to death the miserable creatures of the province of Mantua, and elsewhere.

### HOLLAND.

Our comrade Domela Nieuwenhuizen, editor of *Recht voor Allen*, has been sentenced to one year’s imprisonment, without hard labour, and a fine of fifty guildens. That means, for such a man as Nieuwenhuizen, a sentence to death. The work will still be carried on with the same energy, and the paper will still appear twice a-week, in spite of the chief commissioner of police.

I. S. V.

### THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

#### Notices to Members.

*Library.*—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

*Reading Room.*—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. All papers received by the Secretary are sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members.

#### Notices to Lecturers and Branch Secretaries.

To avoid confusion and mistake, lecturers and Branch secretaries are requested to at once advise the Lecture Secretary of all engagements made by them. Branches will find it more convenient to make their arrangements with speakers through the Lecture Secretary, who will undertake to make all necessary announcements unless otherwise instructed.

A Meeting of lecturers and open-air speakers will be held Monday 28th, at 7 p.m., at the offices.

#### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Hackney, Hammersmith, Leeds, Norwich, Oxford, Dublin, to April 30. Bloomsbury, Bradford, Croydon, Merton, North London, to May 31. Clerkenwell, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Mile-End, Manchester, to June 30. Marylebone to Sept. 30.—P. W.

#### The “Commonweal.”

The Ways and Means Committee desire to impress upon all branches the importance of paying up all amounts owing, in order that a clear balance-sheet may be submitted at the end of this month.

Boards for the use of newspapers can be supplied to Branches at 1s. each.

Copies of the cartoon by Walter Crane, “Mrs. Grundy frightened at her own shadow,” printed on fine hand-made paper for framing, price 6d., postage 1d.

### REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

#### Annual Conference.

On Sunday, June 13th, nineteen delegates appointed to represent different Branches, met at 13, Farringdon Road. The Branches represented were:—Birmingham, Bloomsbury, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Croydon, Dublin, Glasgow, Hackney, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Leeds, Manchester, Marylebone, Merton, Mile End, North London, Norwich, and Oxford. Edinburgh, Leicester, Oldham, South London, and Stratford sent no delegates. In addition to its delegate, Norwich sent a goodly number of visitors. A. K. Donald was appointed Chairman, Eleanor Marx-Aveling and W. C. Wade, Secretaries of the Conference. H. H. Sparling read report of past year’s work. Sundry changes had taken place in the *personnel* of the Council during the year, details of which were given; average attendance at Council Meetings had been 15½. During the year there had been twelve Branches added to the eight which took part in the former Conference. Affiliated bodies, the L.E.L., Hoxton, and S.L. and L.L., Edinburgh and Glasgow. Literature published during the year has been a new edition of the “Manifesto of the Socialist League,” with Explanatory Notes by William Morris and E. B. Bax, at 1d.; a new edition of “Chants for Socialists,” by William Morris, at 1d.; two numbers of the Socialist Platform: No. 3, “The Factory Hell,” by Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling, at 1d.; No. 4, “The Commune of Paris,” by E. B. Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris, at 2d. Also Socialist leaflets: Nos. 4, The Cause of Prostitution; 5, The Workers’ Claims and “Public Opinion”; 6, Tram-car Slavery; 7, Home Rule and Humbug; 8, The Unemployed and Rioting; and 9, Shall Ireland be Free? Reports were also submitted by the Treasurer, Financial Secretary, Editor, and Manager of *Commonweal*. The delegates reported for their various Branches. Upon the whole the tone of the reports was encouraging, and promised a still larger measure of success for the year just beginning. At the afternoon sitting

the amendment of the constitution, proposed by Lane and Charles, was discussed and rejected. Amendments proposed by Leeds and Manchester Branches were discussed, modified, and accepted. Council and Officers were elected as reported last week. The Conference terminated in a very enjoyable evening, during which songs and readings were given by members. Many acquaintances, which bid fair to ripen into friendships, were formed, and it was conclusively shown that a great impetus would be given to the movement were such gatherings of more frequent occurrence. S.

### Executive.

The Council met on Thursday, 17th, and selected as its officers for ensuing year, for secretary, H. H. Sparling; treasurer, Philip Webb; financial secretary, R. A. Beckett; librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers; lecture secretary, C. W. Mowbray. A Ways and Means Committee was appointed, its members being treasurer and financial secretary *ex officio*, with H. Charles, J. Lane, and W. Morris. It was resolved that we take part, as a body, in the excursion of the combined Socialist bodies on Sunday July 4, and that it be advertised in the *Commonweal*.

At their ordinary weekly meeting on Monday 21st, the Council unanimously voted: "That the Council of the Socialist League desires to express their utmost sympathy with their Dutch comrades in the loss they have sustained by the infamous sentence recently passed on Domela Nieuwenhuizen."

In reporting upon the excursion last week, it was omitted to mention that the Merton Branch joined the rest of the League at Box Hill, about 30 having come down in a brake.

### Free-Speech at Stratford.

On Saturday ast, T. E. Wardle spoke at The Grove, Stratford, to a fair-sized audience. He was arrested, and when brought up at West Ham Police-court on Monday, was subjected to the full penalty of £2 or a month.

The North London Branch collected 6s. 1½d., and the Clerkenwell Branch 7s. 5d., for the Defence Fund, on Sunday last at their meetings.

### Branch Reports.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—Last Friday, Thomas E. Wardle lectured to an audience of about 200 people. Sale of literature and collection good.—T. E. W.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday June 16, Philip Webb lectured on "The Necessity for Socialism," pointing out the reality of the characteristics of the very poor outside our sham Society, and the unreality of our commercial institutions as compared with freedom and justice for all. Some slight opposition was made by a Radical and a Christian; after a lively discussion, the lecturer replied upon the whole debate. On Sunday, June 20, George Bernard Shaw lectured on "Socialism and Malthusianism." He traced out a brief outline of the old English landed aristocracy up to the present time; was in favour of Malthusianism under present conditions of existence; and of opinion that the population question must be settled after the economic revolution; a great many questions followed the lecture, and were answered satisfactorily; the discussion was vigorous and the lecturer's reply received with applause. This Branch has collected 7s. 5d. for the "defence fund."—W. B., sec.

**MARYLEBONE.**—On Saturday evening comrades Arnold, Burcham, and Mainwaring, addressed a large meeting in the Harrow Road, which passed off very successfully. On Sunday morning two of the above speakers spoke to a good audience at the corner of Bell Street. In the afternoon, in Hyde Park, we had a very large meeting, which was addressed by members of the Branch. A question as to the advisability of issuing a manifesto to the upper and middle classes, and another on the use of force, were vigorously replied to. The meeting was entirely in sympathy with the speakers.—H. G. A., sec.

**NORWICH.**—On Sunday, the 20th inst., our paste-pot brigade took a trip to St. Faith's, a village about four miles from Norwich, with a plentiful supply of leaflets and paste. We succeeded in establishing a very considerable number of free libraries on the various gate-posts, sign-posts, and telegraph-posts on the roads we traversed, not neglecting the barn-doors and several other suitable situations. Then, after a house-to-house distribution of literature, we held a splendid meeting on the green in the evening as the people were leaving the chapel and church, when short addresses were delivered by comrades Mills, Thuxted, Morley, and Slaughter. The meeting was only cut short by a heavy downpour of rain, which came on about half an hour after we commenced, though our audience stood through it well. We were very well received, and promised to visit them regularly during the summer months. Some literature was sold. On Monday, the 21st inst., we held a social meeting at the Gordon Cafe, when several revolutionary songs, recitations, and readings were given by the members present, who included several ladies. Next Sunday our brigade visits Coney to establish some regular meetings there. We hope all who can will rally round and help us in spreading our "Gospel of Discontent" amongst the agricultural wage-slaves.—F. C. S., sec.

**MERTON ABBEY.**—On Sunday last we held our third open-air meeting, when comrades Mainwaring, Graham and Kitz spoke. Our audience was not very large, as the weather was unfavourable, and the scene of our out-door propaganda is at the junction of four little-frequented country roads. We have, however, aroused a great deal of interest in this locality by our persistent efforts on behalf of the working class. Our agitation is specially needed in this district, so devoid of all means for the education of the workers. Next Sunday we shall meet at the same time and place.—F. K.

**NORTH CAMBERWELL RADICAL CLUB.**—On Sunday H. H. Sparling lectured here to a large and very attentive audience on "What is a Religion?" Much interest was shown, a good many taking part in the discussion. In his reply the lecturer said that much stress had been laid upon the idea of religion as a bond or link. Hitherto it had bound and fettered the limbs of man; a true religion would but bind men together and not fetter the individual; such a religion was Socialism and none other.—B. A.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

- Bloomsbury.**—Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W. Friday, June 25, at 8.30 p.m., Walter Chambers, "Our Political Situation."  
**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Saturday 26 (8 p.m.). Smoking Concert. Sunday 27 (7.30). H. H. Sparling, "What is a Religion?" Wednesday 30 (8.30). A. K. Donald, "The Prophecy of Socialism." Music occasionally.  
**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday June 27. F. Kitz, "Sketch of the History of the Working Class." Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.  
**Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every Monday at 8, for the enrolment of members and other business.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m.  
**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sundays, at 7.45 p.m. June 27, P. Webb, "The Necessity for Socialism."  
**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

**Mile-end.**—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. June 29. W. Morris, "Education."  
**North London.**—Communications to R. A. Beckett, St. Mildred's House, Poultry, E.C.  
**South London.**—Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 at 112 Hill Street, Peckham, S.E.

### Country Branches.

**Birmingham.**—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30.  
**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Lecture and discussion in new rooms of the Branch, 84 John Street, every Sunday at 7 p.m. William Morris will lecture on Sunday 27th, in Waterloo Rooms, Waterloo Street, on "The Political Outlook"; on Monday 28th, in Temperance Institute, James Street, Bridgeton, on "Socialism." Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. All sympathisers invited.  
**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.  
**Leeds.**—No meeting-room at present. Out-door stations notified below.  
**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—County Forum. Thursdays, at 8 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—Gordon Café. Every Monday at 8 p.m.  
**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.  
**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 27 Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 26.	Harrow Road—opposite the "Prince of Wales"	7	H. Charles	Marylebone.
S. 27.	Edgware Road—Bell Street	11.30	H. Charles	Marylebone.
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	C. W. Mowbray	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—Beadon Road	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	H. Graham	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	J. Lane	Mile-end.
	Regent's Park	11.30	R. A. Beckett	N. London.
	Soho—Broad Street	11.30	T. E. Wardle	Bloomsbury.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	D. Nicoll	N. London.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30	W. Chambers	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	J. Lane	Hackney.
	Merton—High Street	7	C. W. Mowbray	Merton.
Tu. 29.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7.30		N. London.
Th. 1.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	C. W. Mowbray	Hoxton.
July	Mile-end Waste	8	H. Davis	Mile-end.

### PROVINCES.

**Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.  
**Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.  
**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

## MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

**CHAMBERLAIN CLUB,** 21 Choumert Road, Peckham. Sunday June 27, at 8 p.m., A. Scheu, "The Essence of Freedom and of Servitude."

**FABIAN SOCIETY.**—South Place Institute, Finsbury, Friday July 2. William Morris, "The Aims of Art."

**NOTTING HILL DEBATING SOCIETY,** "Monarch Tavern," Manchester Street (near Latimer Rd. Station).—Sunday June 27, at 7.30. Charles Murray (S.P.E.L.) "Why have Revolutions failed to Emancipate the Working Classes?"

**INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB,** 40, Berner Street, Commercial Road, E.—The first anniversary celebration of the Hebrew Socialistic journal, the *Worker's Friend*, will take place at the above club on Saturday evening, June 26, at 8.30, when speeches in several languages will be delivered by delegates of different Socialistic bodies, to be followed by a concert, in which the German choir "Freiheit" and several other singers and reciters will take part. Admission 6d.

**UNITED SOCIALIST SOCIETIES OF LONDON.**—An excursion to Epping Forest, "Robin Hood", will take place on Sunday, July 4, for the benefit of the Socialist movement in Belgium. The procession of the United Socialists will start from Charlotte Street, corner of Tottenham Street, for Liverpool Street Station, with full brass bands, banners, and standards at 9 a.m. prompt. Return tickets from Liverpool Street Station to Loughton can be obtained from the secretaries, porters, and stewards at the United Clubs, not later than Friday, July 2, at 1s. Full entertainment of international singing clubs, dancing, concert, and games. Trains as follows:—From Liverpool Street Station, 10.40 a.m.; trains every hour after dinner; returning from Loughton at 8.24, 9, and 9.31 p.m.

## Home Rule for Ireland and the Present Election.

The Lecturers of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE will be pleased to address any club or association upon this vital question. It is imperative that all should give their closest attention and most earnest thought to the solution of the problem that confronts us, and everyone who can assist in this should be heard.—Address Lecture Secretary at this office.

**Socialist Headquarters, New York.**—Library and Reading-room open daily (Sunday included) from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. *Commonweal* always on the table. Gifts in books and papers thankfully received. Address "Free Socialist Library," 143 Eighth Street, New York City, U.S.

**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and W. Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 16pp. crown 8vo. 1d.

**The Socialist Platform.**—1. Trades' Unions. By E. Belfort Bax, 1d. 2. Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris, 1d. 3. The Factory Hell. By Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx Aveling, 1d. 4. A Short History of the Commune of Paris. By Wm. Morris, E. Belfort Bax, and Victor Dave, 2d.

**Art and Socialism.** By William Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.

**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. 16 pp. crown 8vo., 1d.

**REVOLUTIONARY RHYMES AND SONGS FOR SOCIALISTS.** Fifteen selections. 1d

**WORKINGMEN** and women in factories, workshops, stores or mills, are requested to go around among their comrades and get up a list of subscribers for the *Commonweal*, and lend a helping hand in the struggle for labour's freedom.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE, at 13 Farringdon Road, London



# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 25.

SATURDAY, JULY 3, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

Lords, generals, barons, justices, doctors, aldermen all, gathered together to dine, capitalist-fashion, in celebration of the Cab Drivers Benevolent Association. Grand and inspiring news for the cab-drivers. No less than thirty-eight aged or infirm cabmen, some, possibly aged and infirm, receive annuities of a whole £20 a year, payable (with wise foresight of the habitual recklessness of the working-classes) by monthly instalments. Some of the thirty-eight have driven cabs for more than fifty years. Quite one-third of the thirty-eight are rheumatic from bad weather, and another one-third disabled by accidents.

Pleasing, in these days of want of thrift among the "lower classes," to find this magnificent institution, producing such magnificent results, is partly self-supporting. Much of the fund for giving the thirty-eight their huge annuities, has been squeezed out of the meagre earnings of the cab-drivers themselves. But, as the newspapers feelingly put it, the subscriptions of the cabmen themselves are [like their earnings] far too small to allow of annuities without the generous (*sic*) support of a benevolent (*sic*) public.

The workers and would-be-if-they-could workers of Whitechapel and Mile-end Road, had this week quite irresistible temptations to holiday-making. Not that every-day one of worn-out life and limb and of mind sick of overwork, homesick for a little rest and peace; not that every-other-day one, in the summer, of warmth and sunshine, making the city air more gross than ever. These were, as usual. But added to these and making temptation quite irresistible, was the presence of royalty. So those who were out of work came forth and made quite a respectable crowd from Aldgate eastward, whilst behind this fringe of desolate idlers, within the hard-visaged houses and the multitudinous dense side-streets their desolate brothers and sisters toiled on as usual. These were making first the equivalent of their own means of subsistence, then that of the means of subsistence of the crowd cheering mechanically or as mechanically silent in the streets, then all that surplus-value which makes alike possible royal pageants and desolate crowds, within and without.

Soldiers, capitalists, and priests were all present. Prayers and hymns were said and sung. And then the Beaumont Trustees, addressing the Prince, told him and so much of the world in general as chose to listen how the People's Palace is in very truth the People's Palace. It is no gift of Mr. Barber Beaumont, or of the Draper's Company, or of the Duke of Westminster, or of the Earl of Rosebery. The £75,000 have, every penny, been produced by the people, and the interest on this that is to keep the palace going, after it has built the palace, will come, every penny, out of the unpaid labour of the working-classes. Verily, it is the People's Palace. They build it, they pay for the building of it; they will maintain it, and some stray few of them will have their sodden lives touched a little, here and there, by its influence.

Even the Prince of Wales calls the East End "this important district of the metropolis." But its full importance he probably does not quite grasp. Yet many a man and woman there could tell him, had he ears to hear, that the real importance of that land of labour and of suffering is in this. It is the type of all places where production is going on, and where the workers are exploited for the maintenance of the privileged. It is also the type of all places where this tremendous truth is slowly dawning on men's minds. And from it, and hundreds like it, will come forth the irresistible voice of Labour, claiming at last its own, bidding him and such as he

"Come down, be done with, cease, give o'er,  
Hide thyself, strive not, be no more."

One Sir George Bowen has been lucubrating at Oxford on behalf of the colonists. "As England's trade—the bulwark of England's greatness, of course—fell off with foreign nations, it increased with the colonies, her own children." Doubtless. And then sets in with the colonies, as with foreign nations, the era of competition, and the weakest go to the wall as inevitably when both combatants speak English as when they use different tongues. Sir George Bowen was at Oxford, and the atmosphere of the place might have reminded him of certain classical cases of the relation between parents and offspring, very apt when England and her colonies are under consideration. Medea slew her children, and Saturn devoured his or they would have devoured him.

The same noble "Sir" could only feel that "if he had been an Irishman he should have looked upon it as a most degrading thing to have a course suggested that would have severed him from the history and association of the grandest empire that ever existed." If Sir George had been an Irishman (thank the powers, he is not!), he would have longed for such a severance, as a slave longs for the breaking of the chain that binds him to the chariot-wheels of a brutal conqueror.

EDWARD AVELING.

## A LETTER FROM SCOTLAND.

ON Tuesday 22nd I found myself at Arbroath, a pleasant stone-built town of some 20,000 inhabitants on the German Ocean, the original of "Fairport" in Scott's 'Antiquary,' the remains of a magnificent church and abbey dominating the homely houses. The industry practised there is sail-cloth making, and it is in a very dismal condition at present. There was much suffering there in the past winter. In a walk that I took with my host (a Free Kirk minister and a Socialist), we got into conversation with a field-labourer who was resting from his job of harrowing at a field's end. I should premise, for the benefit of our English readers, that Scotch field-labourers are hired by the half-year, and receive their "meal-and-milk," lodging in a "bothy"—or a not too luxurious pig-stye—and a sum of money. This friend, who was a brisk and intelligent young man, told us that wages were low, and that he was now receiving £9 for the half-year, instead of £12, which he used to receive. He also told us, perhaps unnecessarily, that he could not save out of this splendid salary. I was told afterwards that wages had fallen back to what they were ten years ago, at which time they had risen suddenly. A foreman, our friend told us, was now getting £28 per annum, which used to be the wages of a full private labourer.

In the evening I lectured to an audience of upwards of 600 very attentive persons, mostly of the working-class. They cheered me heartily, and took up the points well. There was a goodly attendance on the platform of the committee who had organised the meeting, and who were chiefly co-operators. Questions being asked for, I only got one, from the irrepressible temperance champion, which was received with some laughter. In fact, the meeting was rather huddled up at the end, as there was no gas and the light began to fade into the mid-summer twilight, which is all the darkness of those northern regions at this time of the year. A fair amount of literature was sold.

On the 23rd I lectured at Edinburgh, in the Oddfellows' Hall, for the committee which is the fag-end of the Industrial Remuneration Conference of last year. We expected but a poor attendance, as there were several meetings of parliamentary candidates going on in the city; but after all it turned out well, the attendance being better than at any previous lecture. Again the audience seemed sympathetic—nay, enthusiastic. I asked for questions in writing, dreading the meandering speech which usually accompanies spoken questions. I got quite a pack of cards of them; and the answers were well received. A clergyman was in the chair, another (our friend Mr. Glasse, who made a Socialistic speech) moved the vote of thanks, and a third seconded it. This last gentleman poked some heavy ecclesiastical fun at me, interlarded with buttery compliments. Once for all, I must ask our comrades to forgive me for receiving votes of thanks, on the ground that I could not help it. The sale of literature was good. I had a short but pleasant interview with the members of the Branch afterwards.

They seemed rather depressed; lack speakers, and so find it difficult to make much way; but are getting a few new members, in spite of the slackness of their propaganda. They told me that a branch of the Social Democratic Federation started, apparently with good prospects, early this year or late last (I forget which), had quite disappeared after a few weeks' existence. One comrade said that in talking to fellow-workmen they would agree with everything that he said in favour of Socialism, but could not be brought further than this passive adherence. On the other hand our comrades are making most commendable efforts to push the *Commonweal*, and with much success. The news-shops take it and sell it, too, and they are also getting newsboys to sell it; so that propaganda of some sort is going on, only our comrades feel the want of public and obvious propaganda. I should add, the University Society, who have a good deal retreated from their position, at all events in appearance, are starting a kind of progressive debating society, appealing to trades' unionists and co-operatives to join it, which our comrades intend to use for their own and other people's education.

The 24th I gave the same lecture at Glasgow. A wet evening, meetings of candidates throughout the town, and again apprehensions of a failure; but again a good audience, perhaps rather more in assent than at Edinburgh; a somewhat overwhelming amount of questions, the answers to which were very well received. A sprinkling of Ruskinians were there, somewhat inclined, I fancy, to take exception to the roughness of the opinions: indeed, the mover of that (terrible) vote of thanks said as much, and was somewhat cheered.

I may here remark that it seems to me that the Scotch are much given to "lion-hunting," and that therefore it is necessary for a Socialist who wants to get at the facts to discount a certain amount of the enthusiasm with which he is received, if he happens to have any reputation outside Socialism. Still enough remains in these cases to show that there were many in the audience who really agreed. At Glasgow there was a good sprinkling also of Land Restorers; but these, I think, are beginning to see out of the narrow close in which Henry George has hedged them.

The 25th I lectured at Dundee, and had much such an audience as at Glasgow, only that they lacked the instruction that our Branch has, with all drawbacks, given to the Glasgow folk, and therefore did not seem so ready to take up the points. Trade is very slack at Dundee; the jute business nearly gone, Indian competition having destroyed it. I was told that there are few places where the difference between the classes is more felt than it is at Dundee. I much regretted that I could not stop there and get to know some of the workers. Our comrades here (Glasgow) ought to make a push to get up a branch at Dundee.

I meet the Branch to-day, and in the evening lecture again. Tomorrow I lecture at Bridgeton, a suburb of Glasgow. But I send this off to be in time for the current number, and will give an account of whatever else happens next week.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

Glasgow, June 27.

## WHIGS, DEMOCRATS, AND SOCIALISTS.

[Read at the Conference convened by the Fabian Society, at South Place Institute, June 11.]

(Concluded from p. 97).

BUT again, it may be said, some of the Democrats go further than this; they take up actual pieces of Socialism, and are more than inclined to support them. Nationalisation of the land, or of railways, or cumulative taxation on incomes, or doing away with inheritance, or new factory laws, or the restriction by law of the day's labour—one of these or more than one sometimes the Democrats will support, and see absolute salvation in one of these planks of the platform. All this I admit, and once again say it is a hopeful sign, and yet once again I say there is a snare in it—a snare lies lurking in the grass. Those who think that they can deal with our present system in this piecemeal way very much under-rate the strength of the tremendous organisation under which we live, which appoints to each of us his place, and if we do not chance to fit it grinds us down till we do. Nothing but a tremendous force can deal with this force; it will not suffer itself to be dismembered, not to lose anything which really is its essence without putting forth all its force in resistance; rather than lose anything which it considers of importance it will pull the roof of the world down upon its head. For indeed, I grant these semi-Socialist Democrats that there is one hope for their tampering piecemeal with our Society; if by chance they can excite people into seriously, however blindly, claiming one or other of these things in question, and could be successful in Parliament with driving it through, they would certainly draw on a great civil war, and such a war once let loose would not end but either with the full triumph of Socialism or its extinction for the present; it would be impossible to limit the aim of the struggle; nor can we even guess at the course which it would take, except that it could not be a matter of compromise. But suppose the Democratic party peaceably successful on this new basis of semi-State Socialism, what would it all mean? Attempts to balance the two classes whose interests are opposed to each other, a mere ignoring of this antagonism which has led through so many centuries to where we are now, and then after a period of disappointment and disaster the naked conflict once more; a revolution made and another immediately necessary on its morrow!

Yet, indeed, it will not come to that; for whatever may be the aims of the Democrats, they will not succeed in getting themselves into a

position from whence they could make the attempt to realise them. I have said there are Tories and yet no real Tory party, so also it seems to me that there are Democrats but no Democratic party; at present they are used by the leaders of the Parliamentary factions, and also kept at a distance by them from any real power. If they by hook or crook managed to get a number of members into Parliament, they would find out their differences very speedily under the influence of party rule; in point of fact the Democrats are not a party because they have no principles other than the old Whig-Radical ones, extended in some cases so as to take in a little semi-Socialism which the march of events has forced on them; that is, they gravitate on one side to the Whigs and on the other to the Socialists. Whenever if ever they begin to be a power in the elections and get members in the house, the temptation to be members of a real live party which may have the government of the country in its hands, the temptation to what is (facetiously, I suppose) called practical politics, will be too much for even many of those who gravitate towards Socialism; a quasi-Democratic Parliamentary party, therefore, would probably be merely a recruiting ground, a nursery for the left wing of the Whigs, which would indeed leave behind some small nucleus of opposition, the principles of which, however, would be vague and floating, and it would be but a powerless group after all.

The future of the Constitutional Parliament, therefore, it seems to me, is a perpetual Whig rump, which will yield to pressure when mere political reforms are attempted to be got out of it, but will be quite impossible for any real change in social and economical matters; that is to say so far as it may be conscious of the attack, for I grant that it may be betrayed into passing semi State-Socialistic measures, which will do this amount of good, that they will help to entangle commerce in difficulties, and so add to discontent by creating suffering; suffering of which the people will not understand the causes definitely, but their instinct will tell them truly that it is brought about by *government*, and that, too, the only kind of government which they can have so long as the Constitutional Parliament lasts.

Now, if you think I have exaggerated the power of the Whigs, that is of solid, dead, unmoving resistance to progress, I must call your attention to the events of the last few weeks. Here has been a measure of pacification proposed; at the least and worst an attempt to enter upon a pacification of a weary and miserable quarrel many centuries old. The British people, in spite of their hereditary prejudice against the Irish, were not averse to the measure: the Tories were, as usual, powerless against it, yet so strong has been the vis inertiae of Whiggery that it has won a notable victory over common-sense and sentiment combined, and has drawn over to it a section of those hitherto known as Radicals, and probably would have drawn all Radicals over but for the personal ascendancy of Mr. Gladstone. The Whigs, seeing if but dimly that this Irish Independence meant an attack on property, have been successful in snatching the promised peace out of the people's hands, and in preparing all kinds of entanglement and confusion for us for a long while in their steady resistance to even the beginnings of revolution. This, therefore, is what Parliament looks to me; a solid central party, with mere nebulous opposition on the right hand and on the left. The people governed; that is to say, fair play for the money-privileged classes to make the most of their privilege, and to fight sturdily with each other in doing so. But the government concealed as much as possible, and also as long as possible; that is to say the government resting on an assumed necessary eternity of privilege to monopolize the means of the fructification of labour.

For so long as that assumption is accepted by the ignorance of the people, the Great Whig Rump will remain inexpugnable, but as soon as the people's eyes are opened, even partially—and they begin to understand the meaning of the words, the Emancipation of Labour—we shall begin to have an assured hope of throwing off the basest and most sordid tyranny which the world has yet seen, the tyranny of so-called Constitutionalism.

How, then, are the people's eyes to be opened? By the force evolved from the final triumph and consequent corruption of Commercial Whiggery, which force will include in it a recognition of its constructive activity by intelligent people on the one hand, and on the other half-blind instinctive struggles to use its destructive activity on the part of those who suffer and have not been allowed to think; and to boot, a great deal that goes between those two extremes. In all this all those who can be truly called Socialists will be involved. The modern development of the great class-struggle has forced us to think, our thoughts force us to speak, and our hopes force us to try to get a hearing from the people. Nor can one tell how far our words will carry, so to say. The most moderate exposition of our principles will bear with it the seeds of disruption; nor can we tell what form that disruption will take. One and all, then, we are responsible for the enunciation of Socialist principles and of the consequences which may flow from their general acceptance, whatever that may be. This responsibility no Socialist can shake off by declarations against physical force and in favour of constitutional methods of agitation: we are attacking the constitution with the very beginnings, the mere lispings, of Socialism.

Whiggery, therefore, in its various forms, is the representative of Constitutionalism—is the outward expression of monopoly and consequent artificial restraints on labour and life; and there is only one expression of the force which will destroy Whiggery, and that is Socialism; and on the right hand and on the left Toryism and Radicalism will melt into Whiggery—are doing so now—and Socialism has got to absorb all that is not Whig in Radicalism. Then comes the question, What is the policy of Socialism? If Toryism and Democracy

are only nebulous masses of opposition to the solid centre of Whiggery, what can we call Socialism? Well, at present, in England at least, Socialism is not a party but a sect. That is sometimes brought against it as a taunt; but I am not dismayed by it; for I can conceive of a sect—nay, I have heard of one—becoming a very formidable power, and becoming so by dint of its remaining a sect. So I think it is quite possible that Socialism will remain a sect till the very eve of the last stroke that completes the Revolution, after which it will melt into the new Society. And is it not sects, bodies of definite, uncompromising principles, that lead into revolutions? Was it not so in the Cromwellian times? Nay, have not the Fenian sect, even in our own days, made Home Rule possible? They may give birth to parties, though not parties themselves. And what should a sect like we are have to do in the Parliamentary struggle—we who have an ideal to keep always before ourselves and others, and who cannot accept compromise; who can see nothing that can give us rest for a minute save the emancipation of labour brought about by the workers gaining possession of all the means of the fructification of labour, and even then pure Communism ahead to strive for?

What are we to do, then? Stand by and look on? Not exactly. Yet we may look on other people doing their work while we do ours. They are already beginning, as I have said, to stumble about with attempts at State-Socialism. Let them make their experiments and blunders, and prepare the way for us by so doing. And our own business? Well, we—sect or party, or group of self-seekers, madmen, and poets, which you will—are at least the only set of people who have been able to see that there is and has been a great class-struggle going on. Further, we can see that this class-struggle cannot come to an end till the classes themselves do: one class must absorb the other. Which, then? Surely the useful one, the one that the world lives by, and on. The business of the people at present is to make it impossible for the useless, non-producing class to live; while the business of Constitutionalism is, on the contrary, to make it possible for them to live. And our business is to help make the people conscious of this great antagonism between the people and Constitutionalism; and meantime to let Constitutionalism go on with its government unhindered by us at least, until it at last becomes conscious of its burden of the people's hate, of the people's knowledge that it is disinherited, which we shall have done our best to further by any means that we could.

As to Socialists in Parliament, there are two words about that. If they go there to take a part in carrying on Constitutionalism by palliating the evils of the system, and so helping our rulers to bear their burden of government, I for one, and so far as their action therein goes, cannot call them Socialists at all. But if they go there with the intention of doing what they can towards disruption of Parliament, that is a matter of tactics for the time being; but even here I cannot help seeing the danger of their being seduced from their true errand, and I fear that they would become, on the terms above mentioned, simply supporters of the very thing they set out to undo.

I say that our work lies quite outside Parliament, and it is to help to educate the people by every and any means that may be effective; and the knowledge we have to help them to is threefold—to know their own, to know how to take their own, and to know how to use their own.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

### A PROTESTANT CLERGYMAN ON HOME RULE.

A PROTESTANT clergyman of Tipperary, writing to me the other day a letter opposing Home Rule in Ireland, made the following significant statements, which, coming as they do, "from the seat of war," are worthy of some attention at the hands of certain politicians. He wrote, speaking of his own district: "All who have any stake in the country (shopkeepers, manufacturers, and all connected with land-ownership) are greatly relieved that the Bill is even postponed. . . . I believe with you that Home Rule would mean Nationalisation of the Land, but it would not stop there: the movement is purely a Communitistic one, and will if not checked attack *all* property—witness the various leagues on foot to rob various legal responsibilities in no way connected with the land." This news seems almost too good to be true, but there can be no doubt that unless Home Rule tends in the direction he indicates, it will be of little use to the Irish workers, though the politicians will be the very last to comprehend this.

T. D. A. COCKERELL.

SAUCE FOR THE GANDER.—He was a locked-out carpenter and in quest of a job from an employer who possessed sympathy with the hard lot of those doomed to the routine toil of wage-slavery. "Are you in want of a hand?" he asked of a sleek and well-fed member of the Builders' Association, as he leaned out from his carriage in front of a row of buildings. "Yes," said the employer, "I am." "I want a job," said the man afoot, as he laid his hand upon the tire of a front wheel. "Are you a member of either one of the carpenters' organisations?" asked the well-fed man in the buggy. "I am a member of one of these organisations," replied the anxious journeyman. "Well, sir," said the boss, "I'll employ you if you will do one thing. Bring me a written certificate from your organisation that will show that you have severed your connection with it." "I will do it," said the workman, "provided you will sever your connection from the Builders' Association." "I can't do that." "Why not?" "Because I would have to violate my pledge of honour!" "Your pledge of honour?" "Yes, sir." "Do you suppose that I have no sense of honour?" replied the union carpenter. "My obligations," said he, "are as sacred to me as any you have taken upon yourself. I may not get work from *you*, but I never will desert my colours on that account. Good day, sir."—*Baltimore Free Press*.

## THE PILGRIMS OF HOPE.

### XIII.—THE STORY'S ENDING.

(Continued from page 75.)

How can I tell you the story of the Hope and its defence? We wrought in a narrow circle; it was hither and thither and thence; To the walls, and back for a little; to the fort and there to abide. Grey-beards and boys and women; they lived there—and they died; Nor counted much in the story. I have heard it told since then, And mere lies our deeds have turned to in the mouths of happy men, And e'en those will be soon forgotten as the world wends on its way, Too busy for truth or kindness. Yet my soul is seeing the day When those who are now but children the new generation shall be, And e'en in our land of commerce and the workshop over the sea, Amid them shall spring up the story; yea the very breath of the air To the yearning hearts of the workers true tale of it all shall bear. Year after year shall men meet with the red flag over head, And shall call on the help of the vanquished and the kindness of the dead. And time that weareth most things, and the years that overgrow The tale of the fools triumphant, yet clearer and clearer shall show The deeds of the helpers of menfolk to every age and clime, The deeds of the cursed and the conquered that were wise before their time.

Of these were my wife and my friend; there they ended their wayfaring Like the generations before them thick thronging as leaves of the spring, Fast falling as leaves of the autumn as the ancient singer hath said, And each one with a love and a story. Ah the grief of the early dead!

"What is all this talk?" you are saying; "Why all this long delay?" Yes, indeed, it is hard in the telling. Of things too grievous to say I would be, but cannot be, silent. Well, I hurry on to the end. For it drew to the latter ending of the hope that we helped to defend. The forts were gone and the foemen drew near to the thin-manned wall And it wanted not many hours to the last hour and the fall, And we lived amid the bullets and seldom went away To what as yet were the streets by night-tide or by day. We three, we fought together, and I did the best I could, Too busy to think of the ending; but Arthur was better than good; Resourceful, keen and eager, from post to post he ran, To thrust out aught that was moving and bring up the uttermost man. He was gone on some such errand, and was absent a little space, When I turned about for a moment and saw my wife's fair face, And her foot set firm on the rampart, as she hastened here and there, To some of our wounded comrades such help as she could to bear. Then straight she looked upon me with such lovely, friendly eyes Of the days gone by and remembered, that up from my heart 'gan rise The choking sobbing passion; but I kept it aback, and smiled, And waved my hand aloft— But therewith her face turned wild In a moment of time, and she stared along the length of the wall, And I saw a man who was running and crouching, stagger and fall, And knew it for Arthur at once; but voiceless toward him she ran, I with her, crying aloud. But or ever we reached the man, Lo! a rear and a crash around us and my sick brain whirling around, And a white light turning to black, and no sky and no air and no ground, And then what I needs must tell of as a great blank; but indeed No words to tell of its horror hath language for my need: As a map is to a picture, so is all that my words can say.

But when I came to myself, in a friend's house sick I lay Amid strange blended noises, and my own mind wandering there; Delirium in me indeed and around me everywhere. That passed, and all things grew calmer, I with them: all the stress That the last three months had been on me now sank to helplessness. I bettered, and then they told me the tale of what had betid; And first, that under the name of a friend of theirs I was hid, Who was slain by mere misadventure, and was English as was I, And no rebel, and had due papers wherewith I might well slip by When I was somewhat better. Then I knew, though they had not told, How all was fallen together, and my heart grew sick and cold. And yet indeed thenceforward I strove my life to live, That e'en as I was and so hapless I yet might live to strive. It was but few words they told me of that murder great and grim, And how with the blood of the guiltless the city's streets did swim, And of other horrors they told not, except in a word or two When they told of their scheme to save me from the hands of the villainous crew.

Whereby I guessed what was happening in the main without detail. And so at last it came to their telling the other tale Of my wife and my friend; though that also methought I knew too well. Well, they said that I had been wounded by the fragment of a shell, Another of which had slain her outright, as forth she ran Toward Arthur struck by a bullet. She never touched the man Alive and she also alive; but thereafter as they lay Both dead on one litter together, then folk who knew not us, But were moved by seeing the twain so fair and so piteous, Took them for husband and wife who were fated there to die Or, it may be lover and lover indeed—but what know I?

Well you know that I 'scaped from Paris, and crossed the narrow sea, And made my way to the country where we twain were wont to be, And that is the last and the latest of the tale I have to tell. I came not here to be bidding my happiness farewell, And to nurse my grief and to win me the gain of a wounded life, That because of the bygone sorrow may hide away from the strife. I came to look to my son, and myself to get stout and strong, That two men there might be hereafter to battle against the wrong; And I cling to the love of the past and the love of the day to be, And the present, it is but the building of the man to be strong in me.

WILLIAM MORRIS

(To be concluded.)

Equality in the ballot box is a mere juggle when there is social and industrial inequality all around.—*Labor Enquirer*.





"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance should be attached to them because of the position they may occupy in these pages. None, therefore, are to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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QUESTIONS bearing upon the principles propounded and the objects had in view by the *Commonweal*, will be welcomed by the Editors.

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ENQUIRER.—Yes. The *Commonweal* may be procured from, and subscriptions received by, David Dick, Bookseller, Eastport, Forfar.

D. C.—Any one having friends in Ireland should send them copies of leaflet, "Shall Ireland be Free?" None at any time should neglect this most effective form of propaganda.

RECEIVED—England: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record—Imperial Federation—Our Corner—The Socialist. Belgium: Le Chante-Clair (Bruxelles). Canada: L'Union Ouvrière (Montreal). France: Paris: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—Le Révolté—Le Socialiste—La Tribune des Peuples—Revue du Mouvement Social—La Citoyenne. Le Devoir (Guise)—Le Forçat du Travail (Bordeaux). Germany: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). Holland: Recht voor Allen. Hungary: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Buda-Pest). India: People's Friend (Madras). Italy: Il Fascio Operaio (Milan). New Zealand: Watchman. Portugal: O Campino—Voz do Operário—O Protesto Operário (Lisbon). Spain: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social—Acracia—La Justicia Humana (Barcelona)—Bandera Social—El Socialista (Madrid)—El Socialismo (Cadiz)—La Perseverancia (Huelva). Switzerland: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich). U. S. A.: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country—Amerikanische Arbeiterzeitung—Truthseeker. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal. Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer—Little Socialist—Chicago (Ill.) Alarm—Detroit (Mich.) Labor Leaf—Princeton (Mass.) Word—Cleveland (O.): Carpenter. Cincinnati (O.) Unionist—San Francisco (Cal.) Truth—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Petersburg (Ill.) Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Altruist. Kansas (Mo.) Sun—Pittsburg (Pa.) Labor Herald—Baltimore (Md.) Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.) Lucifer—Newfoundland (Pa.) La Torpille—Litchfield (Minn.) Radical—Evansville (Ind.) Neue Zeit Milwaukee (Wis.) Volksblatt—Portland (Oregon) Alarm—Salem (Oregon) Advance—Thought—Paterson (N. J.) Labor Standard.

ARTICLES RECEIVED.—Will appear: "Malthusianism"—"A Word in Time"—"Some Instructive Facts"—"The Voice of Freedom"—"Co-operation and Competition."

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER VI.—PREPARATIONS FOR REVOLUTION—FRANCE.

As we have said, Louis XIV. succeeded in making the French monarchy a pure autocratic bureaucracy, completely centralised in the person of the monarch. This with an ambitious king like Louis XIV. involved constant war, for he felt himself bound to satisfy his ideal of the necessary expansion of the territory and influence of France, which he looked upon as the absolute property of the king. The general success of Louis XIV. brought with it the success of these wars of aggrandisement, and France became very powerful under his rule. Under the rule of his minister Colbert industrialism in France became completely commercialised. Colbert spared no pains or energy in bringing this about. Often, with more or less success, he drove an industry forward artificially, as with the silk and woollen manufactures. For he was eager to win for France a foremost place in the world-market, which he thought but the due accompaniment of her monarchical glory; and he knew that without it that glory would have died of starvation, since the taxes would not have yielded the necessary food.

It is true that even in England growing commercialism was subordinate to constitutionalism, the English form of bureaucracy; but the idea was already afoot there that the former was rather an end than a means, whereas in France commercialism was completely subordinated to the glory of the autocratic monarchy—a mere feeder of it.

The religion of this period of the "Grand Monarque" shows little more than an ecclesiastical struggle between Gallicanism on the one hand, which claimed a feeble spark of independence as regards Rome for the French Church, and is represented by Fénelon and Bossuet, and Jesuitry on the other hand, which was the exponent of Roman centralisation. The leading intelligence of the time was on the Gallican side; but the king in the long run favoured the Jesuits, as being the readier instruments of his bureaucratic rule. Outside this ecclesiastical quarrel there was no life whatever in religion, except what was shown by the existence of a few erratic sects of mystics, confined to cultivated persons like the Quietists and Jansenists. The former of these may be said to have put forward the complete abnegation of humanity in the presence of God, while the latter attempted a revivification of the pietism of the Catholic Church.

The Regency which succeeded to the reign of Louis XIV. saw the definite beginnings of the last corruption which betokened the Revolution. The wars of aggrandisement still went on but were now generally unsuccessful; the industrialism set a-going by Colbert went on steadily, but the profits to be gained by it did not satisfy the more adventurous spirit of the period, and the Regency saw a curious exposition of stock-jobbery before its time in the form of the Mississippi scheme of Law, which had its counterpart in England in the South-Sea Bubble. It was a financing operation—an attempt to get something out of nothing—founded on the mercantile theory of economy then current, which showed but an imperfect knowledge of the industrial revolution beginning under men's very eyes, and assumed that the wealth of a country consists in the amount of the precious metals which it can retain. This assumption, by the way, is curiously exemplified in the half-commercial half-buccaneering romances of Daniel Defoe, whose works we should have mentioned in our last chapter as a relief to the monotony of dulness of eighteenth century literature in England.

It is necessary to say something about the literature and art of this period that goes before the Revolution in France, because that country is the especial exponent, particularly in art, of the degradation which indicated the rottenness of society. As in England, literature was formal and stilted, and produced little except worthlessly clever essays and still more worthless verses that have no claim to be called poetry. The French verse-makers, however, aimed at something higher than the English, and produced works which depend on pomp and style for any claim to attention they may have, and for the rest are unreal and lifeless. Amidst them all one name stands forward as representing some reality—Molière, to wit. But the life and genuineness of his comedies serve to show the corruption of the times as clearly as the dead classicalism of Racine; for this, the one man of genius of the time, was driven into the expression of mere cynicism; though in one remarkable passage of his works he shows a sympathy for the ballad-poetry of the people, which, when noticed at all in England at the same period, and even much later, received a kind of indulgent patronage rather than admiration. At the same time as there was a sham tragedy current at this time, so also there was a sham love of simplicity. The ladies and gentlemen of the period ignored the real peasants who were the miserable slaves of the French landlords, and invented in their dramas, poems, and pictures sham shepherds and peasants, who were bundles of conscious unreality, inane imitations of the later classics. This literature and art would be indeed too contemptible for mention, if it were not a sign of a society rotting into revolution.

The fine arts, which had in the end of the sixteenth century descended from the expression of the people's faith and aspirations into that of the fancy, ingenuity, and whim of gifted individuals, fell lower still. They lost every atom of beauty and dignity, and retained little even of the ingenuity of the earlier Renaissance, and became mere expensive and pretentious though carefully finished upholstery, mere adjuncts of pomp and state, the expression of the insolence of riches and the complacency of respectability. Once again it must be said of the art as of the general literature of the period, that no reasonable man could even bestow a passing glance at them but for the incurable corruption of Society which they betokened.

So the time wore away through the disgraceful years of the Regency and of Louis XV., till the accession of the once Dauphin, now Louis XVI., to the throne, which was hailed as a new era by the respectability of France; and was, indeed, the inauguration of a new era undreamed of by the actors in it. Of the conscious hopes and aims which came to the surface with this change, there were indications in the opposition of the higher bourgeoisie to the whimsical and scandalous courtesan-Absolutism, the rule of the Pompadours and Dubarrys, which was predominant under Louis XV., this opposition took the form, amongst others, of the assertion of the formal legal rights of Parliament so-called, which in France was but a privileged body of lawyers, representative of nothing but the crystallisation of the abuses of a sham feudality, but which, nevertheless, both under Louis XV. and his successor, found itself put forward as a champion of the respectability of Bourgeoisdom against the rampant corruption of the Court. But on the accession of Louis XVI. this tendency of respectability to assert itself received fresh impulse, and took a more definite form, and became almost a party in the country, though it had no chance of exercising any direct influence on the government, which was a mere mass of abuses. This respectable reforming party, although for the most part outwardly orthodox, amongst themselves professed

materialism and the worship of reason, and was inspired by a bourgeois humanitarianism which was its most genuine side, and which was largely fed, if not created, by the writings of Voltaire, and still more of Jean Jacques Rousseau and Diderot. This party was a most important element amidst the causes of the revolution; it rallied to it all who had any pretence to cultivated progress, and though it meant nothing but intelligent Conservatism, it formed a screen as it were behind which the true revolutionary forces could gather for the attack on privilege. Its formation was the last sign of the approaching end of the absolutist bureaucracy which was, so to say, propped up by the bodies of its former enemies which it had triumphed over, the feudal rights of the older nobility. That great French centralised monarchy had been a long time ripening, but once ripe it decayed very speedily, and no wonder since it was the corruption of a corruption.

Here, then, we have in France a contrast to the state of things in England. No constitutionalism here; an absolutism despised even by the privileged classes; unable to move in the direction of progress, even when, as in the case of Louis XVI., its head has a tendency to the intelligent conservatism above mentioned; bankrupt also amidst a people broken down, and a commerce hampered by the exactions of the hereditary privilege which is its sole support, discredited by unsuccessful wars, so that the door is shut to its ambition in that road; at home it has to face uneasily the new abstract ideas of liberty and the rights of men. These ideas are professed, indeed, by those who have an interest in preserving the present state of things, but are listened to and pondered by people who find that state of things unbearable. In short, while England, at peace at home and prosperous under reasonable conservatism, is forced to be seeking colonies and markets abroad, while within her own bounds industrialism is quietly developing toward the great change, France, driven back on herself, is forced face to face with the elements of violent change at home; on the one hand bankruptcy and deadlock, on the other intellectual activity directed wholly towards theories of material well-being of a well-to-do class. And at the back of all a commercial bourgeoisie oppressed by privilege, and a miserable proletariat of mere starvelings. From such elements political revolution must be born.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

## RUSKIN AS A REVOLUTIONARY PREACHER.

### II.

IN the columns which from time to time may appear under the above heading, I propose to give, with the smallest possible of connecting thread, such passages as shall, to use one of his book-titles, be veritable "arrows of the chase."

I do not propose much in the way of criticism; if I were doing this I should take exception to much of Ruskin's writing. The authority of a great name is potent with so many of the bourgeois, that we must use great names if they help us to attack great abuses. While I adopt Ruskin's political economy, I totally disregard his superstitions and supernaturalisms. His great regard for lawyers and soldiers seems to me utterly evil.

I shall give exact references, but shall abbreviate titles after the first citation.

That Ruskin has been regarded as dangerous enough in his teachings to be boycotted out of two important magazines is not known to every reader. 'Unto This Last,' the first rough draft of his political economy, was commenced in *Cornhill* in 1860. The storm raised was so fierce that the editor had to shut down on the articles. After a little space of time the editor of *Fraser's Magazine* invited some contributions on same lines, and Ruskin during 1862-3 wrote in that journal—somewhat tamer, by the way; but now the publisher put on the veto, and again Ruskin's political economy was out in the cold. 'Munera Pulveris' is the book-form of this second series. The ideas of those two books have been touched upon and filled out in almost every book of his since. What could have raised such a storm? Much exception cannot be taken to the following:

"Primarily, which is very notable and curious, I observe that men of business rarely know the meaning of the word 'rich.' At least, if they know, they do not in their reasonings allow for the fact that it is a relative word, implying its opposite, 'poor,' as positively as the word 'north' implies its opposite, 'south.' Men nearly always speak and write as if riches were absolute, and it were possible, by following certain scientific precepts, for everybody to be rich; whereas riches are a power like that of electricity, acting only through inequalities or negations of itself. The force of the guinea you have in your pocket depends wholly on the default of a guinea in your neighbour's pocket. If he did not want it, it would be of no use to you; the degree of power it possesses depends accurately upon the need or desire he has for it; and the art of making yourself rich, in the ordinary mercantile economist's sense, is therefore equally and necessarily the art of keeping your neighbour poor." ('Unto This Last,' 2nd ed., 1877, p. 40.)

There seems in this passage something which the worshippers of the great god "Thrift" would, if cornered, have some difficulty in getting over. He next suggests that a distinction should be made between the two economies, "political" and "mercantile."

"Political economy (the economy of a State or of citizens), consists simply in the production, preservation, and distribution, at fittest time and place, of useful or pleasurable things." (P. 41.)

"At fittest time and place" cuts at our present production-wholly-for-profit system.

"But mercantile economy . . . signifies the accumulation, in the hands of individuals, of legal or moral claims upon, or power over, the labour of others, every such claim implying precisely as much poverty or debt on one side as it implies riches or right on the other." (P. 42.)

E. B. Bax seems to think that Ruskin in the region of economics fails to see things as they are (see *Commonweal*, 15th May, p. 50). I suppose we all think that any authority we appeal to makes more for our particular view than any other; but I am sure no Socialist need wish any stronger argument for his position than Essay II. of the work I am now quoting. "The real gist of these papers, their central meaning and aim, is to give, as I believe for the first time in English, . . . a logical definition of 'Wealth'" (Preface, xi.). He goes on then to deride the claims of any book which proposes—as he says Mill's 'Principles of Political Economy' does—to treat of any science without definition. This he asserts—and returns again and again to the charge—has *always* been the method of the economists; and in this, I take it, most of us agree.

To return to Essay II., entitled "Veins of Wealth":

"It [mercantile economy] does not, therefore, necessarily involve an addition to the actual property or well-being of the State in which it exists. But since this commercial wealth or power over labour"—[Here is the supreme point of all]—"is nearly always convertible at once into real property, while real property is not always convertible at once into power over labour, the idea of riches among active men in civilised nations generally refers to commercial wealth; and in estimating their possessions they rather calculate the value of their horses and their fields by the number of guineas they could get for them, than the value of their guineas by the number of horses and fields they could buy with them." (P. 42.)

To most of us, I take it, it seems clear that so-called riches of so-called rich people do not add to the well-being of the State. The last part goes to show what an "unscience" political economy must be when the values of one side of the balance are not the equivalent of the other.

"There is, however, another reason for this habit of mind; namely, that an accumulation of real property is of little use to its owner unless, together with it, he has commercial power over labour. Thus, suppose any person to be put in possession of a large estate of fruitful land, with rich beds of gold in its gravel, countless herds of cattle in its pastures, houses and gardens and storehouses full of useful stores; but suppose, after all, that he could get no servants! In order that he may be able to have servants, some one in his neighbourhood must be poor and in want of his gold, or his corn. Assume that no one is in want of either, and that no servants are to be had. He must, therefore, bake his own bread, make his own clothes, plough his own ground, and shepherd his own flocks. His gold will be as useful to him as any other yellow pebbles on his estate. His stores must rot, for he cannot consume them. He can eat no more than another man could eat, and wear no more than another man could wear. He must lead a life of severe and common labour to procure even ordinary comforts; he will be ultimately unable to keep either houses in repair or fields in cultivation, and forced to content himself with a poor man's portion of cottage and garden, in the midst of a desert of waste land trampled by wild cattle and encumbered by ruins of palaces, which he will hardly mock at himself by calling his 'own.' The most covetous of mankind would, with small exultation, I presume, accept riches of this kind on these terms. What is really desired, under the name of riches, is essentially power over men; in its simplest sense, the power of obtaining for our own advantage the labour of servant, tradesman, and artist." (Pp. 43, 44.)

. . . "So that, as above stated, the art of becoming 'rich,' in the common sense, is not absolutely nor finally the art of accumulating much money for ourselves, but also of contriving that our neighbour shall have less. In accurate terms, it is 'the art of establishing the maximum inequality in our own favour.'" (Pp. 45, 46.)

. . . "Thus the circulation of wealth in a nation resembles that of the blood in the natural body. . . . There is a flush of the body which is full of warmth and life, and another which will pass into putrefaction. The analogy will hold good down even to minute particulars; for as diseased local determination of the blood involves depression of the general health of the system, all morbid local action of riches will be found ultimately to involve a weakening of the resources of the body politic." (Pp. 48, 49.)

Will any care to contest this? What is our "Trade Depression" but in reality a determination of blood—capital—to the (punningly) capita (list), the head?

Consequent is the death, want of blood at the other parts of the body. A death, however, not so much from want of the capital itself as by the power which the capitalist has over labour by prohibiting productiveness:

"Any given accumulation of commercial wealth may be indicative, on the one hand, of faithful industries, progressive energies, and productive ingenuities; or, on the other, it may be indicative of mortal luxury, merciless tyranny, ruinous chicane" (p. 58). . . . "One mass of money is the outcome of action which has created—another, of action which has annihilated—ten times as much in the gathering of it; such and such strong hands have been paralysed, as if they had been numbed by nightshade; so many strong men's courage broken, so many productive operations hindered. . . . That which seems to be wealth may in verity be only the index of far-reaching ruin." (P. 59.)

Even the bourgeois political economists are beginning to allow much of the above, that "wealth" and "health" do not have the exact relationship they should have:

"Since the essence of wealth consists in its authority over men, if the apparent or nominal wealth fail in this power, it fails in essence; in fact, ceases to be wealth. It does not appear lately in England, that our authority over men is absolute. The servants show a disposition to rush riotously upstairs, under an impression that their wages are not regularly paid. We should augur ill of any gentleman's property to whom this happened every other day in his drawing-room. So also the power of our wealth seems limited as respects the comfort of the servants, no less than their quietude. The persons in the kitchen appear to be ill-dressed, squalid, half-starved. One cannot help imagining that the riches of the establishment must be of a very theoretical and documentary character." (Pp. 63, 64.)

On the sham, documentary character, of our much talked of wealth, he is never tired of insisting, and its reverse, the all importance of labour.

In "Fors," No. 2, February, 1871, p. 15, he says :

"There are, practically, two absolutely opposite kinds of labour going on among men for ever. The first, labour supported by capital, producing nothing. The second, labour unsupported by capital, producing all things."

And he gives as to the first one of the aptest examples possible :

"A little while since, I was paying a visit in Ireland, and chanced to hear of the pleasures of a picnic party, who had gone to see a waterfall. There was, of course, ample lunch, feasting on the grass, and baskets full of fragments taken up afterwards. Then the company, feeling themselves dull, gave the fragments that remained to the attendant ragged boys, on condition that they should 'pull each other's hair.'"

What are Kempton coursing meetings, Hurlingham, and Ascot but forms of the same game? Returning once more to our "Veins of Wealth," he says :

"In fact, it may be discovered that the true Veins of Wealth are purple—and not in Rock, but in Flesh—perhaps even that the final outcome and consummation of all wealth is in the producing as many as possible, full-breathed, bright-eyed, and happy-hearted human creatures. Our modern wealth, I think, has a tendency the other way." (P. 64, 65).

He concludes by suggesting it as advisable to produce Souls of good quality as a lendingly lucrative national manufacture.

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

## A TRAMP'S WALLET.

### II.

I was up betimes next morning away on my journey. I purposed reaching the Sussex coast, and searching for work in its pleasure resorts, where I was assured work in my trade was brisk. My ignorance of the route and the conflicting directions I received from passers-by caused me to lose much ground, and the evening found me very little advanced on my journey, but, tired and footsore, at an old village that in coaching times had been of some importance, but is now but a cluster of houses. It possessed, however, one resource of modern civilisation, viz., a tramp's lodging-house, and thither I went and secured a bed for the night.

I found a motley company gathered in the common room, and as it was my first experience of a rural common lodging-house I keenly scrutinised my neighbours, who in return summed up my dejected appearance, and whispered the audible verdict that I was a greenhorn and "fresh at it." I had expended my last penny in the purchase of a hunk of dry bread, and as I gloomily munched it, a woman who was feeding some sunburnt youngsters from a heap of broken victuals offered me a scrap of butter and a cup of weak tea, both of which I gladly accepted. "Poor lad," said she, sympathisingly, "its hard lines to eat dry bread after a days' travel." From which direction had I come, and maybe I had a mother who was worrying over me. I had to give a gulp to prevent a burst of tears. It was the first kindness I had had shown me since my journey's outset. She said that her old man, pointing to a stalwart countryman, was working hereabouts thatching, trussing, and such like, but she expected they'd soon be on the move again, and it's hard lines for the poor brats to cover the ground and not know where to lie at the end of the journey. The winter is the worst of all. The broken victuals she said were the result of a "mump" the eldest had done at a kitchen gate. I found that my fellow lodger carefully avoided the use of the word tramp, and spoke of their class as "travellers."

Outside of the few itinerant agricultural labourers, there were the regular cockney cadgers and vendors of cheap jewellery on their way to — races. One of these, a diminutive, narrow-chested individual, who professed to be a blacksmith, struck up a conversation, and offered to work a "lay" with me at the race-meeting. He laughed at my ignorance of his meaning, and was I only two days' out of the "Smoke," and stumped up already. "No grub! What a flat!" said he, and took a long steady look at me as he said it, to see, I expect, what a real unsophisticated "flat" looked like. "Yer pal in with me, and I'll show yer something better than that." The prospect of the morrow without money or food had depressed me, and I asked how was it to be altered. "Why 'mump,' of course!" said he, and then, because of the blank look of my countenance, indulged in a good laugh at my expense. "Yer see all those dishes up there, filled with grub,—there was a row of yellow dishes on a shelf,—that's all been 'mumped,' and you could buy a bit of it if yer had any money, and yer can get money too if yer only knew yer book!"

"Yer'll be all right with me," he continued in a patronising way, and after a while left me to have a drink with the labourer, and I retired to rest. The bedroom was a long apartment filled with truckle bedsteads. One end was parted off with a flimsy curtain for the "married" lodgers and their young children, who all herded together. In my after experience of similar places I found that in rural places the provisions of the Common Lodging-Houses Act were more honoured in the breach than the observance, and the division of the sexes and young very loosely observed; and as any couple can agree to say they are "married," those who talk of the sanctities of the family tie under our atrocious system have here a fine field in which to exercise their imaginations. My slumber was soon disturbed by a light. It was the countryman's wife and youngster, on their way to the curtained par-

tition. They were soon followed by the countryman and my acquaintance of the evening, both in that happy stage known as "half-seas over." The blacksmith (*sic*!) assured me of his eternal friendship, and the countryman commenced a quarrel with his wife, which ended in a battle-royal, in the course of which they nearly demolished the curtain around their "private apartment." The children screamed and the other lodgers joined in a chorus of contradictory sounds, some adjuring the woman to hold her condemned jaw, and others telling the man to let the woman alone. After a while the storm subsided, and after the youngsters had all been smacked for "hollering," silence was restored. To me these scenes were horrible. Brought up as a working lad, comparatively comfortable, my immediate surroundings caused me the greatest mental suffering. But here were tender children, whose early reminiscences would be filled up with such scenes; and when they develop into the adult way-worn travel-stained tramp, bringing in yet another generation of homeless unfortunates. Society outlaws and punishes the victims for the crime Society has committed against them. But I will keep any further reflections for my next.

JOHN LITSTER.

(To be continued.)

## "A GOOD SERMON."

A "sympathetic subscriber to the *Commonweal*" sends the following extracts from a sermon preached recently in St. Vincent Street Unitarian Church, Glasgow, by the Rev. A. Lazenby, which our correspondent says, "made a good impression on a congregation that contains a large number of well-to-do folks":

"The large accumulations of wealth in a few hands can only leave the rest of the world comparatively poor. And the question arises: Doesn't this mean an unequal and unjust distribution of the rewards of industry? Wealth we know is the result of labour, of industry, of skill, of enterprise, of frugality, of foresight. Some one must have dug it out of the earth, or ground it out of her dust, or gathered it from the four corners of the earth, or fetched it from the ocean depths, or reaped it from nature's fruits. While nature is its mother, labour is its father; and the wealth of the world has been made by the co-operation of man with nature. . . . But who performs the labour, and who reaps the fruits? Does the largest share of the product of labour go to those who do the work, or to those who are called the capitalists? It is easy to find instances. Take the report of the N. E. Railway for the last half of the year 1884. The total revenue for that half year was £3,299,000. This was divided as follows: Materials, law-costs, taxes, £689,000; wages or salaries of all kinds, £1,078,000; bond and shareholders £1,531,000. Roughly speaking, one million pounds went to the workers who carried on the line, and one million and a half to those who never lifted finger save to hand over capital; in other words, out of every ten hours the servant worked he gave six for the benefit of the bondholder and only had four for himself. Is that a fair proportion? I saw in the papers the other week, that the great match-making firm in London—which is now by junction of the two leading companies virtually a monopoly—has just declared a dividend of 22½ per cent., and that they pay 2½ per gross for the making of match-boxes, the people who make them finding paste, etc. I need not ask if that is a *just* proportion. Our very heart cries out against it. We feel that it is an evident principle of humanity and justice that property and the means of comfort should have some proportion to men's industry. 'Ah!' it is said, 'these cases are exceptional and rare; (would to God they were!) 'the proportions—or rather disproportions—are not all so great.' Possibly not. But taking a rough estimate of the results—and rewards—of labour, it is estimated after the cost of material is deducted, that one-half of the products go in wages, and the other half in interest on capital, in rent, and in profit. In other words, of a thousand men engaged in this manufactory, ten, perhaps (an unusual number), possess the capital, own the property, and superintend the work; the 990 do the work. Those ten divide between them as much as is shared by the 990.

"That is a fair illustration of the relative reward of capital and labour. Looking at it from a moral point of view is that equitable? I know it is affirmed that capital has its claims. But methinks they are over-rated in comparison with the claims of the human nerves, and brain, and sinews, and life. 'Something must be allowed for the risk taken by the capitalist. He is liable to fail. Often does fail.' But risk should not claim all the reward. Who makes the risk? Is it not often the capitalist? And that, too, by his too eager pursuit of wealth? And have the workers, the poor, nothing to risk? Can they lose nothing? Let a wave of depression in trade sweep over the country, and the regular working-man falls out of work, and immediately he is carried under, and all those dependent upon him—and there is no help for them. Yes, the poor are liable to 'fail,' and often do 'fail.'—God pity them! There is nothing in all God's universe more ruthlessly wasted than man and woman—and for what? To satisfy the world's passion for wealth!"

## LITERARY NOTICES.

We have received the *Industrial News* of Toledo, O., an advanced, well-written labour paper, which we are sincerely glad to welcome as one of our exchanges.

San Francisco *Truth*, "in small doses," keeps up to the level at which it started. "She's a daisy," girls, and does you credit! We do not wonder at the work done in Frisco now the women take such a share in it.

The *Labor Lyceum* is a four-page (royal 8vo) little paper, published weekly in New York at 1 cent., by Julius Bordollo. It contains announcements and reports of meetings, smart leaderettes and bright paragraphs, and should result in a larger attendance at the lectures advertised.

The *Labor Leaf*, published by the Clerkenwell Branch of the League, is a child of the Denver *Little Socialist* and San Francisco *Truth*. It is a small four-page monthly, designed to advertise the Branch meetings and the *Commonweal*. Its promoters advise their readiness to adapt it to the arrangements of other Branches, and supply it at 8s. 6d. per 1000. Any provincial Branch which took it up would be benefited thereby.



## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES.

## IRELAND.

DUBLIN.—Although to a superficial observer Socialism has not made much progress in this country, the doctrines we have been for the past six months propounding have not been without fruit. The more thoughtful of the workers are beginning to see the capitalist system in its true light; they are slowly but surely learning that mere political progress will not avail them much whilst they are socially slaves. This has been to a certain extent exemplified in the strikes that have lately taken place here; one noticeable feature of them all being the altered tone of the worker in demanding a larger share of the wealth that he himself creates. Heretofore, in seeking an advance in his wages, or, as was much more frequently the case, in protesting against a reduction, he threw himself entirely upon the generosity of his employer. He craved as a boon what he should have demanded as a right. Now he insists that labour is entitled to its just reward. This is not much of a change, yet I look upon it as a hopeful sign for the future. When the Irish workman shall have learned the truths of Socialism, when he really understands his true position, the bourgeois system will get but a short shrift in this country. The strike of the bottlenmakers, the successful efforts of comrade Schumann on their behalf, the self-sacrificing conduct of the Swedes, have already been described in your columns by "Bruno." Believing that the particulars of two other and more important strikes, now in active progress, those of the Stonecutters and Quay Labourers, may be of some interest to the readers of the *Commonweal*, I shall set them forth in as brief a manner as possible. The stonecutters were engaged in the building of the new Museum of Science and Art, the contractors being Messrs. Beckett, South King Street. At the commencement of the work in January, there being great numbers out of employment at the time, the Stonecutter's Guild permitted their members to work for 32s. per week, being 3s. less than the recognised wages of the trade. In addition to the members of the Operative Stonecutters, Messrs. Beckett had also engaged "scab labour," or non-society men. These latter during the progress of the work joined the union, so that all the men engaged to the number of ninety struck work. The men demanded 35s. per week for sixty hours work, the employers offering 32s. for sixty-one hours. I may mention that the Messrs. Beckett have always been noted for their harsh and tyrannous conduct towards their workers, never losing an opportunity of adopting the "skin 'em" capitalist device of using the existence of the unemployed as a lever for forcing down the wages of the employed. So far they have failed, no stonecutters have been got to take the place of the men on strike.—About three weeks ago, the quay porters engaged by the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company and the Dublin and Glasgow Steam Packet Company, struck, not for higher wages, but because the managers of these companies occasionally engaged labourers not belonging to the Emmet Amalgamated Labourers Union, a body to which most of the quay labourers belong. Other labourers who had taken the place of those on strike having been attacked, several arrests were made, five or six men were fined 20s., two men and one woman were sent forward for trial to the Commission. In one case, although the man alleged to have been attacked refused to attend, and the manager of the Company refused to prosecute, the magistrate issued a summons for their attendance. In dealing with all the cases the magistrates take care to lecture the labourers upon their foolishness in throwing up their good employment, and upon the *illegality* of their trying to prevent other men from doing what they have a *legal right* to do—making slaves of themselves. To guard against any further intimidation the men now at work are protected by the police; groups of men are not allowed to stand on the quays even when looking out for work. Left-handed justice is impartially dealt out—the interests of the shipping companies are carefully looked after by the authorities, whilst the labourers (despite the efforts of well-meaning persons to bring about a settlement) are not allowed to protect themselves. On all sides can be heard the murmurs of the coming storm. Let us hope to soon witness the Lexington of the Social Revolution. K.E.T.

## AMERICA.

"SHE-TOWNS" IN AMERICA.—Some of the cotton manufacturing towns of Massachusetts are so crowded with women and child operatives, to the exclusion of men, that they are popularly known as "she-towns." In that State, out of 61,246 operatives in cotton-mills, 22,180 are males, 31,496 are women, and 7,570 are children. In some of these mills nearly all are women receiving forty cents a day, living on the poorest of fare. This large preponderance of poorly-paid women makes these towns so poor that property owners groan under taxation and oppose all improvements. This change in the character of the inhabitants is spreading, so that in the not distant future it is predicted all the cotton-manufacturing districts will become "she-towns." The question will then arise, What will become of the men? They can find nothing to do, and their wives and children cannot earn enough to support them.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

AN UNPARALLELED INCIDENT.—The Chicago papers report an incident to which there is probably no parallel. The Nailers of the Cummings Mill have been on strike for four months against the further clipping of their skin-and-bone wages, and their families are about as close to starvation as they were in working times. It was reported on

the morning of the 4th that several car-loads of nails were to be moved from the mill. At ten o'clock 200 of the wives and children of the strikers appeared on the railroad track at the nail mill, some of them with sticks or switches in their hands. According to the reports, they were half-clad, starved and haggard-looking, and a general air of anxiety and desperation overspread their countenances. Their talk was wild and excited, and it was evident that their feelings were at the highest pitch. Hours passed, and they still stood on the tracks. After a while, one of the pickets came running breathlessly along the track, waving her shawl and shouting, "To the cars! to the cars!" This signalled the approach of the engine. A rush was made to where the loaded cars were standing. Mothers with infants in arms and dragging youngsters by the hand hurried along. The women grouped their little ones along the track some distance ahead of the first freight car and packed them according to age along the rails, the youngest toward the approaching engine, the mothers and grown-up daughters taking positions in the rear. The engine steamed up slowly a short distance, but seeing the living obstacle on the track, whistled shrilly and returned. Then the women dispersed, jeering and abusing the representatives of the company at the gate, calling them the most opprobrious names. The police prevented violence by the infuriated women. At two o'clock, when engines appeared again, fully 2,000 women and children were thronging the tracks and apparently determined to hold them. Capt. Hunt, with sixty police, attempted to clear the tracks, but could do it only with great difficulty. The women closed up again on the tracks, unless absolutely held back by the police, and the engines were unable to get by the women without killing them. The greatest excitement prevailed, and all attempts made to move the cars proved futile. After several charges by the police, the frenzied women were finally driven to their homes and the tracks were cleared, but no further attempt to move the cars was made. Next day, June 5th, an engine arrived about noon, and the women were again out in force, headed by two of their number, one of whom held a baby aloft, while the other waved a blue flag. The police again dispersed them, and guarded the tracks.—*John Swinton's Paper*.

## AUSTRALIA.

THE UNEMPLOYED IN SYDNEY.—The labour bureau at the top of King Street was surrounded all yesterday by groups of men discussing—not political, but the unemployed situation. The relief works at Rookwood were put in full swing in the morning, and a body of 150 married men were sent out there by an early train. To the works at Little Bay, 145 single men were forwarded. This morning, by a train leaving at seven o'clock, a second contingent of married men, numbering 200, will be sent on to Rookwood. At present the men do not reside on the works. A train will be dispatched every evening from Rookwood to return the men to their homes in the metropolis. Yesterday the names of 331 men, married and single, were registered for employment, and of 86 single men for railway passes into the country, bringing the total up to 417. Tickets for supper were distributed among the men last evening. It has been suggested to the Colonial Secretary that permanent relief works for the employment only of single men should be instituted in the New England district, with a view to the establishment of an agricultural farm. The subject is likely at some future time to be considered by the Cabinet.—*Sydney Daily Telegraph*, March 13.

BOURKE.—Great dissatisfaction is expressed here at a number of the unemployed being shipped to Bourke, as there is absolutely no work stirring, and if necessary hundreds of able-bodied men able to turn their hands to anything could be got. The new-comers in the district have either to beg or starve, as there is no place to make for from here. It is absolute cruelty sending men here while Bourke is so fearfully depressed.—*Sydney Daily Telegraph*, March 13.

## PORTUGAL.

LIFE OF THE WORKERS.—"The rate of wages in Northern Portugal is low, and the hours of labour long in all trades. The working hours have not been shortened within my recollection of the last eighteen years, but wages in nearly all directions have steadily risen from 10 to 25 per cent." In the cotton mills both males and females work from sunrise to sunset. The average wages of male operatives, which, we suppose, includes males in all departments of the mill, average 320 reis per day, and females earn 140 reis per day on an average, and as 100 reis only equal 5½d. in English money, in point of wages they are miserably low, and their general condition allows great scope for improvement. "In Oporto alone," says the Consul, "it is estimated there are fully 10,000 hand-loom. To each machine is attached the whole family of the weaver, and at the lowest calculation these miserable slaves of the loom must exceed 30,000. They work from ten to twelve hours a day, but the wages earned are too small for a decent living, and their diet is poor indeed; still it is said to be nutritious, but it is a rarity if ever they taste roast meat, wheaten bread, butter, tea, and coffee."—*Consular Report*.

## Home Rule for Ireland and the Present Election.

The Lecturers of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE will be pleased to address any club or association upon this vital question. It is imperative that all should give their closest attention and most earnest thought to the solution of the problem that confronts us, and everyone who can assist in this should be heard.—Address Lecture Secretary at this office.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

### Notices to Members.

*Library.*—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

*Reading Room.*—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. All papers received by the Secretary are sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members.

### Notices to Lecturers and Branch Secretaries.

To avoid confusion and mistake, lecturers and Branch secretaries are requested to at once advise the Lecture Secretary of all engagements made by them. Branches will find it more convenient to make their arrangements with speakers through the Lecture Secretary, who will undertake to make all necessary announcements unless otherwise instructed.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Hammersmith, Leeds, Norwich, Dublin, to April 30. Bloomsbury, Bradford, Croydon, Hackney, Merton, North London, to May 31. Clerkenwell, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Mile-End, Manchester, Oxford, to June 30. Marylebone to Sept. 30.—P. W.

### The "Commonweal."

After next week, all settlements of Branch accounts for *Commonweal* will be acknowledged under this heading. *Branches please note.*

Strenuous efforts are needed to enlarge the circulation and make our paper self-supporting. Any one who is not yet putting his energies forth should begin now.

Posters and slips for pasting up, to advertise *Commonweal*, will be sent to any Branch or member desiring them.

Boards for the use of newsagents can be supplied to Branches at 1s. each.

Copies of the cartoon by Walter Crane, "Mrs. Grundy frightened at her own shadow," printed on fine hand-made paper for framing, price 6d., postage 1d.

### The Right of Free Speech in Public Places.

Our comrades and friends are asked to bestir themselves to secure freedom of speech in our public ways, in contradistinction to freedom of speech for certain classes and sects only. The spirit of Socialism is at war with class interests: officialism is giving its support to class interests only. It is well known that the clear open space at the east end of Stratford Church is a spot where the expression of public opinion can take place with little or no obstruction or annoyance to the general public. For endeavouring to assert the right of free speech at Stratford, the Socialist League has been heavily fined; and the Council of the League hereby asks that all friends of freedom should support the League with subscriptions in aid of this righteous cause. The Treasurer of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., will gladly accept, and acknowledge the receipt of, Pence, Shillings, or Pounds from friends of the Right of Free Speech in Public Places.

## REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

### Free Speech at Stratford.

Several of our comrades who up to now have been engaged in fighting for the right of Free Speech at Stratford, attempted to hold another meeting at the Grove last Saturday, but, owing to the disgraceful conduct of the police, they found themselves unable to carry out their resolution. On arriving, our comrades were not only confronted by an unusually large force of police, police in plain clothes, mounted police and detectives, but they had also to contend against new—and we must confess very effective—tactics on the part of the "law-and-order" people, namely, a complete organisation to make every attempted meeting as disorderly as possible. The detectives and some middle-class snobs were busily engaged in inciting the rough element and the boys to do their utmost to interrupt, ridicule, and hustle every speaker, and one fat greasy bourgeois distributed money amongst the boys, probably with the object of stimulating the force of their lungs. To protect the women our comrades had to shelter them in a neighbouring coffee-house, but wherever the detectives could get sight of a Socialist the unfortunate individual was sure to be mobbed by boys vociferously shouting, "That is one of them!" Having gained this experience, our comrades think it best to abstain from holding any further meeting till the demonstration has proved to Sir Charles Warren that the British public is not as yet prepared to permit him to interfere with public rights. It should be said, however, that the attitude of the public, apart from the official and amateur "guardians of the peace," is still distinctly friendly towards us.—H. C.

Delegates from various clubs and associations met at 13 Farringdon Road on Wednesday, June 23—Mrs Besant in the chair—when it was decided that, owing to the election, no attempt should be made at present to hold a demonstration, but a further delegate meeting should be held at the Tower-Hamlets Radical Club, Redman's Row, on Thursday July 3, at 8.30, to which all clubs are invited to send delegates. It is also proposed that a combined demonstration take place on Sunday July 18.—J. LANE and C. W. MOWBRAY, *Joint-Secs.*

### Branch Reports.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, June 23, F. Verinder lectured on "The Land and the Drink Question," and pointed out that the 136 millions represented to be spent in drink was incorrect, a very large proportion of it really being taxation and money paid to State officials; slight opposition; good discussion; satisfactory reply.—On Sunday, June 27, H. Sparling lectured to a small audience on "What is a Religion?"—W. B.

**HACKNEY.**—We held a meeting in Well Street at 11.30 on Sunday morning, when comrade Mowbray addressed a large audience; we had a good sale of *Commonweal*, and made three members at the close of the meeting.—J. F.

**MARYLEBONE.**—On Saturday evening, comrades Burcham, Arnold, and Barker addressed a large meeting in the Harrow Road; the audience was very attentive and sympathetic, and nearly three quires of *Commonweal* were sold.—On Sunday morning, comrades Arnold and Charles spoke at the corner of Bell Street.—In the afternoon we had a very large and enthusiastic audience in Hyde Park, and comrades Burcham and Chambers addressed the meeting, the large concourse of people loudly cheering the speakers.—*Collections for Propaganda Fund:* June 19, Bell Street, 1s. 4d.; Hyde Park, 4s. 4d.; June 26, Hyde Park, 3s. 3d.—H. G. A., sec.

**MERTON.**—On Wednesday, June 23, comrade Hill lectured in our rooms on "Co-operation v. Competition."—Last Sunday, comrades Mowbray and Bull spoke in the open-air to a fair-sized audience; a good number of *Commonweals* sold.—F. K.

**MILE END.**—Comrades Vanderhout and Allman spoke at an indoor meeting on Tuesday, June 22, in the absence of Mrs. Wilson; good audience.—On Thursday, June 24, comrade Davis spoke on the Mile End Waste.—E. G.

**LEEDS.**—An assemblage of about 400 people listened to Mahon and Maguire on Hunslet Moor last Sunday morning. Two quires of the *Commonweal* were sold.—T. M.

**MANCHESTER.**—On Sunday morning we found a good audience at the Grey Mare corner willing to listen to a Socialist's view of Home Rule; they seemed quite to see the force of our statement that a mere change of government would be little good without it was used to get possession of the means of production. We have now promise of 15 members in this district as soon as we can get a room to meet in. Some Apostolic Christians had forestalled us at the Viaduct in the evening, and kept up their meeting till after ten o'clock, in spite of our request to be allowed some share of the evening. If they will not manage to share the station with us, we shall be obliged to go early and keep them out altogether. A neighbouring landlord kindly offered us the use of a room in his inn for meetings, so we shall, I hope, get some there shortly.—R. U., sec.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W. Friday, July 2nd, at 8.30 p.m., J. Lane, "Revolution or Reform?" 9. H. H. Sparling, "Killing no Murder."  
**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday July 4, 7.30, p.m. J. Clay, "The Land Question." Wednesday 11 (8.30), W. Chambers, "Tory, Liberal, and Radical."  
**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.  
**Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every Tuesday at 9, for the enrolment of members and other business.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelscott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sunday, July 4, 8, "Home Rule;" Wednesday 7th, 8, Annie Besant, "Interest and an Idle Class."  
**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sundays, at 7.45 p.m. July 4. C. Wade, "Brotherhood." 11. W. Morris, "Education."  
**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.  
**Mile-end.**—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. July 6. D. Nicoll, "Law and Order."  
**North London.**—Communications to R. A. Beckett, St. Mildred's House, Poultry, E.C.  
**South London.**—Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 at 112 Hill Street, Peckham, S.E.

### Country Branches.

**Birmingham.**—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30.  
**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Lecture and discussion in new rooms of the Branch, 84 John Street every Sunday at 7 p.m. Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. sympathisers invited.  
**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.  
**Leeds.**—No meeting-room at present. Out-door stations notified below.  
**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—County Forum. Thursdays, at 8 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—Gordon Café. Every Monday at 8 p.m.  
**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.  
**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 27 Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

### Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

LONDON.					
Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.	
Fri. 2.	Hackney—Well Street	8	C. W. Mowbray	Hackney.	
Sat. 3.	Harrow Road—opposite the "Prince of Wales"	7	C. W. Mowbray	Marylebone.	
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7	H. H. Sparling	Hammersmith.	
	Regent's Park	7	H. H. Charles	N. London.	
	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7	D. Nicoll	N. London.	
S. 4.	Croydon	11	S. Llewellyn	Croydon.	
	Edgware Road—Bell Street	11.30	C. W. Mowbray	Marylebone.	
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	Graham & Sparling	Hackney.	
	Hammersmith—Beadon Road	11.30	Tochatti	Hammersmith.	
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	D. Nicoll	Hoxton.	
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	H. Barker	Mile-end.	
	Regent's Park	11.30	T. E. Wardle	N. London.	
	Stamford Hill	11.30	H. Davis		
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	W. Chambers	Bloomsbury.	
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30	W. Chambers	Marylebone.	
	Victoria Park	3.30	H. Davis	Hackney.	
	Croydon	7	S. Llewellyn	Croydon.	
	Merton—High Street	7	J. Lane	Merton.	
Th. 8.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	C. Wade	Hoxton.	
	Mile-end Waste	8	H. Davis	Mile-end.	

### PROVINCES.

**Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.  
**Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.  
**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

### MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

**FABIAN SOCIETY.**—South Place Institute, Finsbury, Friday July 2. William Morris, "The Aims of Art."

**UNITED SOCIALIST SOCIETIES OF LONDON.**—An excursion to Epping Forest, "Robin Hood", will take place on Sunday, July 4, for the benefit of the Socialist movement in Belgium. The procession of the United Socialists will start from Charlotte Street, corner of Tottenham Street, for Liverpool Street Station, with full brass bands, banners, and standards at 9 a.m. prompt. Return tickets from Liverpool Street Station to Loughton can be obtained from the secretaries, porters, and stewards at the United Clubs, not later than Friday, July 2, at 1s. Full entertainment of international singing clubs, dancing, concert, and games. Trains as follows:—From Liverpool Street Station, 10.40 a.m.; trains every hour after dinner; returning from Loughton at 8.24, 9, and 9.31 p.m.

**FRENCH LESSONS.**—Courses of French Lessons will be given by M. PHILIPPE, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, E., at the beginning of next week. Terms: Three Lessons weekly, 1s. Time and day to suit convenience of Pupils.

**REVOLUTIONARY RHYMES AND SONGS FOR SOCIALISTS.** Fifteen selections. 1d.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE, at 13 Farringdon Road, London.

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 26.

SATURDAY, JULY 10, 1886.

WEEKLY ; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON THE ELECTIONS.

THE elections have gone against the Gladstonites so far,—which, indeed, was only to be expected. Every constituency which returned a Tory at the last elections would return one with a bigger majority this time, and most of those that returned a Liberal by a narrow majority would now return a Tory,—in either case supposing there was no Irish vote to neutralise the Whig vote. Then all respectability, right down to the lowest ranks of the lower middle-class, will vote jingo: the clerks, grooms, gardeners, and general hangers-on of villadom, will of course vote on the same side. Traditional national spite and “rampant-lionism” will follow suit; and the obedient followers of big names, such as Bright and Chamberlain, will—perhaps sometimes with a sigh—put the cross against the name of the Jingo candidate. All this makes a very formidable reactionary phalanx. Against it is arrayed the personal following of Mr. Gladstone, which probably will not make so good an appearance at the polling-booths as it would in the streets; and lastly—much lastly, it is to be feared—the body of people who are convinced, either by study of the facts or instinctively, that it is neither creditable nor convenient for England to stagger along dragging a second Poland after her.

To investigate the chances of the elections in detail is rather the business of an election-agent than a human being. But, without being eager to risk a prophecy which next week may give the lie to, it does seem most probable that the new parliament will give us much the same party cohorts as the last; only of course the Whigs and Jingo Radicals will go to Westminster pledged to a kind of loose alliance with the Tory Rump, from which will result wriggings exceedingly amusing and refreshing to the cynical onlooker. Meantime a lesson will be given to the devotee of parliamentary agitation and the believer in the perfection of “representation,” if he will only use his senses and learn it. He may see, if he will, that the body of professional politicians formed by M.P.s, candidates, and wire-pullers, is far more powerful than a reasonable man would expect it to be, judging from the very low average of the talent in that body. The constituencies do certainly allow themselves to be led, or rather driven, by the group of shuffling and intriguing self-seekers whom they have elevated to rule over them, and at the best consider that when they have voted for the candidate provided for them they have fulfilled all the duties of citizenship. In short, as a rule the voters expect everything to be done for them; and what the representatives really represent is unreasoning habit formed by implicit trust in the magical powers of the word “Representation.”

It is humiliating indeed to think of the shouts of applause with which working men have greeted John Bright's last feat of digging himself up from the political grave, in which he has lain all these years, to oppose his galvanised corpse to the march of events. And yet it is more humiliating still to think that the Home Rulers would have been to-day but a powerless faction if Gladstone had not at last made up his mind to take them up.

As it is, “His Leadership” has undoubtedly pushed forward the cause of Revolution; nor can it be denied that he would never have attempted to do so unless there had been some growing instinct in its favour. Nor if he is beaten in the elections will his defeat much check the growth of that instinct. As has been said before in these columns, the Tories and Jingoes have been driven to see the impossibility of mere coercion. What are they to do, then, when they find themselves apparently masters of the situation? They *must* bring forward their Home Rule measure, which will of course be framed in such a way as to give the Irish the shadow without the substance of independence—

the “tub-to-the-whale policy” is the only one possible to them. They will hope partly to tire out the Irish party and partly to divide them into moderates and irreconcilables: in the latter attempt they may succeed beyond their expectations, and beyond what is good for the health of their own party. The Irish may, and probably will, accept the compromise offered them—accept it as a compromise, that is, without leaving off the agitation for complete independence. In a short time it will no more be a question of some Gladstone Bill, with its safeguards and constitutional provisions, but of something far more revolutionary. The Irish will be divided indeed, like the familiar demon in the old fable, cut by his unhappy employer into two unmanageable devils; and the more unmanageable will not be asking for a mere Dublin parliament, but will be claiming his right to do something with the country of Ireland itself, which will make it a fit dwelling-place for reasonable and happy people.

In short a triumph for the great Whig Rump or Moderate Party seems at hand, which will undoubtedly strengthen it very much in Parliament, and will overawe the parliamentary and constitutional opposition to its dull and eyeless tyranny; but may it not be hoped that its very success, and the woodenness with which it stands in the way of the progress which it was once supposed to further, may open the eyes of ingenuous people not wedded to mere party names? It seems to me a fair hope, and that many driven back on themselves and compelled to turn away their hopes from the parliamentary squabble, will begin to bethink them of what the true end of politics is, and that a new party will begin to form outside Parliament, a party of the People prepared to help themselves, by education first, consultation next, and at last, when the happy day comes, by action. It seems to me that the defeat of the present attempt to give Home Rule to Ireland which is founded on a genuine popular instinct, will be a blessing in the form of a curse if it helps to purge people's minds of this waiting on parliamentary providence, which is such a heavy weight on our over-patient democracy.

On the other hand, if the Gladstonites manage to snatch a victory from the hands of the Whig-Tory-Jingo coalition, they will still find that the battle is to be fought over again: compromise, hesitation, evasion, and all the many forms of lawyer-like delay which so-called statesmanship has had such long practice in, will whittle their triumph away to nothing; and those of them who have been in earnest in championing freedom and its hopes, will find out before long that the day which will make them parliamentary outcasts is only deferred and not got rid of. The Great Whig Rump will die hard, and even the first days of obvious Revolution will find it still there, still supposing itself the only real political party, still fulfilling its real function as the battle-flag, the car-borne standard of respectable legalised robbery.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## CO-OPERATION AND COMPETITION.

THESE are the forces relied on by the Socialist and the Individualist respectively. A comparison of the advantages or otherwise of each may help us to decide rightly between these two opposing principles.

Competition, it is said, stimulates every one to do his best; it finds out those exceptionally good, and rewards them by raising them above their fellows. The more good at business makes much money, hence all seek to be good; the more skilled at work gets higher wages, and perhaps eventually gets out of the working class altogether, hence all will try to become skilled. The ideal man of a competitive society is the one who has raised himself from the ranks and has become a wealthy lord mayor. The books which such society finds its youth to read are such as ‘Men who have Made Themselves,’ or ‘From Log Cabin to White House.’ The Individualist likes to see society in the form of



a pyramid, in which the best, as he considers them, get to the top, and all are stimulated by the chance of rising to do their very best. This is, I think, a fair statement of the advantages claimed for a competitive society. Let us see how far these are realised, and with what attendant evils.

First, then, who is it that get to the top, and in what way are they the best? Evidently they are best at getting for themselves, either money, position, or honour; and it by no means follows that they do the best for society while engaged in the struggle to get themselves on. For their first aim being to make money, they will only make good articles so long as these pay them best; if they can make more money by selling shoddy clothes, the good of society will weigh very little with them. In order to be successful their best energies must be used, not to make really good and beautiful articles, but to get the better of their fellow competitors in the market—any device must be resorted to in order to undersell them. It is true that some of the devices may be a benefit, that the pressure of competition may lead to the discovery of useful labour-saving machinery; but I fear it more often leads to the discovery of adulterations and shams. The great difficulty there is of getting good, honest or beautiful articles, and the enormous quantities of shams and rubbish which are to be found everywhere at the present time, are proofs enough that competition does not tend to produce good articles, granted that it does bring plenty of them.

But even if this were less evident, there is still to my mind a more serious objection to competition as a system upon which to base society—namely, its influence on the production of something more important than commodities—men. What is likely to be the result on the character of a race of men if they are set to compete one with another, each to get the better of his neighbour? Surely they must become selfish and heartless. The most selfish will get on best, the one who thinks most of his own interest and least of the interests of others. Where would the modern business man be who, when selling out shares which he believes will go down, should stop to think of the ruin he may bring to some poor family? Again, has it not become a bye-word that a certain amount of dishonesty is necessary in all trades? To get up the pyramid of a competitive society it is before all things necessary to have no regard for the feelings of those who must be trodden on in mounting. Only a few can mount at best; the many must always be the down-trodden. And this process is graced nowadays by the title of the survival of the fittest! Christ would have said the fittest for hell!

As modern society embodies this principle of competition, so would a Socialist society embody the opposing principle of co-operation, under which men would join together to make good things because they wanted them. It being manifestly to the interest of all to have really good serviceable articles, and to the pleasure of all to have them beautiful, such only would be made. If men were co-operating to produce what they wanted they would take care not to waste their labour on bad material, for they would see that it was to no one's advantage to have more labour to do than was necessary; and the best way to economise labour is to use it only on the best materials, which last long when once made, and to make them up in such a way that they will not need much repair. Hence we see that co-operation would take away all interest in bad work or shoddy goods, and so would abolish at once all the dishonesty of trade as at present carried on. A useful emulation in the doing of good work would be enough to ensure steady progress, and the desire of leisure to follow various studies or pastimes would be enough stimulus to the invention of labour-saving appliances. Quite a different side of man's character would be drawn out by such a system; his selfish side would find little encouragement; there would be no rising on the backs of his fellows, but he would soon develop the love of common interests in place of his own; he would be proud to be received as an equal by all around, and would get to hate to be cringed to as a superior. Were he a Christ he would feel it more honour to walk arm in arm with an uneducated fisherman than to be knelt to by the wisest.

I have only touched on a few points of contrast between these two principles. I have said nothing of the killing of all happiness and mirth by the scramble which competition invariably becomes; or of the crushing out of all love for, and so of all knowledge of, what is beautiful; nor have I shown how co-operation, by taking away the spur which goads us on, would leave us at peace to enjoy things as we do them, and find us leisure for art and mirth. But enough has been said, I think, to show that we must get rid of this competitive system if we are to have any pleasure in our lives or any love left in our hearts. Socialism offers the only way of doing this. It will only be by the workers refusing longer to be the dupes of competing capitalists, and uniting to produce goods for their own use and not for others' profit, that we shall get rid of the evils of competition and gain the blessings of co-operation.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

## THE SEQUEL OF THE SCOTCH LETTER.

ON Sunday 27th June I lectured on the "Political Outlook" at the Waterloo Rooms, Glasgow, the same place where my Thursday's lecture was given; this was under the auspices of the Branch, and our comrade Muirhead took the chair. There was a larger attendance than on the Thursday; howbeit several got up and went out almost as soon as I began: it seems there was some mistake as to my subject, as there was a religious meeting elsewhere on the premises, and some of the proper audience thereof had wandered into our hall. Moreover I sus-

pect that some found themselves "caught" by my title, and expected the lecture to refer to the present election instead of the wider subject which it dealt with. The audience was over 600, I should think, and was attentive and sympathetic. Instead of the cut-and-dried, meaningless vote of thanks, our comrades arranged to try the effect of a resolution, which was thus worded: "That all political action which does not aim at placing the entire means of production in the hands of the community, to be used by it for the equal benefit of all, is totally inadequate to raise the present labouring classes to the level which they have a right to claim as human beings." Comrade Glasier put this resolution in a very able speech, and it was seconded by Mr. Canningham; and to my surprise no one proposed an amendment, or spoke against it: some half-dozen hands were held up against it; the rest, for. We afterwards appealed to the audience to make their resolution good by joining the League, and got some names at any rate. Mr. Bennet, once editor of the *Radical*, who said he had come in late by misadventure, made a sympathetic speech at the end of the meeting. The literature sold well.

The last lecture was on Monday 28th, at Bridgeton, the east end of Glasgow, and to speak plainly a most woeful abode of man, crying out from each miserable court and squalid, crowded house for the abolition of the tyranny of exploitation. But here we did not score a success. There were election meetings going on all about us; and I fear that our audience was just *not* that which we wanted—to wit, the poor folk of the district, who, if they only knew it, do so sorely need showing what it is that has doomed them to their special form of hell-upon-earth—one of the worst forms in existence, I should think. The audience was about 200, in a large hall, but entirely on our side. The monotony of acquiescence was only broken by an eager religionist, who turned his question-time into a kind of sermon addressed to us, which the audience listened to rather impatiently. A clergyman who elicited from me the answer that service as well as actual production of commodities conferred the title of good citizenship upon a man, seemed satisfied that this admission safe-guarded his craft in future society; but as he did not openly champion that position, it was not discussed. Comrades Glasier and Greer moved and seconded a resolution, the wording of which has escaped my memory, but which was rather more complete in its Socialism than the one of Sunday, and no hand was held up against it. Several names were taken for the Branch before we left the hall.

This was the end of my work; but I should mention that I had a long conference with the Branch on the Sunday, and must say that though circumstances prevent their propaganda from being showy, it is sound, and especially that there seems every chance of their developing the sale of *Commonweal*. I must add that the Branch of the Social Democratic Federation is on very friendly terms with them, and that they co-operated heartily in trying to make our meetings a success; and the members that I came across were very cordial to me.

Altogether the condition of opinion in the Scotch towns that I have visited is encouraging. It must be remembered that it was a bad time of the year for the kind of work I had in hand; to which must be added the much more important stumbling-block of the most exciting election-time of our days; and yet the halls were mostly well filled, and the audiences more than attentive—almost enthusiastic—and as above said, two of them passed Socialist resolutions. In short, not to make too much of outward tokens, one could not help feeling that the ideas of Socialism are taking hold, and that people are beginning to feel the hollowness of that kind of politics in which all reforms pass by those who need them most. Nor will the attachment to puritanic religion, which has been held up as such a bug-bear to us, be a very serious barrier to Socialism; the one or two appeals to it which were made in my hearing were received decidedly coldly. The Scotch, it seems, no longer care to mix religion with their politics, whatever influence genuine feeling, or habit, or respectability may have on them in the matter. I was told that when Henry George appealed to their old puritanic feeling on the occasion of his last visit, it fell very flat indeed; and I was not surprised to hear it, after my own small experience herein. Here, then, is good hope of harvest, and once again the labourers are few. Let us hope that will mend before long, and that Scotland will not be the last in the Revolution. WILLIAM MORRIS.

## A Word in Time saves Nine.

THOSE who think the eight-hour movement, if generally adopted, would benefit the working-classes, will do well to consult some of the American papers, which are engaged at the present moment in a fierce controversy as to the probable results of its adoption. It has been pointed out *ad nauseam*, by revolutionary Socialists—who, the events of every-day life prove, are the only persons able or willing to grapple with the labour question—that these so-called reforms are but myths in themselves, and are, after all, entirely useless in attaining that object for which they are supposed to exist.

A bourgeois weekly print, the *Brooklyn Morning Journal*, Brooklyn, N.Y., in a recent issue, commented rather strongly on this question, and placed the whole matter in a nut-shell, as will be seen by the following:

"Even if ten hours' pay is demanded and granted, working-men will receive no more than they are now receiving as a day's wages, says the Omaha Bee. But there is still another point to be taken into consideration. Shorter hours and the same pay for working-men mean an increased cost of production and consequently a decrease in the purchasing power of the dollar. On a basis of two hours less work for the same pay, manufacturers will have to

add a heavy per cent to the price of goods to secure the same profit as before the reduction of hours. The result of this must be an increase in the case of every article into which labour enters. Working-men with the same wages as before the reduction in the hours of labour will have to be content with considerably less of the comforts and necessities of life which they now enjoy. There would be a proportionate decrease in the purchasing power of the dollar under the increased cost of production. That is what Mr. Powderly means when he says that while eight hours for a day's work is desirable in some respects it is of doubtful expediency at present. On the other hand, there are strong arguments used in favour of the reduction of hours of labour. It is claimed by its advocates that reduced hours would mean employment for the unemployed, and that the march of invention, new machinery, and devices for decreasing the cost of production would sooner or later produce results equal to those now produced on a ten hours' basis. But it will take time to bring about these results. That eight hours will shortly be the ordinary day's work there is little question. Working-men should be prepared to accept the consequences."

Few words of mine are required to interpret the meaning of the above extract. We are continually engaged in pointing out that the capitalist will, wherever possible, recoup himself for any encroachments on profits that these reforms may threaten to bring about. Whatever palliations in the lot of the worker reforms generally achieve (and where they exist at all they are ever scanty and meagre), will soon be neutralised by the cupidity of the capitalist classes. Our delightful competitive system affords equally delightful opportunities to the capitalist to fleece the consumers in an ever increasing proportion to the amount which these reforms pretend to give to the producer.

Revolution, not reform merely, is the thing that is wanted in order to permanently raise the condition of the community from that rut of spoliation and degradation into which it has fallen. The "iron law of wages" can never be seriously interfered with while this system lasts; while production for profit is the basis of our Society the "iron law" reigns supreme; when, on the other hand, production is carried on for use minus profit, its terrible effects will be no longer felt; and then, for the first time will happiness be secured and life worth living.

H. DAVIS.

### LEADERS.

How can a labour agitator or reformer be properly accused of "arousing discontent" or inciting to riot? If wrongs did not exist and if people were not suffering from injustice, the agitators, no matter how eloquent, could gain no hearers, and could wield no influence whatever. The speaker who creates enthusiastic interest in a throng of listeners is simply portraying truths in vivid pictures; depicting facts already known, in clear, strong language; defining, fastening, holding up to view, the real conditions which every hearer feels vaguely, sullenly, ignorantly perhaps—but still, feels. A prosperous community containing no poverty-stricken members, could not possibly be "incited to riot." The authorities knew, that while this country was new, and profit systems had not yet crowded its citizens to the wall, it was entirely safe to allow perfect free speech; with no immediate occasion for "discontent," agitators might talk and disturb nobody. Now, when in this country as well as every other, there is an army of men without a chance to work, and a larger army of people who work like slaves and live like paupers while millionaires grow richer and more tyrannical, it is not safe to allow reformers to state their grievances and wrongs. All the people feel; for them to know would be to act, and the power of the bourgeoisie would vanish.

Our most prominent speakers and writers are called "leaders," "inciters," "breeders of discontent," etc. This is a mistake which even many labourers perhaps make. They only say what thousands of us believe to be true, because they are more fitted to say it than the rest of us. They give to the world what we want to see given to the world, and what so many of their hearers feel in their heart to be true. They speak and write what is necessary to the movement should be expressed, because they are able to do so and feel it a duty. They are not urging on a reluctant following to hazardous and foolish positions—they are simply obeying the call of an idea—an idea which is permeating the whole working world to-day. Then neither undue praise nor undeserved persecution should rest upon their heads. If the authorities want to try anybody for the radical ideas that have been expressed in the past few years, they should try the whole body of advanced, free thinking men and women—in fact, the whole grand movement for human freedom all over the world. The men on trial to-day have only put in words the feelings and principles inspiring millions of people; they have not created principles or aroused feelings which did not already exist.

Free thought—free speech itself is on trial. If in the United States, a precedent is established for the limitation of speech, from this time forward, whenever any powerful party has an interest in gagging someone else, his ideas will be classed among the prohibited ones, and he can be effectually silenced. It, then, behoves every lover of freedom in this country to assist in the defence of the Socialists in Chicago. We want no such precedent established. We want it to be impossible for quiet, peaceable gatherings to be broken up lawfully. The people of the west especially, noted for loving freedom, should be willing to sacrifice something and help the defence both financially and sympathetically. Friends, assist the defence!

LIZZIE M. SWANK, in *Labor Enquirer*.

**SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.**—On Monday, June 28, J. Sketchley, of Birmingham, gave us a lecture on "Socialism." He pointed out how impossible it is that the present state of society should continue, showed by figures the frightful disparity between the receipts of the wealthy few and the wages of the working masses, and advocated the principle of collective Socialism as a means by which Society would ultimately return to the ideal Communism. There was a good and intelligent audience, and the lecturer was received with enthusiasm. On the Wednesday following an open-air meeting was held at Rotherham. There were 300 to 400 present, and Home Rule was advocated from a Socialistic point of view by J. Sketchley, T. Garbutt, and E. Carpenter. Four quires of *Commonweal* and four quires of *Justice* were sold during the week.—E. C.

The power of education is almost boundless; there is not one natural inclination which it is not strong enough to coerce, and, if needful, destroy by disuse.—*Mill*.

## THE WHISPERING WIND.

(By FERDINAND FREILIGRATH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

THERE'S not a child along the Rhine as far as Switzerland but knows  
The murmur of the whispering wind that up the stream for ever blows;  
With cooling breath o'er pleasant fields from early dawn till angry noon,  
To dwellers in the sultry streets he brings the blessing of his boon.

Yes, ever only up the stream through all the vale from hill to hill,  
Goes hurrying on the bustling breeze with whisper soft or whistle shrill;  
Upon the bosom of the flood he scorns to rest or downward ride,  
But hastens up from wave to wave against the river's tossing tide.

Far down the valley's fruitful fields he sets him forth at first to roam,  
Past many a hut and many a mill and many a humble cottage home;  
And thence to high-built palace halls where lords and mighty princes dwell,  
To din into their deafened ears the tale of wrong that he must tell.

He roars and rattles round their doors without a thought of shame or fear,  
The only unhashed honest voice those palace precincts e'er may hear;  
And blows till all the sky be bright, till all the mist be backward rolled,  
The curtain'd mist whose vapours dim their high-embattled walls enfold.

Yes, bright above him grows the sky, and mist and vapours flee away;  
So let him whistle round the walls, and blow the loudest blast he may;  
Till yet another breeze shall rise and usher in a brighter morn—  
The songsters of the wood awake, a whisper on the wind is borne.

The whisper of that other wind is borne where'er its breezes blow,  
But always upward to the heights it comes from lands that lie below;  
From lowland still to height and hill mounts up a murmur and a cry,  
And thatch and hut and cottage home still pass it on to palace high.

The palace walls are veiled in cloud, and shrouded round with mists of wrong,  
But patience yet a little while! the wind will clear them off ere long:  
How thick soe'er the vapours hang, how close soe'er the clouds be furled,  
No more may they have leave to stay to blot and blight a waking world.

All thanks to thee, thou whispering wind, and may thy murmurs ne'er be dumb,

Till wrong be rolled like mist away—O would the happy time were come!  
For not a child by banks of Rhine right on to Switzerland but knows  
The voices of thy whispering breeze that upward, upward always blows.

## THE VOICE OF FREEDOM.

LOUD across the world it ringeth, we have heard it in our sleep—  
We have heard and we have wakened, though our slumbering was deep.  
Many a man whose heart nigh failed him in the long and weary night,  
Now with soul aglow is watching for the dawning of the light.  
And the voice o'er all the nations has gone forth upon the wind,  
Bearing hope to those despairing, sight to those who wandered blind.  
"Wake, oh men!" the loud voice crieth, "wake, if ye be men indeed;  
Will ye sleep and slumber ever, bound to serve a tyrant's greed?  
Surely all too long, oh toilers, have ye been the slaves of gold;  
Are ye men, or have ye quite forgotten of your sires of old?  
Hope not Freedom from the masters who reap pleasure from your pain;  
All the freedom they would give you is but lengthening of the chain.  
When they see ye pale and restless, they may lengthen it a whit,  
Soothing ye the while to slumber, that ye be content with it.  
Shake it from you altogether: come, clasp hands, the night is late,  
And the golden dawn is flushing round about the eastern gate."  
And we rise, our chains upon us, at the voice that thrills us through.  
Lo, the piteous sight that greets us: we are but a weakened few,  
And around us lie our comrades, knowing not the bonds they wear,  
Seeing not the light we gaze at, feeling not the hope we bear.  
Loudly, loudly let us call them. See them rising one by one,  
Till our little band grows stronger underneath the rising sun.  
Free we must be. In our souls the seraph voice of Liberty  
Thrills till every chord is trembling as a harpstring's melody.  
See, the clouds begin to scatter; brighter, brighter grows the day;  
Happy we to see the morning hold the long, long night at bay!  
We, the toilers, shall no longer be the passive driven slaves;  
We have seen a nobler future. What though pierced with many graves  
Be the way that leads to freedom? Shall we shun the glorious day  
Though our very names should perish in the eagerness of fray?  
Lo, our hearts are set upon it, and our feet are on the road:  
Burn the bridge, and let us forward,—on to Liberty's abode!

FRED. HENDERSON.

If the doctrine of monopoly is true, the most industrious have the most money. The toilers are now about ready to start for the summer resorts, and the non-producing idle monopolists will have to stay at home and sweat.—*Industrial News*.

**GREED.**—Will greed ever relax its grip from the throat of industry at the instance of justice enforced by reason? Let us see. The demand of greed, like that of the highwayman, is that of something for nothing. Will the highwayman cease his demand when his victim pleads the injustice of the demand? Not at all. Its injustice is admitted by the highwayman. He says it is not a question of justice, but one of force. Suddenly his victim whips out a revolving navy, gets the drop on the highwayman. The highwayman then delivers a discourse on the terrible crime of murder, meantime gives up his demand for his victim's money. What follows? A truce of course with this understanding, the highwayman may retreat without being killed, providing he makes no motion to draw his arms. Don't you see it takes force instead of reason to stop a highwayman. So it will require force to stop the spoliation of greed from industry. Reason's field is to point out to industry where, when and how it is robbed by the ingenuity of greed. But we doubt if anything will ever stop the robbery but force directed against the robbers, who act as agents of the system greed represents.—*Chicago Express*.



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance should be attached to them because of the position they may occupy in these pages. None, therefore, are to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

QUESTIONS bearing upon the principles propounded and the objects had in view by the *Commonweal*, will be welcomed by the Editors.

CORRESPONDENTS wanted in Dundee, Rotherham, and Workington.

LIGHTNER, U.S.—Address of *Le Socialiste* is 17 Rue du Croissant, Paris. Subscription, 8 francs per annum.

RECEIVED—England: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record—Imperial Federation—Our Corner—The Socialist. Belgium: Le Chante-Clair (Bruxelles). Canada: L'Union Ouvrière (Montreal). France: Paris: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—Le Révolté—Le Socialiste—La Tribune des Peuples—Revue du Mouvement Social—La Citoyenne. Le Devoir (Guisse)—Le Forçat du Travail (Bordeaux). Germany: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). Holland: Recht voor Allen. Hungary: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Buda-Pest). India: People's Friend (Madras). Italy: Il Fascio Operaio (Milan). New Zealand: Watchman. Portugal: O Campino—Voz do Operário—O Protesto Operário (Lisbon). Spain: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social—Acracia—La Justicia Humana (Barcelona)—Bandera Social—El Socialista (Madrid)—El Socialismo (Cadiz)—La Perseverancia (Huelva). Switzerland: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich). U. S. A.: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country—Amerikanische Arbeiterzeitung—Truthseeker. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal. Denver (Col.): Labor Inquirer—Little Socialist—Chicago (Ill.): Alarm—Detroit (Mich.): Labor Leaf—Princeton (Mass.): Word—Cleveland (O.): Carpenter. Cincinnati (O.): Unionist—San Francisco (Cal.): Truth—Stockton (Cal.): Mail—Petersburg (Ill.): Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.): Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Altruist. Kansas (Mo.): Sun—Pittsburg (Pa.): Labor Herald—Baltimore (Md.): Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.): Lucifer—Newfoundland (Pa.): La Torpille—Litchfield (Minn.): Radical—Evansville (Ind.): Neue Zeit Milwaukee (Wis.): Volksblatt—Portland (Oregon): Alarm—Salem (Oregon): Advance—Thought—Paterson (N. J.): Labor Standard.

ARTICLES RECEIVED.—Will appear: "Malthusianism"—"The Dead to the Living"—"A People's Palace"—"Isms and Schisms."

### NOTES.

The Liberty and Property Defence League, *i.e.*, the League that defends the liberty of robbery and the property of the privileged in other people's labour, have been having a field-day; they have seen the necessity of doing something towards internationalism, since it is clear that their principles cannot be bounded by narrow geographico-political limits. So M. Léon Say has been holding forth to them; and a very proper person he is to do so, considering that he is one of the directors of the Decazeville miners, in whose liberty and property he is so seriously interested. He admitted and lamented the spread of Socialism from France to England, and spoke of it as taking two forms, centralising and municipal Socialism, which he spoke of as already affecting the liberty to live at other people's expense. But if M. Léon Say lives, he will see what real Socialism means, something very different from the first nibblings at crude State Socialism that he has got into his head as being the enemy. He expressed a sort of after-dinner hope of crushing out Socialism in France, which aspiration of a true defender of Liberty no doubt he will do his best to realise. Just so sailors, who find there is an irretrievable leak in their boat,

try to keep out the limitless ocean with whatever of rags or oakum happens to lie handy; not because they really hope to succeed, but because they must needs satisfy their consciences by hoping against hope.

Bad news from Burmah—or good, if you be not a confirmed Jingo. The Dacoits are giving trouble indeed, and are as eager for other people's goods as the veriest Englishman would have them to be; this is always on the assumption that they are Dacoits, *i.e.*, robbers; as, of course, all people are who resist the progress of our commercial body-guard. And yet, if the history could be written by the vanquished, their resistance would seem uncommonly like that defence of hearth and home that has been so besung amongst us, though we have had so little to do with the practice of it, except as affording occasion for it. Indeed, as regards our dealings with barbarous foreigners, we English are like the poor in the capitalist morality, whose function it is to afford occasion to the virtues of charity and benevolence. If the Burmese, therefore, are troubled to account for such unaccountable evils as English invaders, they had better conclude that they were made to give them an occasion for practising hopeless courage first, and fortitude under injury secondly. They are hardly like to find a better solution of the problem.

By the way, the Indian mutiny is an old story now; but it is worth while to quote a line or two from the very frank author of "Life on Board the Alabama" in the *Century* magazine, who says in passing as a matter not worth much attention, "I must say that the 'pandies' were not a whit more brutal and savage than the English civilians and soldiers." He saw Gordon afterwards in China, and found him "a very common-place gentleman," with a great talent for swearing. General Ward, the ex-Yankee clipper-mate," he admired far more as "bold, bloody, and resolute." The poor devils of Taipings probably found out the meaning of those words, which give one a kind of shudder, as of Captain Teach or Blackbeard come back again. Truly our soldiers of fortune are a fine present for us to give to the "outer barbarians."

W. M.

### SOME INSTRUCTIVE FACTS.

A FEW facts are worth a great many suppositions. The following brief history of a firm has been put together as an illustration of the working of the present competitive system. The writers have satisfied themselves of the accuracy of the statements, and are quite prepared to prove them if challenged. This is in no way meant as an attack upon the persons at the head of the firm, nor is it the record of an exceptionally infamous instance of capitalist tyranny and greed. Plenty of similar cases could be found, and no doubt many a great deal worse. It is just a type of the system, and without the least exaggeration in the telling.

Some weeks ago a note appeared in this journal on the state of trade in Leeds. A firm in the flax industry was mentioned which would shortly close its works, remove its machinery to America, and leave some fifteen hundred employes without the chance of earning even the scanty living now afforded them by the mills. The firm referred to is Marshall & Co. It was founded some seventy or eighty years ago by the father of the present partners. Business was started in a humble way, but carried on with more than ordinary shrewdness, and perhaps less than ordinary regard for the people who laboured hard and long to build up the great mass of wealth now owned by the masters. The business grew steadily and quickly into fame and importance: the workers made the riches quickly, and Marshall & Co. took care of them. In time one of the hugest flax-mills in the world was built, splendid machinery made, and at the period of their greatest prosperity about 3000 hands were employed. To-day the head of the firm is reputed a millionaire, while the younger members have trifling fortunes of a few hundred thousand pounds each. These mills became, of course, one of the staple industries of Yorkshire, and many hundred families depended on the employment furnished by them. Of late years, however, the great change which has come over England's commerce began to affect this branch of trade, and with characteristic acuteness the firm was at once on the lookout for a means of holding on to its profits. It was soon apparent that trade was not merely dull or declining, but that it was departing from the country altogether. The capitalists soon resolved to follow their profits, and preparations were made, and are now nearly finished, to leave the country. Their capital (machinery and all) will be transported to America, where the industry can be carried on more profitably. This case of capital being driven out of the country is not caused by terror at the spread of incendiary doctrines, but is simply the result of the capitalist looking out for himself, as he always will, and going to whatever country and exploiting whatever people will yield him the biggest return.

But although the capital is going, the workers will be left behind. Labour is as willing, plentiful, cheap, and, on the whole, as docile, in America as here. So the cost of transit will be saved, and the workers, including several hundred young girls, will be left to look out



for themselves,—or rather, left without a chance of looking out for themselves, for there is not the least likelihood of one-third of these discarded hands finding employment. Trade is bad enough in Leeds, but worse in nearly every other part of the country. These hands are now left, outcasts in their own land, to intensify the distress and swell the army of unemployed.

Some of these employés have worked all their lives, and are now unable to begin work afresh at a new task. The provision made for those who have grown grey in the service of the firm is instructive as an example of capitalist generosity. One man who has toiled for them for fifty years is to be pensioned off with 2s. 6d. per week. He would have got this much at least from the parish, but being now a "pensioner," is disqualified for receiving poor-law relief. Yet he is one of a fortunate few; for some old people who had been with the firm for from thirty to forty years were told on applying for similar favours that they must wait until some of the older pensioners have dropped off. The total sum paid in pensions is twenty-nine shillings per week.

The conditions under which most of the hands work are of the "hell-hole" kind usual in most large factories. About seventy men are employed as "hecklers." The atmosphere of their workroom is permeated with a fine dust, which comes from the flax and settles on their lungs. The men are all short-lived: an old man is exceedingly rare. This kind of work is just what forces men to drink. Sobriety becomes an impossible virtue (if it be a virtue at all). Many of the girls work under conditions little better—and of course with the usual results.

The wages of these employés are regulated by the usual method of competition. Of late they have been steadily decreasing. Ten years ago the weaving girls could earn from twelve to fifteen shillings per week—an enormous income for a young factory lass in the best of times. But declining trade and intensified competition overtook the struggling capitalists, and in order to keep a grip on their profits the girls' wages were gradually reduced, until now the average will be from 3s. 6d. to 5s. 6d. weekly. This is but an illustration of what is going on in other departments.

There is another mill at Shrewsbury owned by the same firm, which at one time employed two thousand hands. All that has been said of the Leeds mill is equally true of the Shrewsbury one.

It would be useless to speculate on what will become of the people thus deprived of their living. We can, however, feel sure that their future will be hard enough and that Society, which has so heavily sinned against them, will hear more of them some day. It is a curious proof of the brutality of the commercial system, and shows off the "free workman" of modern times in a strange light. A few thousand people turned adrift in the richest country in the world: many of them into the most abject misery.

In conclusion, a few words to you, Mr. Stephen Marshall. Pray don't think the above is a personal attack upon you, or even upon the distinguished firm of which you are the head. This case was selected merely as a type of others, to illustrate the system. You are, no doubt, as good as most of your class, and perhaps better than a great many. If you did not get your fortune by work—the only *honest* way of getting anything—neither did your fellow capitalists. Indeed, if you are any way inclined to moralise, you will probably console yourself with the reflection that if *you* hadn't appropriated the wealth made by these poor old men and unfortunate girls somebody else would. After all, the blame is not entirely to be laid at your door, or even at that of your class. If the workers were more alive to their own interests, the cunning and dishonesty of the capitalist would avail nothing. No doubt you will find a multitude of excuses to calm your conscience. Besides, it must be mentioned in your favour that if you have left your employés in poverty, you have also left them a church, erected at the expense and by the generosity of your firm. Therein they may find at least spiritual comfort, and learn to despise earthly treasures—which they might as well do, seeing that the little you have left them is hardly worth respecting. But you are not merely a gross money-grabber, absorbed in the pursuit of pelf. You are an ardent patriot and upholder of your country's greatness. When the integrity of the empire was threatened, you, like a true Whig-imperialist, rushed to its support. You are a member of the Loyal and Patriotic party, and no doubt you will subscribe more to its funds than you will give to relieve the workers, without whom your funds would have been as small as men of average ability usually possess. It is not very loyal and patriotic of you to scurry out of the country with your capital because profits are higher elsewhere. Surely a disinterested patriot would prefer a small profit in his own country to a larger one in a foreign land. But let that pass; it is only what the most patriotic of your fellow loyalists would do in similar circumstances. It is no use raking up these things now when you are leaving us. Get yourself off to America, and your capital with you. None of us will lament the loss of you,—though we would have liked to nationalise the machinery. However, the Socialists in America will see to that soon enough. Farewell, and may the Revolution overtake you before you have squeezed another million out of the people of America!

Leeds.

J. L. M. and T. M.

How many men are there who have lived as idle parasites, and who, if they had been compelled to work in order to gain their bread, would have made good and industrious citizens.—*Letourneau*.

No man could be rich, no man could be poor, in Peru; but all might enjoy, and did enjoy, a competence. Ambition, avarice, the love of change, the morbid spirit of discontent, those passions which most agitate the minds of men, found no place in the bosom of the Peruvian.—*Prescott's "Conquest of Peru."*

## REVIEW.

MODERN SOCIALISM. By Annie Besant.

MRS. BESANT has written a useful pamphlet under this name, all the more useful as with her name on the title-page it will reach some groups of advanced political thinkers who would otherwise have been frightened off the subject. It is clearly and pleasantly written, with as little technicality as may be, and in the main steers clear of subjects that are in controversy among Socialists. The arrangement is good. After a brief notice of the utopian Socialism of Robert Owen and the communities which resulted from it, it takes up the question of production for profit, with the consequent antagonism of classes; then deals with competition, and points out its evils and the remedies for it; then points out what capital is, and deals with the objections to a society producing without profit. The opening sentence of the chapter on Land which follows, is somewhat sanguine: "It is hardly necessary to argue at this time of day that land—i.e., natural agents—ought not to be the private property of individuals"; but that there *is* a public to whom such words can be addressed is true, and is a hopeful truth indeed. The concluding chapters deal with Education, Justice, and Amusement, and the Conclusion takes up some of the more ordinary objections which anti-Socialists make who have pretence to economical knowledge.

Perhaps the American communities are dwelt on rather disproportionately to the length of the pamphlet. Although these communities were experiments in association, from one point of view they were anti-Socialistic, as they withdrew themselves from general society—from political society—and let it take care of itself. They were rather modern and more extended forms of monasticism, and were distinctly exclusive,—hence their failure. To me, in common with other Communists I should suppose, Mrs. Besant's definition of Socialism and Communism seems incorrect: "Socialism merely implies that the raw material of the soil and the means of production," says Mrs. Besant, "shall not be the private property of individuals, but shall be under the control of the community." But I ask is not the part of wealth which can be called "the means of production" that part which individuals do not use for satisfying their personal needs? And that part which they are so using no Communist would meddle with. What each takes from the common store for his personal needs he will use as he pleases, so long as he does not turn it into an instrument of compulsion for the exploitation of others. The Socialism which Mrs. Besant and others sometimes distinguish from Communism, is only an initial and imperfect form of it. The abolition of private property in "the raw material of the soil and the means of production" *must* lead to Communism, as the present monopolists will instinctively perceive, and they will in consequence resist the initial stage by any and every means in their power.

In a future edition Mrs. Besant might put back the commencement of the Industrial Period to a date before the Great Machine Industry. Adam Smith belongs to the Division of Labour Period, what Marx calls the "Periode Manufacturière," during which the workman was himself the part of a machine, the *group*, which was the unit of industrial production. This system was at work early in the seventeenth century, and under it exploitation of labour went on merrily, though of course the old individualist system of production survived partly amidst it, just as the division-of-labour system still survives amidst our machine-industry. A sentence or two on this point need not interfere with the clearness of Mrs. Besant's exposition of profit-mongering.

I may add that Mrs. Besant has had a testimonial to the usefulness of her pamphlet in the eagerness, or indeed the brutality, with which it has been attacked by some of the members of the party with which she has hitherto been identified.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM.

(A Reply to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P.)

VI.

(Continued from p. 93.)

AFTER the very serious mis-statement that Socialism aims at taking "the private economies of millions of industrious wage-earners for the benefit of those who may have neither been thrifty nor industrious"—a misstatement the more serious in that the present system, of which our objector is champion, does precisely this very wrong—we have the time-honoured deprecation of "physical force." This deprecation always seems to me so queerly out of place in the mouths of those who defend our modern methods. For these, initiated by physical force, are based on physical force and entirely maintained by physical force.

When as an objection to Socialism it is urged that one final and supreme use of physical force may have to be and there an end of it for ever, we note, first, that it ill becomes the advocates of capitalistic production to complain of their own weapon being turned against their own throat. We note next, as has been noted before in this series of papers, that not to keep constantly before men's eyes the certainty of such an actual struggle is to preach peace when there is no peace. We note third (and for the repetition of this for the thousandth time the constant repetitions of our antagonists are to blame) that the revolution could and would be a perfectly peaceful one, were it not for the resistance to their perfectly righteous dispossession that will be forthcoming at the hands of the privileged classes, when the process of disgorgement sets in.

Mr. Bradlaugh reads Shelley. Let him turn to the "Masque of

Anarchy," and there he will see how the acute poet-mind foresaw what would happen. When the vast assembly of the free is gathered together, and in measured words declares itself emancipate, the tyrants will pour around their troops of armed emblazonry. We may be sure that, the time coming when the workers declare their intention of taking all the means of production into the hands that have made them, there will follow a bitter period—may it be as brief as bitter!—of fierce resistance to this just decree. But that this is inevitable is no reason whatever for those who recognise more clearly than even their opponents how inevitable this is, to uphold the present iniquitous system—a system that entails more human suffering of the dumb sort in a week than would follow from a year of revolution.

The argument that the inevitable revolution is "in the highest degree difficult, if not impossible," because "property holders are the enormous majority" is, from our point of view, not water-tight on the general grounds just given. But in itself it is worthless, as we think. First of all, on the mere question of fact. It is doubtful whether with the most liberal estimate of what a property holder is—nay, even with the most radical estimate—the mere number of units supports Mr. Bradlaugh's strange contention. Even acting up to the farce of regarding every possessor of a dozen stamps in a post-office savings-bank as a property holder, it is open to question whether, setting against these all the toilers who have not reached even this extravagance of wealth, and all the paupers—the reserve army of labour—the mere numbers of the latter do not exceed those of the former. But it is not only a question of quantity of property-holders. It is one of the quality of their holdings. It is of no use to support a system that graciously admits of a few thousand depositors in penny savings-banks, if the same system makes possible a Rothschild or a Duke of Westminster. Even if property-holders were in an enormous majority, the enormous majority of property is in a very few hands. Even in the interest of the enormous majority of property holders, and appealing to the lowest of their motives, any change in the method of production of goods would be for them a change for the better.

After this comes the discovery of another contradiction that is not a contradiction. J. L. Joynes has written that the immediate aim of Socialism is "not the abolition of private property, but its establishment . . . on the only sound basis." Mr. Hyndman, in the abortive debate, spoke of "collective ownership of land, capital, machinery and credit." And these two statements are gibbeted as contradictory. This they in no sense are. Both these gentlemen have in their mind that which we have such difficulty in driving into the minds of our antagonists—the necessity of ending, once for all, private property in the means of production. This need not in any way conflict with the private possession of "my watch, my coat," and the like, as to which the individualists are so clamorous. How vaguely our opponents think on this point is shown by the concluding sentence of this same paragraph, in which we find the writer saying, "to me it seems impossible that if *everything* be owned collectively, anything can be owned individually, separately and privately." The blunder here is, of course, in the word I have italicised, though an odd error in sentiment rather than in thought seems to me running through it. For my own part, I feel quite as private and individual a sense of ownership in things I hold in common with others, as I do in those that are more exclusively mine in the individualist sense. For example, my feeling of ownership in regard to the British Museum is every whit as strong as in regard to my boots, even when the latter have been paid for.

It is really no wonder that our essayist says quite pathetically that he is afraid "Mr. Joynes has in his mind some other unexplained meaning for the words 'capital' and 'property.'" Mr. Joynes has only the meaning for capital that we are always explaining, and never getting understood—"for ever telling, yet untold." Capital is due to unpaid labour. It would be interesting to have from our antagonists their definition of capital, their explanation of how it is possible for a non-worker to become worth thousands of pounds. Even an attempt at explanation from them would have the charm of novelty.

Then Mr. Bradlaugh turns to statistics, and furnishes us with another weapon against himself. He reminds us that there are of professional men 647,075 in England and Wales; commercial men, 980,128; farmers, 249,907; unoccupied males over twenty (not including recognised paupers), 182,282. Let us add all these together. They come to 2,059,392 out of a population of 25,974,439. Not  $\frac{1}{12}$ th of the whole. Is it not strange that any one quoting these numbers fails to see the enormous injustice of a system that lets some two millions only out of a population of twenty-six millions batten on the unpaid labour of the other twenty-four.

ED. AVELING.

(To be continued).

The New York *Tribune* is anxious to have somebody write a statistical history of strikes, in order to show the strikers that they did not have as large an income while they were out as they would have had if they had worked steadily all the time. The *Tribune* is evidently under the impression that the strikers went into the strike as a speculative enterprise, and even now believe that they made money by the operation.—*Voice of Labor*.

"The labour troubles did not extend to the rural sections, where good farm hands continue to work eight hours in the forenoon and eight hours in the afternoon at an average compensation of 25 dols. a month.—*Chicago Tribune*." A man enjoying a safe income of 75,000 dols. a-year will naturally take a complacent view of the situation when he sees millions of producers toiling contentedly for a bare subsistence in order to support his affluence. But how would it strike the *Tribune* man if he were compelled to "work eight hours in the forenoon, and eight hours in the afternoon, at an average compensation of 25 dols. a month," with small prospect of ever being able to do any better?—*Voice of Labor*.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES.

### AMERICA.

Boston, June 8.—At Stoneham this morning half the members of a militia company refused to obey an order of their captain which conflicted with an order issued by the Knights of Labour. It was an aggravated case of insubordination, which will doubtless end in the arrest and court martial of more than half of Company H, Sixth regiment. The company was ordered to start for the state muster ground at South Framingham. The captain had arranged to have his company transported from the town to the railroad station, two miles distant, on the only line of horse cars which the town boasts. During the recent labour troubles the Knights of Labour placed a boycott on the railroad company and established an independent line of coaches. When the company reached the cars this morning more than half the members refused to take their seats. The captain was thunderstruck at this disobedience of his command, and again ordered them to board the cars. The men stubbornly remained standing in the line. They explained that they belonged to the Knights of Labour, and they could not enter the cars unless the boycott placed on the company by the executive committee was removed.

St. Louis, June 14.—To-day warrants were issued for the arrest of forty-seven Knights of Labour, the most prominent being Chief Advocate M'Murray and Secretary Nolan of Assembly No. 3650, for conspiracy to destroy railroad tracks, turntables, switches, etc. The Missouri Pacific Railway company expresses its determination to press these cases to the end.

San Francisco, June 15.—There was a general strike to-day of cooks and waiters in most of the large restaurants in this city. Many of the restaurants were compelled to close, while others ran short-handed. The cause of the strike was the posting of rules for the control of the cooks and waiters, which the strikers consider unjust.

The cooks and waiters' strike ended to-night by the restaurant owners agreeing to modify the objectionable rules to meet the views of the strikers, and making eleven hours a day's work, instead of thirteen, as heretofore.

The labour organisations of San Francisco and other Californian towns will celebrate the Fourth of July, after the true style of 1776. The I.W.A. will take an active part.

New York, June 20.—The big shoe factory of Brennan and White has been killed by the boycott. The firm (employing 150 "hands" last April) drove out their women-workers for joining a union, and began to run amuck against all unionism. The women were backed by the whole body of their fellow-workers, who struck; ever since the firm have been compelled to resort to make-shifts for securing slaves. The unionists exhausted every resource in trying to get fair terms of settlement from the firm; but Brennan and White were obstinate as Pharaoh. At last the boycott was reluctantly brought into play by the victims as an agent of defence. The firm have for fifteen months waged their anti-Union war, while, during all that time the unions have unceasingly striven to cut off the enemy's supplies. Their market was as wide as the country, but it was no wider than the network of unions and assemblies in which they found themselves entangled and which they could not evade. Their saying that they would "bury organised labor" has been followed by their own fall into the grave which they had dug.

The annual picnic of the Socialist Labour Party took place in the Lion Park, last Monday. Over 2000 men, women, and children were present.

### FRANCE.

The disturbances at Lyons owing to the introduction of workers from the north of France, still continue; the latter are fraternising with the strikers right pleasantly. A rather amusing incident occurred between the two parties: the strikers stationed before the workshops were considering what means they should use to communicate with the strangers within, so as to appeal to their feelings of solidarity, when they saw appearing over a wall one of these workers waving a paper in his hand. Being encouraged to descend and explain his mission, he presented his document, in which rang loudly the tone of fear, begging for mercy from the ferocious strikers and explaining they did not relish being kept as in prison in the workshops. The delegate was sent back with a reassuring letter, bidding them be of good heart, as no harm was intended them. Whilst the workers were at dinner, two of the strikers climbed the wall and opened the doors to their companions, who entered and fraternised with those within, the two parties finally marching out in high spirits arm in arm, singing the "Marseillaise" under the nose of the astonished master. In the evening, at a big meeting held at the Boule-d'Or, the workmen brought the day before from Belgium and the north of France passed a resolution protesting against the machinations and deceptions of the masters, and declaring that they were resolved not to work against the interest of their colleagues of Lyons.

At a silking-weaving factory at Amplegris, employing about 1000 workers, the master has gradually and gradually been reducing the wages, till about a fortnight ago 300 of the employés struck. The number of strikers has now reached 650, and they are determined not to go in until a reasonable tariff has been offered them. The wages are now reduced to from 1s. to 1s. 3d. a day of twelve hours.

### THE STRIKE AT DECAZEVILLE.

Basly and Co. may cry "Victory" over the termination of the Decazeville strike as they will; nevertheless they well know it is no victory, but a defeat. The proletarian has once more given way before his exploiters. After 108 days of suffering and privation, the miners have gone back to work, submitting to the conditions imposed by the Company—conditions constituting a compromise, far more in favour of the Company than themselves, capitulation before the conqueror, who will now pick and choose among the workers, and dismiss all those who had shown the most spirit during the strike. Thus the most energetic will leave the district, with hearts embittered, and will seek work elsewhere in France, in some part where the "Internationale Noire" of the capitalists has not yet preceded them with the denunciation, "têtes dangereuses" (dangerous men).—*Le Révolté*.

It is to Rodes that our rulers went to find juries to convict those whom they wished to send to the galleys. They took from among the lot several men and women who were in the street at the time of the execution of Watrin—being evidently those whom the Company had pointed out as "têtes dangereuses"; and on these eight men and two women they placed the responsibility of an execution done by all—by the people, whose patience was worn-out at last.—*Le Révolté*.

The trial was of course a farce—an opera-bouffe (with an excellent show

of military force to give an air of reality to the *mise-en-scène*, in which the praises of the Company and of Watrin were sung touchingly enough by solo and chorus. According to the procureur Baradat, Watrin was the workers' sole benefactor, the Company their guardian angel. Of the accused, three were sentenced to seven, six, and five years' imprisonment, and one (Bedel) to eight years', with hard labour.

*Le Socialiste* has had several articles lately rejoicing over the termination of the strike, going so far as to entitle one "Victoire!" I confess I do not see much to rejoice over in the easily-to-be-foreseen end of the affair,—rather, much to make those watching the courageous struggle profoundly melancholy, seeing with the proverbially clearer sight of onlookers that this is not the "forerunner of the Revolution," as I have seen it called, but an isolated attempt, and that it was to end—as will all such attempts until organisation instead of chaos reigns supreme among the workers—in a compromise.

*Le Révolté* thus speaks of the state of the Liège miners who have lately been out on strike for a short while: "It is almost impossible to realise the normal condition of misery in which this population of 30,000 exists. After successive reductions, the wage is so lowered that a bourgeois journal now before us, speaking of another intended reduction, says, 'It would be difficult to reduce wages further, no matter for what grade of workers, for they have already reached the extreme limit.' The most skilful workers make about 1s. 3d. in a day of twelve hours; but the crisis here is so serious that the companies are giving five days', and sometimes only four days', work. 'It is not to be denied that the men are discouraged,' continues the same paper; 'they go to work listlessly and without hope.'" M. M.

### A LETTER FROM INDIA.

BOMBAY, June 6th, '86.—To tell you frankly the only way I see to help the Cause is by circulating the *Commonweal* and such pamphlets as you may send, and if you choose to print my name in the weekly paper, people all over India will gradually get to know that there is at least one Socialist here. In private life I make no secret that I am a Socialist, but I have no time nor stomach for public lecturing. I know not a single Socialist here. The very name is unknown. The people are steeped in the depths of ignorance. Labour is so cheap that much of the work done by horses and carts in England is done by women here. All railway embankments and cuttings are carried in baskets on men and women's heads, principally the latter. They seem happy in their work. They are laughing and chatting all day as they carry their loads, and in my experience they are certainly well-fed, their vegetarian food of millet flour cakes and chili condiments, washed down with water, agrees with their constitutions. Their work hours, judging by the English standard, are not over hard, 9 to 6, with one hour interval at noon, i.e., 8 hours per day. But it is also the custom to make them come from 6 to 6, with two hours' interval, equal to 10 hours work, technically called a day and a quarter. They are happy because they are all in the same boat, and because there is no misery from cold. Clothes are worn only for decency not comfort's sake. The coolie man during work throws off all his clothes save the waist-cloth, which is with some castes precisely the same as English bathing-drawers. I believe it is the very article. But the women always work decently and modestly dressed, and the men are very careful of the honour of their women. They are absolutely without education, can neither read nor write, which is not saying much considering that England was in the same condition 100 years ago. Lord Ripon, during his viceroyalty, passed an ordinance for primary vernacular schools all over the country, the first step in the right direction. All superior education is obtained at the Government public schools and colleges, and the only way to spread your propaganda will be through the students, who form the teaching class. You will now see that Indian circumstances are very different from what you are accustomed to in London. We have a small highly-educated class in the chief towns, who can hold their own anywhere with Englishmen; some even can write passable English poetry, in correct idiom and with good feeling. I send you the first page of a pamphlet written by a Calcutta Indian, urging his countrymen towards national life. The tendency of the English commercial government is to break up the communal life of the country villages, so as to make the villagers utterly poor and turn the money-lenders into landholders. No longer ago than fifty years, the land revenue of a village was paid by the community as a whole (the commune), consisting of shopkeepers, tradesmen, tenant farmers, messengers or postmen, and labourers; each one of whom had his recognised share of the village produce, and each one of whom did the village work in exchange for that produce. Money was in those happy days unknown; barter was a sufficient medium of exchange. Before English rule came, even the rent was paid by a recognised share of the produce. The English changed all this, gave the whip hand to the money-lender by decreeing that revenue should be paid in money, and in order to render this possible they made the land a negotiable security by passing a law to vest it in the individuals of the village communities. Hence, far-seeing men see only black ruin for those who live upon the land, but the merchants, the lawyers, and the professions of the towns are flourishing by means of that commerce developed through the English Government, which is at this very time, from its undue lowering of the cost of English produce, bringing ruin upon all connected with the land in England. So that the English connection with India, the main river of English capitalism, which feeds privileged classes among the manufacturers, bankers, and merchants, keeps up the Jingo spirit in the army and navy, is the cause of all our big and little wars, bids fair to have far-reaching effects throughout English life and in the English future, unless you and others turn your minds to understand and grapple with the novel problem. Hyndman has gone a good way towards proving that the English connection with India is the ruin of India; you have yet to see that it may possibly be also the ruin of England. Certain I am that India and Ireland are suffering from exactly the same disease, the Castle government, and the agitation in both countries is proceeding upon the same lines, viz., to upset the Castle and introduce Home Rule, excepting that in India, barring the Mutiny, there is no violence to life and property. I cannot believe it is conducive to the prosperity of England that the cultivation of corn should be given up, and hundreds of thousands of acres of arable land changed to pasturage, simply because landlords and tenants cannot make a profit out of wheat, and that you should be dependent upon all the world for the necessities of life. Yet you cannot shut out Indian wheat as the French have done, because the privileged classes of England and the Government combined draw from India 20 millions sterling yearly, of which 12 millions come from India direct and 8 millions through the Chinese opium tribute. So that you see it is a large question, having far-reaching effects, because the Indian tribute is paid in wheat and raw produce.

D. GOSTLING.

### AFFAIRS IN KANSAS.

THE following interesting letter has just been received from a comrade whose name is already known to readers of the *Commonweal*—

"Office of the *Daily Citizen*, Topeka (Kan.), U.S.A.

"Our organisation (I.W.P.A.) here, can scarcely be called an organisation. We are working in the Knights of Labour, and really control every action of that society, which has over 1500 members in this city. We hold regular open-air meetings in the city park every Sunday afternoon. The platform is perfectly free to any one who has anything to say. The speakers as a general rule are very Radical, and almost without exception preach the speedy dawn of the Social Revolution. Resolutions were recently passed expressing sympathy with the Chicago "brethren." The attendance is very large, the crowd generally reaching two or three thousand persons.

"Times are very dull here. The "Santa Fe" R. R., whose shops are located here, and in which are employed over 2000 men, have recently made a reduction in their force. This causes a very material depression in the business of the community. A new railroad which has been grading, has stopped work indefinitely. This leaves some 200 men out of employment. Surely the old saying, "Go West, young man," is losing its significance, and becoming only a matter of fiction.

"We have organised a society for the protection of the poor against the rich, to see that the laws of the land are impartially administered; to see that legislative bodies perform their functions aright; to prevent corruption in everything. This organisation will make a fight against the police and police-courts, which are the great oppressors of the poor, and the only courts in which a man is denied the constitutional right of a jury. We will fight the vagrancy law, and attempt to have it stricken from the statute books.

"Hoping our friends in London are enjoying the same degree of prosperity that we are experiencing, I remain, fraternally yours,

"HARRY A. BLAKESLEY."

### LITERARY NOTICES.

*What's to be Done?* By N. G. Tchernychevsky. Benj. R. Tucker, publisher, Box 3366, Boston, Mass. Paper, 75 cents.; cloth, 1 dol.—This novel and its author have a remarkable history. The work was written in 1863 in a St. Petersburg dungeon, where the author was confined for twenty-two months prior to being sent into exile in Siberia. The author was not only one of the foremost literary men of Russia, but one of the earliest and most influential of the Nihilists, and, though still in exile, he is looked upon by the Nihilists even yet with a peculiar veneration. His influence upon the youth of Russia was of the most extraordinary and wide-spread character, and was chiefly exercised through this romance, *What's to be Done?* The book was suppressed by the Czar, but not before it had had a large circulation. The Russian work is now rare, but it is read secretly in Russia still, where copies have been sold for a thousand roubles each. Though it has been translated into nearly every European language, Mr. Tucker's admirable translation is the first in English. The phenomenal movement by which the youth of the upper classes in Russia, and especially the young girls, have enrolled themselves in such large numbers in the Nihilist ranks, received its greatest impetus from the publication of this book, the principal characters in it becoming types on which these young people formed themselves. So important was the work done by this book that the Italian author, Arnaudo, in his history of *Nihilism and the Nihilists*, devotes an entire chapter of over seventy pages to its analysis. He says of it: "*What's to be Done?* was welcomed by the Russian youth with extraordinary enthusiasm, and was always considered by the Nihilists themselves as the best and most faithful picture of Nihilism." Alexis Tveritinof, who translated the work into French, writes: "Never did a novel bear such fruit, and in so short a time, as this one. To it and to it alone is due the type that we now see developing more and more—I mean the Russian female student. In 1873 there were 108 of them in the University at Zurich; but after the famous ukase which pronounced them all libertines and nullified the diplomas of that university, they started for the other universities of Europe instead of returning to Russia and abandoning the study of the sciences. The ukase launched by Tchernychevsky from the depths of his prison was, it seems, more potent than that of the chief of police, Schouvalof, and the Minister of the Interior, Timaschef. . . . *What's to be Done?* has completely transformed the family relations of the young generation; and persons may be found whose minds are not sufficiently elevated to understand all the ideas contained in this novel, but who nevertheless arrange their lives upon it as a model, as if regarding it as an ideal of moral force to be attained." In view of these facts, this book might not improperly be called the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of the Russian Nihilists, and should be read by all who can procure it.

### POLICE INTERFERENCE IN MARYLEBONE.

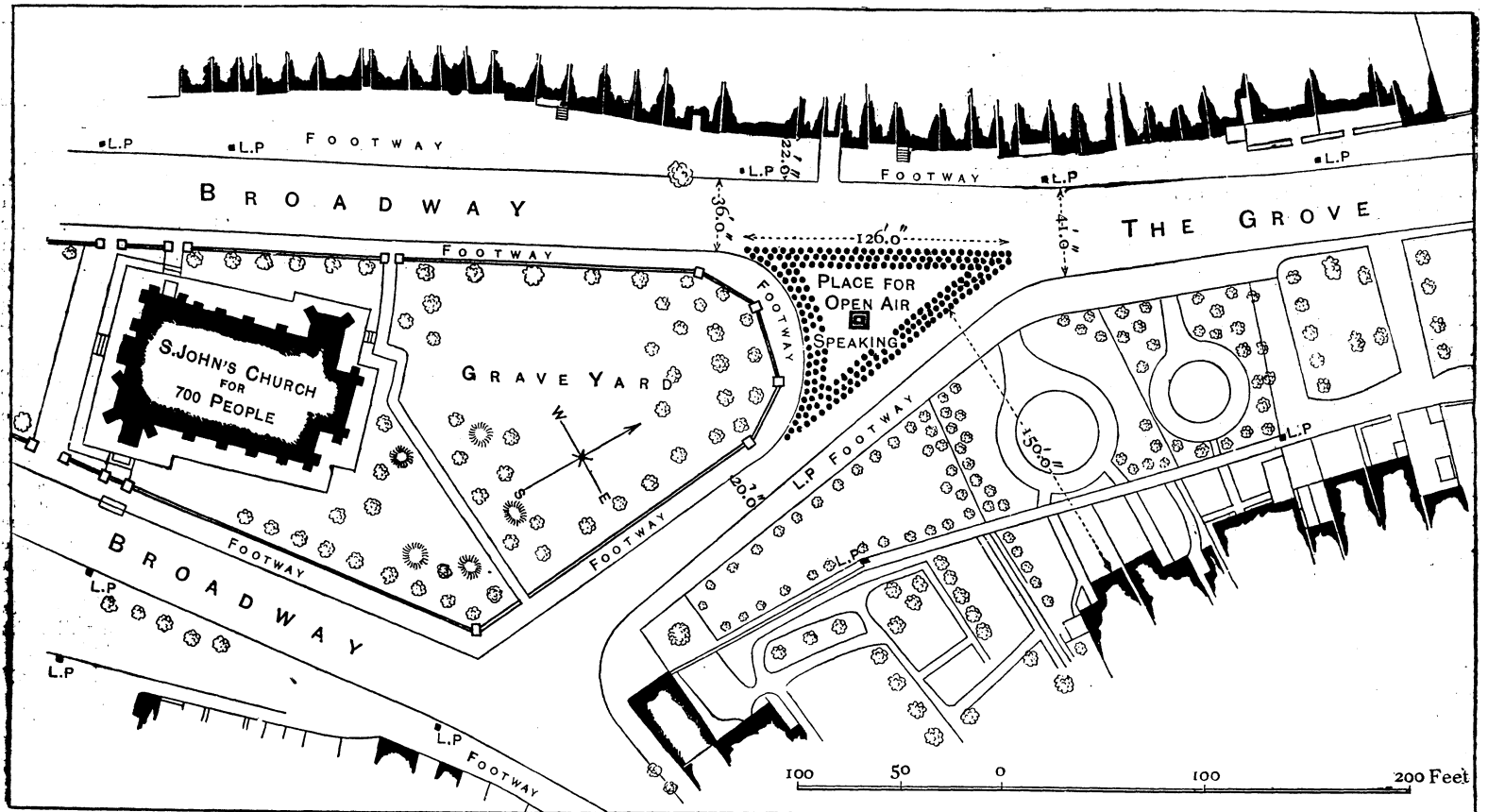
For the past two years addresses have been delivered by Socialists at the corner of Bell Street, Edgware Road, without interference from the police or complaints from the inhabitants. But the police seem to think that we have become too popular, so, as a means of stopping our popularity, they have determined to add to it by arresting our speakers. On Sunday morning the police came prepared to make an arrest, and brought with them several plain-clothes men, evidently for the purpose of causing an obstruction, as they persisted in standing in the middle of the footway. Having thus succeeded in their purpose the inspector proceeded to stop the meeting, and I was at once arrested. In the evening comrade John Williams was arrested at the same spot.

On Monday morning we both appeared before the magistrate at Marylebone Police Court. The police-witnesses in cross-examination, admitted that we had been successful in our endeavours to keep the people off the footway, and that they had never interfered with any obstruction caused by the religious bodies in the district; that our doctrine was the most obnoxious, and that they intended to suppress our meetings. Of course, the magistrate decided as usual, and fined us 1s. each, after having given us a little fatherly advice. As the people in the district are entirely in sympathy with us, and against any interference by the police, it is not possible to prophecy what will be the end of this latest attempt at the suppression of free speech.

H. G. ARNOLD.

**SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.**—Prices to the Trade and for Distribution, of all 1d. publications (including the *Commonweal*) 8d. per dozen; 1s. 4d. per quire; 5s. per 100 (not including cost of carriage).—H. H. SPARLING, Manager of *Commonweal*, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.





Plan showing open space at Stratford where speakers of the Socialist League were arrested for alleged obstruction.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

### Notices to Members.

A General Meeting of London Members will be held on Monday July 26, at 9.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Hammersmith, Leeds, Norwich, Dublin, to April 30. Bloomsbury, Bradford, Croydon, Hackney, Merton, to May 31. Clerkenwell, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Mile-End, Manchester, North London, Oxford, to June 30. Marylebone to Sept. 30.—P. W.

### The "Commonweal."

On Saturday last a Board Brigade went out, with a couple of women-comrades, to sell the paper. The sale was nearly three quires. Next Saturday the experiment will be repeated. Start will be made at 11.30. Volunteers are wanted.

## REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

### Executive.

At their regular weekly meeting on Monday last, the Council resolved that a General Meeting of London members be held on the last Monday in each month, such meeting to commence after the business of the Council is completed; but if the business be not transacted by 9 p.m., that the Council do then adjourn. T. Binning, J. Lane, and W. Morris, were appointed a committee to arrange the order of procedure at General Meetings and report next Monday.

### Branch Reports.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, June 30, H. Barker lectured on "Socialism" to a fair audience; lively discussion and reply; sale of paper good; propaganda fund, 1s. 8½d.—On Sunday, July 4, John Clay, who was down to lecture on "The Land Question," found such a poor audience, owing to the very warm weather, that the Branch members present decided not to hold an indoor meeting, but to go to Clerkenwell Green, a large open piece of ground, well known for public meetings of all sorts. The decision proved correct; a large and successful meeting lasting nearly three hours was held, and addressed by H. H. Sparling and W. Chambers. The audience was sympathetic, and frequently applauded the speaker's sentiments. Good sale of *Commonweal*, and 2s. collected at the end of meeting for the Defence Fund.—W. B.

MARYLEBONE.—On Saturday evening we held our usual meeting in the Harrow Road; it was interrupted towards the close by a stupid person, who had come accompanied by about a dozen boys for the purpose of upsetting the meeting, but all passed off very well.—On Sunday morning we had a large meeting at the corner of Bell Street, and comrade Arnold was arrested at the close of the meeting.—We had a large audience in Hyde Park in the afternoon, which was addressed by comrades Arnold, Burcham, and Chambers.—H. G. A., sec.

MERTON.—Last Sunday, comrades Lane and Kitz addressed a somewhat limited audience in the open-air, and the sale of *Commonweals* was not quite so good as usual. As an offset we have made several new members, and increased the list of regular subscribers to the *Commonweal* in this district.—F. Kitz.

MILE-END.—On Tuesday, June 29th, owing to the warm weather, our usual indoor meeting was not held, but we decided to call a meeting on Mile End Waste. H. Sparling, in the place of W. Morris, addressed the meeting, which was a large and enthusiastic one. Some very illogical opposition was offered by a "Christian Evidence Society" man, with whom, however, the meeting was entirely out of sympathy.—On Saturday evening, we held a meeting on the Waste (our first attempt on a Saturday), which was very successful. Mowbray, at some length, explained the aims of Socialists and the position of the workers to-day, which, he said, was a false one and could not last; Graham also addressed the meeting. An appeal was made for subscriptions to the Free Speech (Stratford) Fund, which resulted in 6d. being collected; good sale of *Commonweals*.—A good meeting was also held at Stamford Hill, on Sunday, under the auspices of the Mile End Branch.—H. DAVIS.

LEEDS.—Two meetings were held last Sunday, one in the morning at Hunslet Moor and the other at Vicar's Croft, as announced. Both meetings were successfully carried through, and about two quires of the *Commonweal* were sold.—T. M.

MANCHESTER.—The meeting at Grey Mare corner on Sunday morning, though small was hopeful; papers sold well, and four new members were made. We regained our station at the Viaduct in the evening, and had a good meeting; some warm discussion took place.—R. U., sec.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

- Bloomsbury.**—Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W. Friday, July 9, at 8.30 p.m., H. H. Sparling, "Killing no Murder." 16. G. B. Shaw, "Socialism and Malthusianism." 23. Annie Besant, "Why the Workers should be Socialists." 30. Mrs. Wilson.
- Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday July 11, 7.30 p.m. W. Blundell, "Diseases, Mental and Physical." Wednesday 14 (8.30). H. H. Sparling, "Organisation."
- Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every Tuesday at 9, for the enrolment of members and other business.
- Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays, at 8 p.m. July 11. Andreas Scheu, "Socialism and the Theory of Evolution."
- Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sundays, at 7.45 p.m. July 11. W. Morris, "Education." 18. H. H. Sparling, "Unrest and Unreason."
- Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.
- Mile-end.**—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. July 13. W. Chambers, "Our Political Parties."

### Country Branches.

- Birmingham.**—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30.
- Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
- Glasgow.**—Lecture and discussion in new rooms of the Branch, 84 John Street every Sunday at 7 p.m. Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. sympathisers invited.
- Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.
- Leeds.**—No meeting-room at present. Out-door stations notified below.
- Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.
- Manchester.**—County Forum. Thursdays, at 8 p.m.
- Norwich.**—Gordon Café. Every Monday at 8 p.m.
- Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.
- Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 27 Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 10.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7	...	N. London.
	Harrow Road—opposite the	7	W. Chambers	Marylebone.
	"Prince of Wales"			
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7	H. H. Sparling	Hammersmith.
	Mile-end Waste		C. W. Mowbray	Mile-end.
	Regent's Park	7	D. Nicoll	N. London.
S. 11.	Croydon	11	W. Chambers	Croydon.
	Edgware Road—Bell Street	11.30	Mainwaring	Marylebone.
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	H. Barker	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—Beadon Road	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	H. H. Sparling	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	Lane and Mowbray	Mile-end.
	Regent's Park	11.30		N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	T. E. Wardle	Bloomsbury.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30		Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	T. E. Wardle	Hackney.
	Clerkenwell Green	7	Sparling & Blundell	Clerkenwell.
	Croydon	7	W. Chambers	Croydon.
	Merton—High Street	7	H. Charles	Merton.
Tu. 13.	Soho—Broad Street	8	T. E. Wardle	Bloomsbury.
Th. 15.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7.30	T. E. Wardle	N. London.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	C. W. Mowbray	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	8.30	H. Graham	Mile-end.

### PROVINCES.

Hulme.—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.

Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

Manchester.—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.

Oldham.—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 27.

SATURDAY, JULY 17, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## THE WHIG-JINGO VICTORY.

MR. GLADSTONE'S appeal to the country has resulted in a complete defeat for the Home Rulers; nay more, in what must be called under the circumstances, a triumph for the actual Tories; under the circumstances that is to say, the extinction of the Tory party of principle and its melting into the Whig party of utilitarian reaction. The present Tory triumph is as good an exemplification of the disappearance of the old Tory party as may be; they are delirious with joy over it; but what does it come to as a mere party victory? They will probably come back to Westminster with at most a very small majority over the so-called Liberals of all shades and Parnellites united, which means that they will rule by the leave of the Whigs.

And they will need the support of their definitely Whig allies, because the Jingo-Radicals are by no means wholly to be counted on, except for the oppression of Ireland; and even in that case they will wish the oppression to be carried out by sly and underhanded methods, while in other matters they will be anxious to prove what good Radicals they are in everything else except the allowing people to govern themselves. Though, perhaps, we can hardly expect Mr. Chamberlain to revert to his hints of demi-semi-Socialism for the next few months.

For the Whigs, however, the triumph is complete. It is true that the seats gained from Gladstone are mostly in the possession of Tories; but the Tories are now mere employés of the Whigs, kept for doing their dirty work. On the other hand the Whigs have once more got the rope firmly round the neck of the Radicals, who a short while ago seemed in danger of breaking away. They may if they choose help in the triumphal march of the Constitutional party to nowhere; but if they do not they can be done without, and if they are restive can be easily throttled out of the way. The Whigs are now in a truly majestic position, which could hardly be bettered by lifting lazy mediocrity in the shape of Lord Hartington into the premiership.

As to what they will do in the present juncture, the completeness of their victory somewhat changes the aspect of things from what it was a week or two ago. This is clear from the tone of Mr. Chamberlain's last speeches, in which he has entirely dropped the mask, and stands forward as the champion of mere oppression à la Poland. It is not improbable that coercion, which the very Tories dropped before the elections, may now be picked up again. The victorious coalitionists cannot do absolutely nothing, however much they may be inclined to; some beneficent measure will be prepared, and the question will then be in what way it shall be crammed down the Irish throat. Shall the resistance to it be met by a challenge to civil war? That is the question which Lord Salisbury will presently have to answer.

Meanwhile the reactionist press, including the perfidious *Pall Mall Gazette*, which hardly takes the trouble to veil its exultation at the Jingo victory, is busy twitting Gladstone with his phrase about the "classes and the masses," asserting that the masses have declared against Home Rule. It is possible (or if you please, probable) that even supposing the "masses" had the vote, they would have voted for the retention of Poland-Ireland, as the last twenty years have shown us how even universal suffrage can be manipulated as long as there are rich people in the country; but to assert that this election could be a test of their opinion is sheer impudence, since the most innocent can compare the number of votes cast with that of the population. The vote is a property vote—a vote of bricks-and-mortar, and not men. A working-man friend says that in London you do not meet one man in five who has a vote. The present writer has *seven*, although but a professional man, a hanger-on of the privileged class. In short, the

vote, like other boons to the "lower classes," is simply thrown to them to amuse them with the semblance of power, lest they should bethink them and claim the reality of it.

To thinking-people, indeed, these elections should show the powerlessness of the working-classes under our present industrial system, of which our constitutional government is an adjunct and a servant. It is true that the Independence of Ireland is a class question under the present circumstances, since the settlement of it *must* force people to deal with the question of the subsistence of the Irish workers, and so by implication with that of the workers in England and all other countries. In fact, the question is as simple as this: "Shall the Irish people be an appanage, a convenience, to the landlords and capitalists of the British Empire?" On this question it is clear that the "masses" would have the "classes" against them; and it should have been equally clear that, as the electorate is arranged, like everything else in our society, to give all the real power to the classes, the masses would be beaten. The classes have answered the question as they were bound to: "Yes, it is right and proper that Ireland (in common with all the world) should be enthralled for our benefit."

One sees nonsense in the papers about the "New Democracy," the "Two Democracies," and so forth; but, in fact, there is no Democracy or Rule of the People in Great Britain. There is a monstrous bourgeoisie or exploiting class, all the more powerful as it embraces everybody who lives even partially by exploitation, and thus is very numerous, and in the average grossly ignorant. There is also a genuine working class or proletariat, which under the present system has no power, except so far as it can make the danger of its existence felt by the bourgeoisie: nor will it have any power until it makes up its mind, or rather is driven by the march of events, to take to itself *all* power. Outside these two classes there is nothing but a fantastic accidental fringe, which must drift in the long-run into one or the other of the two great classes; though it must be admitted that the members of it have a tendency to "run with the hare and hunt with the hounds," until some great crisis like the present finds them out. WM. MORRIS.

## A PEOPLE'S PALACE.

THE East-End of London has recently been the scene of a most effusive demonstration of loyalty. The occasion of it was the visit of the Prince of Wales and family for the purpose of laying the foundation-stone of what in future is to be known as the "People's Palace." The route was gorgeously bedecked with bunting, mottoes, triumphal arches (well-named), and all the glittering tinsel that could be scraped together to cover up its dirt and ugliness. The people were wild with enthusiasm; everything done that day was for them, all for them. Bands and banners, soldiers and sailors, and ornamental heads of the various departments of this glorious State; all were there. Numbers of children were posted at school windows to cheer their royal highnesses. The demonstration these made, in the opinion of the capitalist *Daily Chronicle*, "speaks volumes for the staunch loyalty of the rising generation." The "horny-handed sons of toil" clapped their hands with joy at the sight of their future king, giving the lie to those who assert that the East-end is "a hot-bed of Socialism and crime."

The stone-laying farce was witnessed by an assemblage consisting of all classes of society, of high degree and no degree, fleeced and fleecers; those of higher degree taking front places as was their right, those of lesser degree back places as was their *duty*. The dutiful and submissive proletarian, as usual, took his place—out of sight.

As the royal party are ushered to the scene of the ceremony, thousands of children sing "God bless the Prince of Wales." (Think of the training and caning it doubtless took to produce this grand effect). The royal song over, a special prayer is read by his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, more singing, and then the reading of a long address by Sir E. H. Currie, brimming over with false sentiment and fulsome adulation. The only point of interest in it was that forty years ago Mr. Barber Beaumont left the sum of £12,150 to provide

"intellectual improvement and rational recreation for this district of the metropolis." I do not, and I think it would be hard to, call in question the purity of the motives of the late Mr. Beaumont. But, as was shown in the address, the far-seeing eye of the generous and well-to-do classes discovered that this small sum was totally inadequate to "meet the requirements of the vast population whom it was intended to benefit." So out of love for it, they resolved to increase it to £100,000, £75,000 of which they already have. In reply to Sir E. H. Currie, the prince read an address, in which he spoke of the maintenance of our supremacy in "the Arts of Peace." Age of shams and adulteration, a tribute this!

The event of the day was at last reached, the stone was lowered, and tapping it thrice "in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," it was declared by his royal highness to be well and truly laid. The archbishop then pronounced the benediction, sanctifying with the name of Jesus Christ the subtle villainy of the whole day's proceedings. Think ye a moment! these two are the representative heads, in this country, of the biggest hypocrisy that ever disgraced humanity; to keep up which millions are defrauded of the results of their labour. Those in whose minds there is the least glimmer of the light of intelligence, have discovered the fraud, are murmuring and growing discontented, are spreading that around them which, if it be not stopped, will become a danger to Society—to Society *i.e.* as at present constituted. This must be prevented, and the throwing-of-the-bone-to-the-dog business gone through for that purpose. The last bone is a People's Palace. Note with what avidity the deluded proletarian has seized on it, in his ignorance mistaking the bone for the meat.

A People's Palace is undoubtedly a most desirable thing, a delightful resort for empty stomachs and diseased minds; and these abound all round the palace that is to be. Its swimming-baths will be a glorious treat to the wretched slum-dweller; its gymnasium will assist in developing his diseased skeleton; its library will enable him to understand the glories of our constitution, and the technical and trade schools make him a better tool for the employers' use; all of which combined will doubtless improve him "physically and mentally," and render his life much happier.

Within a stone's-throw of the palace there was in 1881—and may be still for aught I know,—in the space of six acres a population of 3,750, or over 600 souls to the acre, crowded into one or two-storey tenements built two hundred years ago, the cubic feet of space to each person being about 120. The report from which this is taken says, "that this was nothing exceptional, but that in all parts of London people were living surrounded by similar conditions." The late Lord Shaftesbury stated in his evidence before the "Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working-classes," that "he knew of cases where as many as four families were living together in one room," father, mother, grown sons and daughters, all mixed up together. Anyone who has gone through the minutes of evidence taken by that Commission, knows that it abounds with the records of similar cases. The locality of the People's Palace is notorious for its slums, and by the light of science let us for a moment look at their dwellers in order that we may see the kind of folk it is proposed to improve "physically and mentally."

The Sanitary Acts make provision for the maintenance of 300 cubic feet of space for each adult, but to ensure a thorough state of health 700 at least are required. The 120 cubic feet each person in the case I have just quoted, is a long way off this. There pass through the lungs of an adult each day 400 cubic feet of air which are deprived of 20 cubic feet of their oxygen, and its place supplied with poisonous carbonic acid gas. Unless the inspired air contains its due proportion of oxygen the blood cannot be purified, and as a consequence the body cannot be healthy. How, then, can the slum-dweller with only 120 feet of space be healthy? Echo answers, How? Surrounded by these conditions their organisms have become diseased. And it is for these that the palace is to be built! With what delight will they flit from slum to palace, dirty, diseased, and empty-stomached, to be instructed in the "Arts of Peace." Open-armed they will be received! Will they? I rather fancy that the filtering process will be resorted to, as in the case of "Model Dwellings," which were supposed to supply the dishoused slum-dwellers with improved and thoroughly healthy dwellings, but which have driven them into other slums already overstocked. And we shall see, I venture to predict, as in the case of the "Models," the slum-dweller driven from the palace to make room for the labour-aristocrat, for whom it is really intended.

This is the first People's Palace, but as time rolls on, many more will be erected for the purpose of pushing back the rising tide of discontent. Looking into the "dim and distant future," we can see London one huge barracks, and dotted about here and there a People's Palace. Even now half the labouring population live in single rooms, and to house the increased population 60,000 dwellings have to be erected every year. The result of this must be ultimately what I have just depicted.

A People's Palace forsooth! There never can nor will be such until the sleepy-headed worker sees through the wall of lies that obscures the truth! The truth that neither spangled and gilded paraphernalia nor ceremonial hypocrisy can give him anything. Not even a People's Palace! Open thine eyes, oh worker, and see! It is you that saw, and hammer, and chisel; that toil and sweat, make the wealth, and build the palace; and then no longer will the brigands of humanity befooled you into the belief that they are its benefactors. Toilers, awake!

H. A. BARKER.

## A TRAMP'S WALLET.

### III.

(Concluded from page 110.)

My breakfast the next morning was made up of freely-given contributions from my fellow lodgers, who warned me never to "clem" (starve) in my travels for the want of asking. The atmosphere of a tramps' "ken," with its sordid and revolting associations, is scarcely the place wherein one would expect the virtues of kindness and hospitality to flourish; but in this and also similar places I have seen the brightest human qualities displayed.

I and the "blacksmith" started off together, and he was soon at work at alms-gathering. Not a house or passenger did he pass without a solicitation; and when I mildly suggested that he had a sufficient quantity of food to satisfy us both, he replied that it would never do to let yourself get too low for want of asking, or you might starve altogether—a remark that I had some reason subsequently to remember. He vainly tried to induce me to beg, but my repugnance was too strong to be overcome; and although he generously gave me of the food he had obtained, he did not fail to express his contempt for my scruples, and when we reached the next town he shook me off. Here I obtained a little relief from one or two employed in my trade, but no employment. The pleasurable expectations I had indulged in at the outset of my journey of seeing strange places were soon dulled by the actual bitter experience of vainly searching for employment in the highways and byways of a strange town. Dispirited and penniless, I left the gay town of — and faced the dusty highway once more. The music of the pier band, the flashing sea, and crowds of aristocratic pleasure-seekers upon the beach, were sights and sounds to be enjoyed by the idle drones; but I, willing to work, must pursue my path of pain in a fruitless search for it.

I walked on the coast-line, anon on the burning shingle or the green-sward of the southern down, across which came softly the tinkle of the wether bell. Hunger was gnawing me, but I could not bring myself to beg. I passed through an isolated coastguard-station, and through an open door espied a table laid for a repast. I nearly overcame my repugnance and approached the door, but my tongue clove to the roof of my mouth, the supplication for food never passed my lips, and I went on my way unaided.

As evening drew on, my hunger increased. The "blacksmith's" words were ringing in my ears, but I passed the few cottages on my road without asking. The sun went down and the stars peeped out over the beautiful channel; but on I went, with a sick miserable feeling of weakness possessing me. The lights of the town I had hoped to reach shone in the clear distance, but that distance seemed to increase rather than decrease with my waning efforts to reach it; and at last, overcome with fatigue and hunger, I laid myself down on the sward to rest, a foodless, homeless tramp.

I arose the next morning, my clothing infested with field vermin, and started across the green headlands. At a wayside cottage I made a scarcely audible request for food, and after being bluffly told to speak up was given a piece of bread and bacon, and told in a jocular manner that I should find a field lower down where boiled mutton and turnips grew together. Refreshed with the food I soon reached the next town, and at once began to make inquiries after work, but I was travel-stained and unkempt, my boots were apologies for such articles, and supercilious shopmen and assistants denied me access to their principals, and where it was gained in spite of them, I met with an emphatic "No!" They could not think of taking people of my sort on; and this, let me say, is the chief obstacle to the tramping workman. Gradually he becomes dejected and travel-worn, and every man's hand is against him. Local respectability demands that the "hulking vagrant" shall work, and no one will give it him, except the penal labour imposed in the workhouse in return for a bed of straw.

I wandered on, becoming accustomed to what necessity had imposed upon me, viz., to beg; and was now a beggar as well as a tramp. The police, acting under the instruction of the sleek governors of the pleasure towns, dog the footstep of all such who enter those places, in order that the tramps shall not disfigure their promenades, or come betwixt the wind and the nobility of the idlers who resort to them.

All my efforts to obtain employment failed. A born cockney, agricultural labour was out of the question, and hearing that such as I might obtain employment in the Kentish hop-fields, I bent my steps towards the Weald of Kent. I was now forced to carry out the "blacksmith's" advice, or I should have added to the terrible list of those who have starved and died on English roadsides. My begging had various results. At one time I would be told to be off, or a dog would be set at me; at another some aged parent, whose son was like me, a wanderer, would bless me for the lost one's sake, and relieve my wants. Sometimes possessed of the few pence necessary to secure a bed, at others forced to lie by the roadside, my clothing and appearance made me indistinguishable from the great army of homeless waifs of "Merrie England."

Hitherto I had not endured the horrors of a casual ward, but on arriving in the centre of the hop districts one pouring wet night, lame and penniless, I sought refuge for the night in the workhouse of —. What a night of horror that was to me! Special provisions had been made for the influx of the hundreds of London pickers who annually visit the district. 800 were received in one place. Rude open sheds ran around a large courtyard, and a scanty covering of straw upon the ground constituted the "bed" for all. Starving and exhausted, I asked if any food was given. "Yes, in the morning, if you pick



"oakum," was the answer, accompanied with a brutal jeer. "Did I take butter with my bread?" "Now, get along there; we don't waste time talking with the likes of you." All were ordered under the sheds and told to stop jawing. A more wretched crew could not be gathered together. Their rags hung upon them soaked with the rain they had been exposed to outside, and now it poured under the straw from the surrounding ground and soaked us again as we lay. About eleven o'clock a man feverish and ill raised a cry for water, and after repeated calls an official attired like a jailer and armed with a truncheon, made his appearance with a can of water. After bestowing curses deep and hearty on us all, he asked for the particular one who had disturbed him, flashing the light of his night lantern along the prostrate forms. He discovered a thin, feeble man, who asked him for some of the water he carried. The official, who was evidently drunk, poured the water over him. The gurgles and gasps of the man evoked loud cries of "Shame" from the others, but the warder unloosed his truncheon, and with many curses and threats was on the point of laying about him with it when he was stopped by the arrival of another official.

The hubbub subsided, but sleep was denied me. My swollen feet caused me intense pain, and whilst my neighbours cursed me for restlessness they stealthily abstracted as much straw as possible from under me in order to increase their own litters. The morning found us damp and wretched. We were ordered out on the paths of the workhouse grounds, and those who elected to stay for what the warder satirically styled breakfast, were given a pound of oakum to pick and a piece of dry bread. The oakum was picked sitting on the saturated ground.

After many more privations I re-entered the huge city and was fortunate enough to secure employment. My object in penning this narrative is to pourtray the fate of those who are unfortunate enough to fall out of the ranks of labour into the abyss of misery prepared for them by the institutions of Modern Society in England.

The slavish portion of the working-class, especially in England, whose sole criterion of human life is to always be in one place and at work, generally regard the travel-stained tramp as a pariah and outcast, and join more or less vociferously in the abuse which the rest of Society heaps upon him. A vagrant class is, however, indicative of social injustice and decay. The nomads, half peasants half tramps, who are always upon our highways, are the descendants of the dispossessed commoners and freeholders, whose heritage has been stolen by bloated land thieves and squires. Great strikes, lock-outs, all labour crises send a number of workmen and their families upon the road.

Again, there is a large contingent whose rebelliousness against the rigid, cold, and exhausting conditions environing labour to-day, takes the form of vagrancy. They will tell you plainly that there are already enough at work, and whilst so many get rich without work they don't clearly see why they should work and be poor; so they learn the tricks of the road and keep to it. Certain it is that under our present system of production all cannot get employment, and the tramp at least escapes the grime and filth that surround poverty in the great cities.

My own experience has shown how soon the cleanest and smartest can become unkempt and ragged when upon the road, and when meeting such, whether it is the workman forced to it for the first time, or the one who has been born into it, I adjure the reader not to pass the usual hasty verdict that rises to the lips of the unthinking, and condemn for misfortune, but to take a broad philosophical view of the economical condition of Society and of the unjust monopolies of the means of production, which here and in America have, for one of its chief results, the homeless, helpless Tramp.

JOHN LITSTER.

### "An empty pocket is the worst of crimes."

The poor lad who set out from Fulham to find work, and found it at Eastbourne in the form of oakum-picking rewarded by bread-and-water, will have leisure to consider the enormity of his crime in daring to be born and to require sleep and shelter. But after all, though the Eastbourne magistrates might have tempered their logic with mercy, and though all persons of a kindly nature would be glad to lend a hand to their tarring and feathering, their view of the property in an empty boat, looked on as a potential lodging-house, is in strict logical accordance with the bourgeois view of property in general. "This is mine, and whether I can use it or not, nobody else shall," is the watchword of property; and Queen, Lords and Commons, Army and Navy, Judge, Magistrate, Lawyer, and Policeman are kept in their places and paid (handsomely too) by Society in order to carry out this watchword to its legitimate consequences, that is, the semi-starvation and complete degradation of the majority of the people.

W. M.

There are dreadful punishments enacted against thieves; but it were much better to make such good provisions by which every man might be put in a method how to live, and so to be preserved from the fatal necessity of stealing and dying for it.—*Sir Thomas More's 'Utopia.'*

"There are two things," says Socrates, "which the magistrates of Athens will be careful to keep out of our city—opulence and poverty. Opulence, because it engenders effeminacy; poverty, because it produces baseness; both because they lead to Revolution."

The total amount of labour needed to provide for our wants will be as follows: Food, half an hour's labour daily; clothing, fifteen minutes' labour daily; houses, etc., half an hour's labour; that is (assuming every man did his share), a total of 1½ hour's labour daily would suffice to supply us in abundance with all the comforts of life. The progress of invention and the increasing application of machinery are daily reducing even the amount of labour, so that the part which has now mainly to be played by man, is simply to superintend the machinery which does the work.—*William Hoyle.*

## SONGS FOR THE PEOPLE.

### I.—THE SELFISH, TYRANNICAL WHIG.

TUNE—"The Shamrock so green."

Know ye the man who is fawning and sly,  
With a smile on his lips, and a leer in his eye,  
As cunning's a fox, and as stubborn's a pig,  
A beautiful snake with a venomous bite,  
Caressing with fondness and ranking with spite—  
A legal assassin, too dastard to fight—  
A dissembling Reformer, who tramples on right?  
Mark him well, he's a selfish, tyrannical Whig!

Know ye the man who betrays with a smile,  
Like Judas, the traitor, ungrateful and vile,  
And for aught but his selfishness cares not a fig—  
With a patriot's tongue and a renegade's mind,  
Oppressing the poor, and deceiving mankind—  
To Chartists a tyrant, to freemen unkind—  
Unfeeling as rock, and as empty as wind?  
Mark him well, he's a selfish, tyrannical Whig!

Know ye the man who is crafty and base,  
Deceives his old friends, and the people betrays—  
Wheels like a harlequin—cheats like a pig—  
To Freedom a despot—to knowledge a knave—  
Exalting the sycophant, trampling the brave—  
Who scorns the poor workman, and makes him a slave—  
A white painted urn on a rank, hollow grave?  
Mark him well, he's a selfish, tyrannical Whig!

—*Chartist Circular, 1840.*

### ON THE SUPPRESSION OF FREE SPEECH AT CHICAGO.

With stifled voice who crieth from the West,  
Where sinks the ensanguined sun of Freedom, erst  
That spread her stainless wings, and sheltering nurst,  
From out all lands, the hunted and oppressed?  
America! shrink not from thy new guest,  
For Liberty was thine for best and worst:  
How should her seed upon thy land be curst  
Till her false friends as traitors stand confest?

Doth Freedom dwell where ruthless kings of gain  
Like stealthy vampires, still on Labour feed—  
Though free to toil or starve on plenty's plain?  
Then what of Labour's hope—the will to be  
Equal, Fraternal, knowing want nor greed—  
Throned in a people's heart when states are free?

June 1886.

WALTER CRANE.

### A LETTER FROM AMERICA.

In connection with the above sonnet by comrade Crane, the following extract from a letter just received from an American comrade will be read with additional interest:

Geneva, Kane Co., Illinois.

"My mail has, for the past month, been opened and read by the detectives who are set to dog us (my wife and myself), and several letters of value have 'gone astray.' Of course we have to bear such annoyances. This is practically Russia now; and to be known as a Socialist is to be a marked man or woman. Many times we have been made aware that our every move is now watched; and not content with entering and searching our house and opening and stealing our letters, we are threatened with mob-violence to compel us to leave the town. Anonymous articles are printed in the local papers, containing threats of personal violence to us, and abounding with such pet names as 'bloody Anarchists,' 'rioters,' 'bomb-throwers,' 'murderers,' and the like. Of course we are not going to be driven out of town by any such means, but it is hurting my business, and we may have to leave on that account.

"There is little of interest to write in regard to the movement in this locality (I am 35 miles from Chicago). The trial of the Anarchists occurs immediately, and you will probably have learned the result before this reaches England. Many of our comrades, and our lawyers, are sanguine of an acquittal, but I confess I have grave fears for the result. If it was simply a case of justice and law our comrades would certainly be acquitted, as there is not the least evidence against one of the men now awaiting trial; but the whole course of the press and the authorities during the past few weeks proves that they are determined upon vengeance, and that no stone will be left unturned to force a verdict of murder and sentence of death upon at least one of the prisoners. The attitude of the press reminds one of the closing days of the Paris Commune. They have been unceasing in their cries, not for justice but for vengeance. The future may bring about strange events."

An evil is not cured by counteracting its symptoms, or external phenomena, but by attacking it at the root.—*Büchner.*

The boundless and most pernicious rage of speculation will come to an end, and in place of incalculable national debts we shall have an inexhaustible national wealth.—*Büchner.*

All violence exerted towards opinions which falls short of extermination serves no other purpose than to render them more known, and ultimately to increase the zeal and number of their abettors. Opinions that are false may be dissipated by the force of argument; when they are true, their punishment draws towards them, infallibly, more of the public attention, and enables them to dwell with more lasting weight and pressure in the mind. The progress of reason is aided, in this case, by the passions, and finds in curiosity, compassion, and resentment, powerful auxiliaries.—*Robert Hall.*

It is the uncertainty generated by these recurring hard times which indisposes poor men to habits of thrift and stays the development of labour. Of old the worker felt reasonably sure of his future. Now the average worker knows not what a day may bring forth. The wolf is ever growling behind his door. Mencius, the great Chinese sage, three hundred years before Christ, taught that uncertainty as to the means of existence is one of the most important factors in the demoralisation of a people. There is a lesson for us in this sagacity of "the heathen Chinese."—*Heber Newton.*



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance should be attached to them because of the position they may occupy in these pages. None, therefore, are to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s.; six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

RECEIVED—*England*: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record—Imperial Federation—Our Corner—The Socialist. *Belgium*: Le Chante-Clair (Bruxelles). *Canada*: L'Union Ouvrière (Montreal). *France*: Paris: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—Le Révolté—Le Socialiste—La Tribune des Peuples—Revue du Mouvement Social—La Citoyenne. Le Devoir (Guise)—Le Forçat du Travail (Bordeaux). *Germany*: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). *Holland*: Recht voor Allen. *Hungary*: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Buda-Pest). *India*: People's Friend (Madras). *Italy*: Il Fascio Operaio (Milan). *New Zealand*: Watchman. *Portugal*: O Campino—Voz do Operário—O Protesto Operário (Lisbon). *Spain*: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social—Acracia—La Justicia Humana (Barcelona)—Bandera Social—El Socialista (Madrid)—El Socialismo (Cadiz)—La Perseverancia (Huelva). *Switzerland*: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich). *U. S. A.*: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country—Amerikanische Arbeiterzeitung—Truthseeker. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal. *Denver* (Col.) Labor Inquirer—Little Socialist—Chicago (Ill.) Alarm—Detroit (Mich.) Labor Leaf—Princeton (Mass.) Word—Cleveland (O.): Carpenter. Cincinnati (O.) Unionist—San Francisco (Cal.) Truth—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Petersburg (Ill.) Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Altruist. Kansas (Mo.) Sun—Pittsburg (Pa.) Labor Herald—Baltimore (Md.) Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.) Lucifer—Newfoundland (Pa.) La Torpille—Litchfield (Minn.) Radical—Evansville (Ind.) Neue Zeit Milwaukee (Wis.) Volksblatt—Portland (Oregon) Alarm—Salem (Oregon) Advance—Thought—Paterson (N. J.) Labor Standard.

RECEIVED—"The Dead to the Living"—"Poor Human Nature"—"The Coming of the Light"—"Why Should I Die so Soon?"

#### NOTES.

The apotheosis of commercialism has at last been reached. The Queen has opened the Hollowayarium. Even the gorges of the average middle-class person and the still more average newspaper-writer rise at this. Yet the whole cleverness of the dodge, from the making of the first pill to the presence of Royalty at Egham, ought to command the admiration of the ordinary citizen. And it would if he were not blind with envious rage.

The fact is that the advertising mantle of the late "Professor" Holloway has descended on Mr. Martin Holloway. But whereas the former only made a gigantic fortune by a harmless pill and an innocuous ointment, the latter has actually drawn the Queen. Every one (except Mr. Martin Holloway), now that it is too late, is raving about the whole business, the Queen probably included. And yet every one ought to see that it is perfectly in keeping with our beautiful system of society—is in fact a very typical example of its methods. Huge advertisement, business success, colossal fortune all made ultimately out of the unpaid labour of the working classes, royal honours. The apotheosis, I say again, of a degraded and degrading commercialism.

"Girls for Canada." That is the heading of one of "Dr." Barnardo's puff paragraphs. 175 more children leave England this week, after a prayer-meeting. One wonders if the prayers ever ask why in the name of heaven or earth it is thus necessary to ship these girls away from their "home of the free." Up to June last 2299 had been exiled. "Dr." Barnardo explained that the exiles would have around them in

Canada "all the circumstances connected with the primitive state of society." "Dr." Barnardo probably is thinking of the Garden of Eden. That is I fancy his idea of a primitive state of society. For the young people's sake, let us hope that quite so primitive a condition of things will not obtain. But I fear, with the best intentions on the part of the benevolent exilers, that not even an approximation to a primitive state of society is possible. In Canada no less than here the iron of exploitation has entered into the soul of the people. When will the Barnardos see that a mere shifting of the disposable wage-slave material from one part of the capitalistic area is in nowise any solution of the great problem?

It is a sight that would be amusing if it were not pitiable to see the Liberals or Radicals, or whatever they call themselves, running helplessly hither and thither, frightened to death at the mischief, from their point of view, that they have done. The poor *Daily News*, after striving for weeks to stem the tide of political disaster, seems to have lost its head—never a very lucid one—completely. And the letters in it are evidence at once of how disorganised its party are, and how alarmed at the over-doing of their election abstention. Unionist Liberals who have been working "with all their might" on the Conservative side suddenly wake up to the fact that it is Salisbury and Churchill for whom they have been working, and not even the political deadhead Hartington or the moribund political suicide Chamberlain. Even that prince-of-the-powers of advertisement, Mr. Spurgeon, is beginning to grieve over the milk (not of human kindness) he has spilt.

The annual report of the Commissioners in Lunacy is just out. This is not, as you might think, the Census. It only deals with the abnormal mad people. 80,000 of these in England and Wales. A steady increase year by year in the percentage of insane. 1859, 18 and a fraction in 10,000; 1886, 28 in 10,000. The capitalist press notices these sombre facts, as it notices more than usually noticeable cases of starvation or prostitution. It moans a little, in its aimless way, over them. But it dare not point to that which it knows to be the cause of most of this madness, as it is the one cause of all starvation and prostitution—our method of producing and distributing goods.

"We are very brilliant, very energetic, we are doing wonders with ourselves, but look into the waste-basket and there is an ugly hint of the cost at which it is all done. We must never forget this in testing any process of manufacture: How many does the machine spoil?" Could a Socialist paper put the matter more plainly? Yes, a little. For it would point out that the brilliant, the energetic "we" are the few fortunate exploiters; that "we" do wonders not with ourselves so much as with those workers whom we have grown to look upon as our other selves in a selfish sense; that the waste-basket has various departments, e.g., the workhouse, the thieves' kitchen, the brothel, the grave; that from these and the like more than a hint is coming (and very ugly for the privileged) that the workers are beginning to know what the cost is at which Society is carried on; that they in answer to the question, "How many does the machine spoil?" are answering grimly, "At least as many as we are!"

"One day," says our capitalist print, "we shall give as much care to prevention [of madness as to its cure] by teaching people to lead wiser—that is, easier and happier lives." That is true enough. And the day will be the dawning-time of Socialism universal, and the lives, Socialist lives.

Ed. A.

#### MALTHUSIANISM.

THERE are a great many political philosophers that have an exceedingly simple and easily understood way of explaining what the cause of all our troubles is. You meet these philosophers on every hand—in the professional chair, in the public-house, in hotel smoke-rooms, on the public platform, amongst Radicals, Whigs, and Tories, amongst classes that call themselves (they require to do so very repeatedly, otherwise we should certainly not know that they were) Christians, i.e., followers of Christ! and amongst classes that, though a great deal more like Christ than Christians, are called Atheistic; everywhere, in fact, we meet these philosophers. Now, what is their philosophy?

Suppose you get into conversation with one of them about affairs. You will likely both agree that times are bad, that it is a great deal harder for people to get a living now-a-days than it used to be, and you may likely both agree that things will become worse. What is the cause of all this? Your companion will tell you that we are too thickly populated, and the burthen of his argument will be in words something like these:

"Look at the number of people in our big towns that can't get a living! Why can't they get a living? Because there isn't room for them here; the ranks are filled up. The country is too full by the number of paupers and the number of people in it that can't get work. The thing for us to do with this surplus population is to send it out of the country, to encourage emigration; and then when we have got just the right quantity left behind, we must restrain ourselves, go in for small families, and not allow the population to outrun the number of situations. Nobody will then be out of work, sensitive people will be spared the shocking sight of seeing able-bodied men forced to idleness and misery; poverty and crime will disappear, and taxation will grow correspondingly lighter—in a word, mankind will be regenerated!"

With our population properly regulated, overcrowding will disappear; with that our liability to disease will be lessened, and the problem of housing the working-classes will be solved. Indeed, wages will be higher, for the competition amongst the workers will be less keen. Innumerable other evils will disappear on the adoption of this same policy, too numerous for me to mention."

The foregoing are the arguments of a Malthusian; and so convincing are they that there is perhaps no doctrine in the whole range of economic science so widely believed in. We shall examine them from the higher and truthful platform of the Socialist, and see what they are worth.

What is it that makes the Malthusian say that our population is too dense? Is it because there is not enough food for us all? No, it is not that, for the markets are filled with food, and our farmers are obliged to throw fields out of cultivation—indeed, whole farms are lying idle because we can get more food than we require much more easily than by cultivating these farms. If food were scarce, it would be difficult to understand why the farmer is slack. Does the Malthusian say, then, that our population is too great because the necessary next in importance to food, viz., clothing, is scarce? No, it is not that either; for the most cursory glance round reveals the fact that our warehouses and shops are crammed with dry goods—so crammed, in fact, are they, that our manufacturers have to put their men on short time, and to dismiss them altogether because they can't get rid of the multifarious produce that these busy hands produce.

What is it, then, that makes our friend say that there are too many people in the country? It is because *work is scarce*. Now, why is work scarce? Because there is *an abundance of everything else*. Now here is a ridiculous position for a community of grown-up people to get into! Mark it well, ye truth-seekers! Men, women, and children are starving to-day, because, forsooth! work is scarce. Work is scarce naturally enough, because with our improved methods of production we can make things so quickly, because we can make more things than we can use; therefore, listen, ye slaves! listen, ye hungry ones! listen also, ye that consider! men, women, and children are starving to-day because there is a too great abundance of the necessities and conveniences of life. This is undeniable, and cannot be too often reiterated. If anything else excepting work were scarce, then work would not be scarce, because there would be a demand for labour to make that thing that was scarce.

R.

## "ISMS" AND SCHISMS.

"THESE are the times that try men's souls," wrote Thomas Paine of the revolutionary epoch that culminated in the destruction of Feudality in France and the birth of the bourgeois Republic of America. Stupendous as were the events of that time, and great the clash and commotion which accompanied the accomplishment of that revolution, they bid fair to be but as the sprinkling of an April shower compared with the fury of the storm which is fast approaching. It behoves every one of us, then, to prepare for its coming, that we be not overwhelmed by its onslaught, but be each at his or her appointed post, where, with most advantage and as little risk as need be, the purifying energies of the Revolution may be directed to sweeping away the foul *débris* of the present bourgeois society.

I am impelled to write this article as a plea for unity of action. It seems to me that in the over-much discussion of philosophical theories—of what we are going to do when we have got the Revolution—we are acting very much like Alnaschar in the 'Arabian Nights,' who was so busy with his aerial castle-building that in his preoccupation of mind he kicked over his basket of crockery, and thus destroyed the very basis of all his schemes. We must not forget that our most imperative and immediate duty is not castle-building, but donjon-demolishing. Before we can build, we must first pull down the Bastille of Bourgeoisdom, as our forerunners battered down the Bastille of Feudality; and, Brummagem though it be, it will need united, strenuous, and persistent effort to achieve its overthrow and complete demolition.

The present day is pre-eminently one of "isms" and schisms. The air is thick with the sound and rumour of coming change. Old parties are breaking up, new combinations are being formed; everywhere the discarding of ancient shibboleths, worn-out creeds, old opinions; everywhere the seething, bubbling, and fermenting of the new wine of Socialism; everywhere the din of preparation for the coming conflict. All this discontent and unrest is welcome as a sign that we are nearing the end of the commercial régime. It is not a good in itself, but only in so far as it is a necessary prelude to the birth of the new society. Let us, then, show that we have "method in our madness." While inspired with a noble ideal, fired with the enthusiasm of the fanatic and the imagination of the poet, let us not shirk or scorn the most prosaic means by which we may help on the Revolution. Let us not, in dreamy contemplation of a beautiful vision of a possible future state of society, or in useless and irritating controversy as to theories of government, waste precious time that might be more profitably spent in dealing a blow at the actual conditions which create nine-tenths at least of the abuses which Socialists of all shades condemn. To apply the words of Carlyle in a different sense from that in which he used them, I would urge that "the question is not one of law or no law, but life or no life."

It may be very well for philosophers and *litterateurs*, and cultured and leisured people generally, to occupy themselves in constructing theoretically perfect ideals; to lay much stress on the absence of "law," "government," "authority," etc., etc.; to pride themselves on their "advanced" opinions, and even to look down with half-pitying scorn on such as I and my fellow trades'-union Socialists, who think, perhaps,

rather more of the economic aspect of the Revolution. However sympathetic and sincere and well-meaning these people may be—whatever the particular "ism" they adopt—it must be remembered that their assent to the special doctrines they advocate is purely intellectual. They do not know from actual experience the necessity for co-operation, organisation, and subordination in the workshop; neither do they feel the full effects of the frightful competitive system in their everyday life, which is the one great factor that dominates and overshadows all the other evils of society,—as far as the workers, at least, are concerned. But whilst I can understand the Socialists of the study occupying their leisure and exercising their brains in the intellectual arena of abstract controversy, and taking pleasure (as in a game of chess or a fencing bout) in the acuteness and subtlety of their reasoning as to the merits of their respective schools of thought, I cannot so easily comprehend why some of the workers should allow themselves to be diverted from the main issue and should attach such importance to what I contend are really matters of secondary importance.

Lord Beaconsfield is reported to have said, very wittily and very wisely, that "all sensible men are of one religion." I am inclined to think that it would be equally true to say that all sensible men are of one "ism." For after all, most sensible men include in their "ism" the essentials which are contained in their opponents'. A great deal of apparent divergence of opinion is really due not to real differences as to essentials, but to a misapprehension of terms. It is on this ground that I deprecate the multiplying of names to express merely fine shades of difference as to tactics, procedure, and so forth, which serve but to embarrass plain simple folk. The pilgrim, sick of the strife and misery of commercialism, whose ears have caught some rumours of the green fields and the peaceful valleys which lie beyond in the happy land of Socialism, who is blindly groping his way towards the light through the mists of ignorance and prejudice which surrounds him, may well be discouraged at the labyrinth in which he finds himself and at the numerous and contradictory directions which he receives as to the path he should pursue.

Sentiment is very well; but don't let us forget the "bread-and-butter philosophy," which is, after all, the real root of the matter. The finest scenery will scarce compensate for the lack of breakfast; and high poetical ideals will be far more likely to be "understood" of the people when their physical needs have been first satisfied. It is on this ground I claim that to work for the "emancipation of Labour" is the paramount duty of all revolutionists, whatever may be their ultimate aims. The bondage of the workers is purely an economic one. This is, however, far too plain and simple an issue for some of our philosophical friends, who needs must complicate matters by the introduction of doubtless very learned and beautiful, though hazy, sentimentalising about "Liberty," "Individual Action," etc., etc. It is another illustration of the adage that "extremes meet" that these theorists with their heads in the clouds, who pride themselves so much on their "advanced" views, are really by their opposition to organised labour allying themselves with the bitterest foes of the workers. The fact is that the more thoughtful portion of the working classes perceive in their everyday life the advantages of union and co-operation, both in their work and in the various clubs and societies with which they are connected. They do not find any loss of freedom in the willing assent to regulations made for the common good, and are not therefore likely to be frightened by the bogies (the product essentially of middle-class thought and appealing to middle-class fears) which certain doubtless well-meaning *doctrinaires* are continually conjuring up.

There is, however, a danger that those who ought to be standing shoulder to shoulder under the same flag may find themselves antagonised by the wish of a section to change, or at least add some qualifying term to, the watchword "Socialism" inscribed on our banner. The present political crisis affords a warning that should not be neglected. Just as, despite the compound terms by which the different sections label themselves to express their various views, the whole matter resolves itself after all into Home Rulers and Anti Home Rulers, so also there is only one broad issue before us—Socialist or Anti-Socialist. If the black swan will consort with crows, he need not wonder if he is mistaken for one; and whoever hinders the cause of Labour I, at least, look upon as an enemy of Labour, however fine may be the theories of the hinderer. "Unity of the Empire" or absolute "Freedom of the Individual" are to me equally empty abstractions. I think with Robert Burns:

"To make a happy fireside-clime  
For weans and wife  
That's the true pathos and sublime  
Of human life";

and to help to make this possible for all men is the reason why I am a trades'-unionist and a Socialist.

T. BINNING.

When you own the tools of production, you will be independent of the capitalist.—*Labor Leaf*.

The private ownership and control of capital enables its possessors to dispose of the time, labour and services of the non-possessing class.—*Alarm*.

To abolish property in the resources of nature—or what some writers call the terra-solar forces—or to prevent the monopoly by anybody of more of nature's resources than is necessary for the maintenance of himself and family, is, it seems to me, the very basis of this whole social movement. When that is accomplished other social and economic reforms will be comparatively easy, but so long as the present system of property exists the condition of the wage-earners will not—from the very nature of things cannot—be anything but hopeless, because they are absolutely at the mercy of the propertied class.—*Labor Leaf*.



## NORTHERN NOTES.

At all our out-door Socialist meetings here, police in uniform and in plain clothes, form no inconsiderable portion of our audiences. They seem to be deeply interested in our doctrine, and with a commendable desire to fix our teaching accurately in their minds, they are not above taking notes of the more salient points of our discourses.

If Socialists in this country cherish the delusion that they will receive any merciful consideration at the hands of the bourgeoisie when they become demonstrative, it is not the fault of the *Glasgow Herald*. This advertisement-medium discussing a few days ago the American labour riots, made the following pronouncement: "They [the Socialists] have constituted themselves the pests of society all over the world and all the world will make common cause in completely annihilating them. One may tolerate the presence of a reptile which is merely obnoxious, but the moment it becomes mischievous we crush it."

Heroic visions of platoons of police and regiments of soldiers dashing down by-lanes upon obscure meeting-places must have inflamed the mind of the writer when with "set teeth" and "flashing eye" he penned the above threatening sentences. Let not our comrades, however, be in too great a hurry to adopt the advice of the brave and sagacious Goschen, who, when John Morley suggested the possibility of the dynamitards invading our shores again, should the Government Irish Bill be rejected, nobly replied that such threats had no terror for politicians such as him—if it came to the worst, they could make their wills, appoint their trustees, and do their duty. "All the world" has endeavoured to crush many movements of much lower vitality and much less bulk than modern Socialism, and has signally failed. Indeed, "all the world" has invariably come off the worse from such encounters; and it is next to quite certain, that, if it attempts to crush and annihilate Socialism "all the world" will not long survive to lament the indiscretion of the performance. There are certain "obnoxious reptiles" which themselves possess rather a dangerous crushing capacity, and which sensible men prefer wisely to let alone.

The re-election of Mr. Pearce as Tory member for Govan has excited much disgust amongst Democrats here. Mr. Pearce is the principal partner in the Fairfield Shipbuilding Company, Govan, world-known by its late name of "John Elder and Co." He employs when busy over 4000 men; at present, however, his "slips" are almost empty. It is notorious that he got into the last Parliament on his promises that if returned, he would secure contracts and bring abundant work to the district. This he not only failed to do, but immediately after his election he discharged the greater portion of the hands he had taken on during his candidature. At the late election the promise of work was again one of the chief inducements held out to the electors to vote for him—and he was again returned.

Radicals are naturally highly incensed at what they term the "wholesale bribery" of the affair, and designate his supporters as "Esau" and "political hirelings." For myself, I must confess that when I learnt the result of the poll, the stereotyped dash with the long dash was on my lips. On reflection, however, I do not feel inclined to blame the Govan artisans much. After all, there is too much political Calvinism amongst the workers in Scotland. Absolute faith in Liberal Governments is esteemed an essential part of every workman's political creed. He is expected to vote for Liberals, though how Liberals are going to do him any good he has not the remotest idea. The benefits of Liberal administration are to him as purely a matter of faith as the doctrines in the confession of faith or the shorter catechism.

It is, therefore, perhaps not an ill-omen that there are to be found workmen still heretical enough to vote for bread-and-butter rather than a political myth. Their belief in Mr. Pearce's ability to procure them work, and therefore some measure of food and comfort, may be sadly misplaced it is true; but none the less the disposition to recognise that the obtaining of food and comfort is the first duty of man, is surely more rational than perpetually sacrificing the interests of themselves and their families on the altar of a political superstition. If workmen could be brought to regard politics less, and their personal comfort and happiness more, the principles of Socialism would make greater headway.

Could we believe that Mr. Goschen was defeated in Edinburgh upon his merits as a politician, his rejection might afford us a ray of hope that the people were at last becoming sick of the gospel of gold and paternal government. There is, however, too much reason to believe that the arch-apostle of money-mongering and the rights of property lost his seat not because the people repudiated his notions or his "record," but because he had opposed, and had therefore been renounced, by their oracle Mr. Gladstone.

Amongst the mysteries of our civilisation, one is—where do the unemployed betake themselves in the summer? The unemployed have for the time ceased to clamour at our city's gates for food or work, and their motley demonstrations have ceased. Have they withdrawn themselves into some mysterious holes and dens, to come forth again in the winter and assail our ears with their complaints? Trade is no better now than it was three months ago; and so far from taking on hands, masters are still diminishing their employes in almost every branch of

industry. Where, then, are the vast masses of unemployed which we know must exist—unless they have died out? They give hardly any outward token of their being in our midst. If they were birds or beasts, ornithologists and zoologists would eagerly discuss the question at their meetings, but being merely human beings, nobody apparently has any interest in their "habits" and still less in their "preservation."

The ways of the capitalist press are past finding out. The *Glasgow Evening Citizen* periodically expatiates on the "extreme folly" of Socialist theories, and always with a plaintive reference to our comrade Morris as "the idle singer of an empty day," "a dreamer of dreams," etc. Whenever a Socialist disturbance takes place in France, Belgium, America, or London—or when Lord Wemyss makes a Quixotic onslaught on the "Socialistic" propensities of Liberal governments—the *Citizen* must lug in our friend Morris somehow. Occasionally when he lectures in London or Manchester it gives a three-inch report of his lecture as an excuse for an eighteen-inch leader grossly misrepresenting his teaching. But when Morris comes to Glasgow—to the *Citizen's* own door, as it were—it virtuously refuses to report a line of what he says, or notice his presence in any form. Morris gave three lectures in Glasgow the week before last, but the *Citizen* never mentioned the fact to its readers. Strangely enough, however, he had no sooner gone back to London than it favoured us with a paragraph report of his lecture there on the "Aims of Art." Luckily the pressure of election matter saved us another eighteen-inch Cassandra shriek against a doctrine it does not understand, and which it takes jealous care its readers shall know as little about as possible.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

Glasgow.

## REVIEW.

CASHIEL BYRON'S PROFESSION. By George Bernard Shaw. Modern Press, 13 Paternoster Row.

A MERE novel bearing on the face of it no controversial opinion, might not seem a suitable subject for review in these columns, but even apart from the author's well-known views and his power as a Socialist lecturer, a Socialist will find much in 'Cashiel Byron's Profession' to interest him as a Socialist. Everything that Mr. Shaw writes must bear with it an indictment against our sham society, and it would be harder to find more incisive criticism of its follies than in this book. Perhaps, to a reader not a Socialist, and therefore not in the secret, it would seem to be nothing more serious than a fantastic piece written on pessimistic lines, as all clever modern novels are, and with no further aim in it; but anyone must be forced to admit that it fulfils the first function of a novel by amusing the reader. As in all literary works of art, one is bound to accept its special atmosphere, which doubtless at first might rather confuse the ordinary reader, since the plot which one has to accept as possible consists of the development of the love at first sight of a very rich and refined young lady for a prize-fighter. The said heroine is not very much alive, is rather the embodiment of the author's view of life than a real personage; but the hero is most carefully studied and very successful, and every one of the minor characters is highly finished and natural. Indeed, Mr. Shaw gives very good penn'orths in the matter of invention of incident, and is almost reckless in the care which he bestows on his scenes, as witness the sparring-match before the "African King" in the Agricultural Hall, or the burst of confused excitement on studious solitude after Byron's great fight with Paradise. Mr. Shaw sees his scenes clearly and accurately; indeed more after the manner of a painter than a dramatic writer. This is a quality which is much rarer than is generally supposed in these days of word-painting. It is probably a defect which naturally goes with it that the scenes are, as far as their artistic effect goes, isolated and lacking in the power that accumulation gives: the whole story rather leaves off than comes to an end, also. However, this is a defect which it shares with all novels of this generation that have any pretence to naturalism. As Mr. Shaw is quite successful in establishing his claim to keen observation and vivid representation, one must not quarrel with him for not attaining to what is mostly beyond the aim of a modern novel, but which both Scott and Dickens now and then touched—the unity and completeness of a great drama. Whatever is attempted in 'Cashiel Byron' is done conscientiously and artistically.

W. M.

## LITERARY NOTICES.

The *American Celt* is one of the best of Irish-American papers, and also takes an advanced stand upon labour matters.

The *People's Friend*, of Madras, is a large eight-page weekly, devoted to the social and political education of the people. It contains very sensible articles, and should exercise a good influence upon the vast population it addresses.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialistic Labor Party in America have published a series of educational pamphlets, some in German and others in English. One of the latest is "Socialism and Anarchism," by Dr. Douai. They announce for publication in October Frederick Engel's "The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844."

*La Citoyenne* (Women's Suffrage Journal, Paris) commits the error, common among the advocates of Women's Suffrage, of standing apart and discoursing on the one question with a certain bitterness, ignoring the fact that the woman question is only a part—quite inseparable—of the great whole; that the "worn-out, rotten thing, the State," will have to be indeed re-formed altogether before partial wrongs can be righted. Men and women must work hand-in-hand for the Freeing of Labour, or the movement will never

grow. I am surprised in reading some paragraphs in *La Citoyenne* about the female Toreadors at Nîmes, to find that there is no comment (1) on the atrocity of bull-fighting in general, (2) none on the further atrocity of women, physically unfit for such violent "sport," taking part in the same. I was much edified by the glowing and graphic descriptions of this charming festival in several English papers at the time; if I remember rightly, several of the women were badly hurt. Says *La Citoyenne*: "They showed remarkable sang-froid and much skill," and it has no word from its usually sarcastic pen to throw at those who sat and gloated over the piquant spectacle. M. M.

We have received from comrade Bordollo, of New York, *Anti-Syllabus* and *Tom Strang Killed*, two powerful tracts under one cover, post free, 2d. The latter, reprinted from *John Swinton's Paper*, concludes thus:

"The crops appeared, and as Tom Strang stood perhaps on the brow of the hill near the little cabin which contained his starving family, and his hungry eyes, sweeping the Hudson, feasted upon fields of corn and vegetables on Erastus Corning's Island—is it a wonder if he said to himself, 'Necessity knows no law,' or cried, in the bitterness of his spirit: 'First my family, next my God, and curse my country and all its laws!' On that island, one night after midnight, Tom Strang met his death. While leaving the island with a pillow-case full of potatoes, he was pursued by a watchman, and, although his burden impeded his progress, he clung to it with the clutch of a miser to gold, while bullets whistled past his head. He clung to it because it contained the morrow's food for his starving children. He clung to it until the cowardly, murderous brute behind drove two bullets into his defenceless body, and he tumbled headlong in the path. Then, true to his cowardly nature, the brute who shot him dared not touch him. Bleeding to death, he crossed the Hudson; suffering agony, he dragged his bleeding body up the steep bank, and, with a last effort, pushed open the door of his cabin and fell in, to die among his starvelings, for whom he had made his last effort and gave up his life. Their pitiful cries pierced the hearts of the men in the Steel Works. Borne across the river on the still morning air, they rung in the ears of his slayer on Corning's Island. But they never reached the ears of the *Burdens*. Yet the weak, pitiful cries of that widow and her starvelings may linger in our native air until their thin volume is swelled by oppression, until it assumes the proportions of a mighty roar of maddened men. And then, *Retribution*! 'Justifiable homicide,' says the coroner's jury. 'Justifiable Hell!' grinds out a brawny iron-worker. 'A cow would have been simply driven out of that potato field, not riddled with bullets. But, then,' he continues, 'animals are valuable; animals have owners, and Strang had none.' Among men 'live and let live' is a thing of the past; and, as civilisation progresses, Murder assumes newer, safer, and more enticing shapes. Next year three costly blast furnaces will mark the spot where Tom Strang fell, but not a stick will mark Tom Strang's grave. Let me here write his epitaph: In memory of Thomas Strang, who was shot on Corning's Island, August 7, 1885, while stealing a few potatoes to feed his starving children. May he rest in peace."

### A RUSSIAN STRIKE.

A CORRESPONDENT of *Le Révolté* gives an account of a recent trial of Russian strikers, which I condense for the benefit of English readers, whom it will certainly interest. The trial has "come tardy off," for it is only lately concluded, and the strike took place eighteen months ago. The scene was laid at a large cotton-cloth manufactory in the province of Vladimir (Central Russia), owned by one Morozoff, who employs 3000 hands, men, women, and children, engaged by the year, who live in enormous barracks round the workshops. As at Decazeville, the workers here rejoiced in a Watrin heartily detested, more particularly on account of the fines raised by him, which took away about two-thirds of the wages. As at Decazeville also, the final impetus to the strike was given by the reduction of wages. One morning in January, 1885, there was a general cry of "Leave off work!" which was promptly acted upon. A general enquete followed, pillaging of shops, destroying of books, papers, goods, etc. The dwelling of the obnoxious local Watrin was utterly wrecked, himself having fled. In the co-operative store attached to the works especially the workers were fighting against each other, those who had shares in the same fiercely defending it against their fellow-workers, even taking all the available money in the cash-box to bribe the villagers who stood watching the scene, to give their help. Military force, of course, succeeded in suppressing the agitation, which lasted vigorously for five days; 600 of the most active men were arrested, to be dispersed in various distant provinces. The leaders being removed, the disturbances subsided; the former tariff of wages was re-established and the fines deducted for the last three months returned, the obnoxious overseer was dismissed and work resumed.

In the recent trial thirty-two men were charged with striking (it being illegal in Russia) and inciting to riot, two in particular being accused, Mosseinok and Volkoff, the organisers of the strike. Mosseinok is known for a determined agitator among his fellow-workers, having been already transported for instigating strikes. On his return from Siberia, visiting several factories one after another, he finally stayed at Morozoff's, "being," as he says, "within his memory the one where the workers suffer most." In spite of the numerous charges of the *procureur*, the jury has acquitted all, including these two men. It is demanded that Mosseinok and Volkoff be released at once, although they had already been condemned, and their case brought before the Court of Appeal, themselves having undergone thirteen months' "provisional detention."

The result of this agitation is that a law has just been passed forbidding the masters (1) to raise fines, and (2) to establish shops or stores in their factories. Striking, until now severely prohibited, is recognised as legal "so long as it be not accompanied by acts of violence." So that "freedom of contract" is nominally established in the Russian workshops, and the wheels will turn merrily—until next time! M. M.

"CIVILISATION ADVANCES!"—"Hitherto the authorities in Upper Burma have held their hands to some extent in dealing with the dacoits owing to the amnesty allowed by Lord Dufferin. The period of amnesty expires, however, on the 30th June, after which probably small mercy will be shown to the Burman banditti." (Our italics).—*Bombay Gazette*, June 22.

There are land nationalists in Germany. On the 6th of last month a meeting was held in Berlin for the purpose of forming a Free Land League. The position of the leaders of the movement shows that the middle-class have taken up the Free Land idea. The newspaper writers have already begun to squeal. "For years," one writer says, "the Social Democrats have advocated Free Land in their conventicles, but the public smiled; now when it is brought before the public by members of the middle-class the pernicious doctrine will be still more widely disseminated—and much harm done."

### Declaration of Principles of the State Assembly Knights of Labour of Illinois.

THE development of modern industrial appliances, machinery, steam, electricity, etc., has, under the present economic relations, divided society into two hostile classes, viz., the very rich and the very poor. The middle-class, which in former years was the stability and safety of Society, is rapidly disappearing, and upon their ruins the modern industrial prince is erecting his head and exclaims, "I am monarch of all I survey!"

The equality of rights and opportunities which were enjoyed by the American people in years past is passing away. Pauperism, prostitution, and crime—the fruits of poverty—multiply as the modern millionaire grows in power and influence. The wage-workers of the world are going into deadly competition with each other in this remorseless warfare; the holiest ties of life are destroyed. "Cheap labour" is the god of modern capital. The girl of twelve years competes with the woman of thirty, the boy of ten with the man of forty. Children are driven from the home and school into the battle of labour, where their young and tender lives are ground into gold, while their fathers live in enforced idleness upon the paltry earnings of their little ones. We, therefore, declare:

1. That the wage system is a despotism, and that political freedom cannot long exist under economic bondage.

2. That civilisation means the diffusion of knowledge and wealth. That the first step to this end is the reduction of the hours of labour to eight, which will, in consequence of more leisure, operate upon the habits and customs of the people, enlarging their wants, stimulating ambition, decreasing idleness, and increasing wages.

3. That the victory over "divine right" rulership of kings must be supplemented by a victory over the vested rights of modern land sharks, usurers, and industrial autocrats, for there can be no government of the people, for the people, and by the people, where the few possess all the resources of life—the land—while the masses are tramps on their own domain begging for the privilege to work.

Fellow-workers! in this dark hour of labour's distress, we call on all who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, of whatever nationality, creed, colour, skilled and unskilled, trade unionists and those still outside of labour organisations, to join hands with us, to the end that poverty and all the attendant evils shall be abolished for ever.

### THE PEOPLE'S PRESS.

Capital without labour is something like flour without water and fire. No bread will be produced.—*Labor Leaf*.

The mad dog cry of Anarchism and Socialism that has been so cunningly circulated by the enemies of labor is being used as cloak for the perpetration of most infamous outrages upon the personal liberty of citizens by brutal public officers. Every day just now we read of persons being clubbed or arrested simply because they declared themselves Socialists. Every citizen has a constitutional right to express his own views upon society conditions. Let us be careful, or our dearest liberties will be stolen from us.—*Paterson Labor Standard*.

Give me a place to put my fulcrum, and I will move the world, said one. Give us the taxing power, said the bankers of Genoa, and we will give the king all the money he needs. Give me the war power, said Napoleon, and I will conquer all Europe. Give us the money power, said the national banks, and we will supply the government and the people with the currency. Give us the power to tax the nation's industries all the traffic will bear, said the railroad monopolies, and we will supply society with rapid transportation. The granting of these gifts has created the extremes of wealth and poverty, and made despotic government essential to the protection of the privileged, predatory classes against the righteous indignation of the masses.—*Chicago Express*.

GREAT MIND.—"The sentence passed upon the Anarchists convicted in June was executed to-day. As was expected, the form of death designated by the court proved infinitely more terrible than the usual mode. From the time when first informed that, instead of the gallows, their fate was to die from hard labour, for an entire day if necessary, the miserable wretches remained in an agony of fear, and the scene to-day was horrible. The execution took place in the jail yard. Two of the condemned men were set at sawing wood, and three were compelled to break stone. Both the unfortunates who had to saw wood died in frightful spasms at the end of the first half-hour. Of the men breaking stone, one began foaming at the mouth in forty minutes, and four minutes later fell dead in a fit. The remaining two were more vigorous and lasted longer, but convulsions finally set in, and in one hour and nineteen minutes from the time of beginning labour they died almost simultaneously and in great agony, as the result of over-exertion without beer. The Humane society, to prevent if possible any repetition in Chicago of such dreadful scenes, has forwarded a memorial to the governor, begging him, in the event of future conviction and similar sentence of criminals of this class, to interfere in his official capacity and commute the sentence to plain hanging."—*Chicago Tribune*, September 9, 1886.—This is exceedingly funny. If it was based upon truth, such an effort would not pass by without roars of laughter from *The Enquirer*. The writer of the above probably never did anything that resembled labour more than the writing this lie. But the prisoners, whom he ridicules, were labourers; one (Mr. Fielden) being a teamster, knows what hard work is. Others are type-setters, journalists, etc., which means actual work. The *Tribune* writer makes himself useful by misrepresenting honest men, and extolling the merit of hard work, while inventors are, and have been, straining every nerve to make work unnecessary for the human race in general, and those who hire labour in particular. Great mind!—*Labor Enquirer*.

In Buenos Ayres the Gospel of Socialism is preached. The Socialists there have a club named "Vorwarts," where they had a festival in commemoration of the Commune. Frenchmen, Italians, and Germans spoke.

MR [JIM CROW] CHAMBERLAIN ON THE RIGHTS OF NATIONS: Speech at Ashton-under-Lyne, Dec. 12, 1882.—"I know there are some people who say the Egyptians are not fit for self-government, and I think it very likely that their education leaves a good deal to be desired in that respect. But this is an argument which is the stock argument of all despots. I do not know of any nation on the face of the earth which would have gained its liberties if it had to wait until its fitness to use them was recognised by those who had hitherto claimed the right of disposing of their destinies."—*Daily News*, July 14.

# THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

## Notices to Members.

Reading Room.—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.

Library.—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

A General Meeting of London Members will be held on Monday July 26, at 9.

## Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Hammersmith, Leeds, Norwich, to April 30. Bloomsbury, Bradford, Croydon, Hackney, Merton, to May 31. Clerkenwell, Dublin, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Mile-End, North London, Oxford, to June 30. Manchester, to July 31. Marylebone, to Sept. 30.—P. W.

## The "Commonweal."

Next week's Number will contain Chapter VII. of "Socialism from the Root Up," and an article by E. B. Bax on "Civil Law under Socialism."

On Saturday last a Board Brigade again went out to sell the paper. The sale was good. Next Saturday the North-Western district will be visited. Volunteers are requested to be at the office by 11.30 sharp.

## REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

### Executive.

At their usual weekly meeting on Monday July 12, the Council resolved: "That Branches be asked to increase their subscriptions to general funds of the League as much as special local circumstances allow them to do." The following report of sub-committee appointed to arrange order of procedure at Monthly Meeting of London Members was submitted and adopted: "The sub-committee recommend that the following business be submitted by the Council to said monthly meetings: (1) Branch reports; (2) *Commonweal* Manager's statement concerning the paper and other literature; (3) list of all Branches and persons in arrears to be read at the meetings. (Note.—The Quarterly Reports by Secretary and Treasurer of progress and financial condition of the League which Conference decided should be sent to all Branches might also be discussed at the General Meeting.) The sub-committee also suggest, in order to facilitate the business of the Council, that reports of Branch meetings shall be taken after all other business is concluded, except in cases where some decision of the Council is required; that whenever possible Branches should send notice in writing to the Secretary of such special business, in order that it may be placed on the agenda, or they should appoint a delegate to attend and lay the matter before the Council."

### Branch Reports.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—At Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, on Friday, July 9, H. H. Sparling lectured on "Killing no Murder"; a brisk discussion followed.—Three outdoor meetings were held during the week, at which the *Commonweal* sold well.—T. E. W.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, July 7th, W. Chambers lectured at Clerkenwell Green to a good audience on "Tory, Liberal, and Radical," and was supported by Allman, Mowbray, and Nicoll; sale of *Commonweal* good, and 1s. 8d. collected for Defence Fund.—On Sunday, July 11th, over 2,000 people assembled on the "Green" to hear Sparling speak upon "Union Jack-asses and Waste-Paper Unionists." Much enthusiasm was manifested, over two quires of papers sold, and 12s. 1d. collected for Defence Fund. A local friend, Mr. D. Smith, aided considerably in the success of the collection. A new feature was introduced into the proceedings, which added a good deal to the general effect, an old Chartist parody upon "The Union Jack" was played and sung by W. Blundell, to the manifest pleasure of the audience, who joined lustily in the chorus.—W. B.

**HOXTON.**—On Thursday evening, Graham addressed a good audience at our outdoor station.—On Sunday morning we held a large meeting, at which Sparling and Barker spoke; collected 1s. 9d. for Defence Fund. In the evening, Graham, Mowbray, and Barker addressed a good outdoor meeting. The indoor meeting was lectured to by William Morris on "Education." The audience was a good one; sale of literature fair. Altogether we are making a most favourable impression here, and the outlook is extremely hopeful.—H. A. BARKER, sec.

**MARYLEBONE.**—We have to report police interference all round this week. On Saturday evening the meeting in the Harrow Road was a rather short one, owing to the police requesting our comrades to cease speaking, but they did not attempt to arrest, and the meeting was drawn to a close after the interference.—On Sunday morning, at Bell Street, comrade Mainwaring addressed a large audience, and the police took his name and address, but did not attempt to arrest him. The audience was very sympathetic, and probably would have been rather rough on the police if an arrest had been made. We were visited by one or two Scotland Yard officials, and several plain-clothes men stood about on the footway and refused to move. In the afternoon comrades Chambers, Burcham, and Wardle addressed a large meeting in Hyde Park, the audience showing great enthusiasm. Towards the close of the meeting, 4s. 9½d. was collected for the defence of those who may be prosecuted at Bell Street. Just as comrade Arnold was about to enter the inside of the crowd after having made the collection, he was seized by a police-sergeant, who asked what the money had been collected for, and when told, he said that Arnold would have to go with him to the police-station and the money with him; but the audience did not seem inclined to permit this interference, and several people pushed themselves between Arnold and the police-sergeant, who had by this time got four other policemen to assist him. He evidently saw that he had made a mistake, for he did not attempt to interfere again.—In the evening there were at least two thousand people at Bell Street. The audience packed itself round John Williams, and would not permit the police to get near him. The police were either afraid to arrest on Sunday, or they must have received more than one order during the day, for they had made very extensive arrangements for the purpose of breaking up the meetings at Bell Street, about twenty mounted men being stationed at John Street alone. On the whole, as far as the Socialists are concerned, Sunday's meetings were a great success, and a further defeat of police censorship.—On Monday, summonses were served on Mainwaring and Williams, and both have to appear at Marylebone Police Court on Saturday (July 17th) at two o'clock.—H. G. A., sec.

**LEEDS.**—A downpour of rain brought our meeting at Hunslet Moor to an untimely end. We fared better in the evening at Vicar's Croft, disposing, taking the two meetings together, of about three quires of the official organ.—T. M.

**MANCHESTER.**—Our meetings were held as usual on Sunday, but owing to rain were not largely attended. Comrade Smart, S.D.F., spoke for us in the morning, and at night. Thompson spoke on the Labour Union which is being formed here.—R. U., sec.

**NORWICH.**—This Branch has now, after various unsuccessful attempts, succeeded in securing premises for offices, reading-room, and temperance club, at No. 6, St. Benedict's, nearly the exact centre of the city. The window has been set out with Socialist literature, which has proved a source of considerable attraction to the public. At a special business meeting of the Branch held on Monday, the 12th inst., it was decided to open the reading-room from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m. daily, and the following officers were unanimously appointed:—F. C.

Slaughter and T. Morley, joint secretaries; S. H. Mills, financial secretary; H. W. Darley, treasurer; and T. Morley, steward. After some considerable discussion, it was decided to appoint an Executive Council, consisting of the officers and comrades A. Moore, A. F. Houghton, H. Parker, Hipperson, and Blackmore. Arrangements were made for pushing the outdoor sale of the *Commonweal*, and posting our literature throughout the city during the visit of the thieving classes to the Royal Agricultural Show, now being held here. A series of lectures was also arranged for at our new premises. Things are moving gloriously at Norwich; we hope other Branches are progressing as well.—F. S.

## The Right of Free Speech in Public Places.

### DEFENCE FUND.

Our comrades and friends are asked to bestir themselves to secure freedom of speech in our public ways, in contradistinction to freedom of speech for certain classes and sects only. The spirit of Socialism is at war with class interests: officialism is giving its support to class interests only. For endeavouring to assert the right of free speech the Socialist League has been heavily fined; and the Council of the League hereby asks that all friends of freedom should support the League with subscriptions in aid of this righteous cause. The Treasurer of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., will gladly accept, and acknowledge the receipt of, Pence, Shillings, or Pounds from friends of the Right of Free Speech in Public Places.

### RECEIVED.

Mile-end Branch, July 5, 6d. Clerkenwell, July 4, 2s.; 7, 1s. 8d.; 11, 12s. 1d. North London, July 12, 6s. 10d. Hoxton, July 12, 3s. 5d. Total, 26s. 6d.—W.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W. Friday, July 16, at 8.30 p.m., A Lecture. 23. Annie Besant, "Why the Workers should be Socialists." 30. Mrs. Wilson, "The Revolt of the English Workers in the Nineteenth Century."  
**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday July 18, 7.30 p.m. R. A. Beckett, "Equality." Wednesday 21 (8.30). Annie Besant, "Duties of Socialists under the Present System."  
**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.  
**Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every Tuesday at 9, for the enrolment of members and other business.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays, at 8 p.m.  
**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sundays, at 7.45 p.m. July 18. H. H. Sparling, "Unrest and Unreason." 25. W. Chambers, "The Political Parties."  
**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.  
**Mile-end.**—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. July 20. C. Wade, "Brotherhood."  
**North London.**—Communications to R. A. Beckett, St. Mildred's House, Poultry, E.C.  
**South London.**—Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 at 112 Hill Street, Peckham, S.E.

### Country Branches.

**Birmingham.**—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30.  
**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Lecture and discussion in new rooms of the Branch, 84 John Street, every Sunday at 7 p.m. Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. sympathisers invited.  
**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.  
**Leeds.**—No meeting-room at present. Out-door stations notified below.  
**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—County Forum. Thursdays, at 8 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict. Lecture and discussion every Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m. July 19. H. Parker, "Cause and Cure of Poverty."  
**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.  
**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 27 Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 17.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7.	D. J. Nicoll	Bloomsbury.
	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales")	7.	H. G. Arnold	Marylebone.
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.	H. H. Sparling	Hammersmith.
	Mile-end Waste	7.	H. Davis	Mile-end.
	Regent's Park	7.	H. Charles	N. London.
S. 18.	Croydon	11.	The Branch	Croydon.
	Edgware Road—Bell Street	11.30.	W. Morris	Marylebone.
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30.	H. A. Barker	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—Beadon Road	11.30.	The Branch	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30.	D. J. Nicoll	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30.	J. Lane	Mile-end.
	Regent's Park	11.30.	T. E. Wardle	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30.	W. Chambers	Bloomsbury.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30.	The Branch	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30.	W. C. Wade	Hackney.
Tu. 20.	Clerkenwell Green	7.	R. A. Beckett	Clerkenwell.
	Croydon	7.	The Branch	Croydon.
	Merton—High Street	7.	H. Charles	Merton.
Th. 22.	Soho—Broad Street	8.	W. Chambers	Bloomsbury.
	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7.30.	The Branch	N. London.
Sat. 24.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8.	C. W. Mowbray	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	8.30.	H. Graham	Mile-end.
Sat. 24.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7.	T. E. Wardle	Bloomsbury.
	Harrow Road	7.	The Branch	Marylebone.
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.	D. J. Nicoll	Hammersmith.
	Regent's Park	7.	H. H. Sparling	N. London.

### PROVINCES.

**Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.  
**Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.  
**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

**ELECTION ADDRESSES, MANIFESTOS, SQUIBS, ETC.**—Friends are asked to send in to the Office everything of this kind that comes in their way. They will be most valuable for future reference.



# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 28.

SATURDAY, JULY 24, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## WHAT IS TO HAPPEN NEXT?

THE elections are over with the result of a Parliament that comprises a majority of more than a hundred against Home Rule, although the Tories are in a considerable minority as regards a possible (?) combination between the Whigs, Jingo-Liberals, Parnellites, and Gladstonians or British Home Rulers. It would be idle not to admit that this is a success of the Reactionists, and a success unexpected by most persons. Moreover, it would certainly have been a great advantage to the Socialist propaganda if the ground had been cleared of a question which very naturally excites political passions deeply, and at the same time has only an indirect bearing on our great object, the destruction of monopoly and exploitation. Peace with Ireland would not only have forced the consideration of their own economical condition, on the Irish themselves, but would have left nothing for us to consider in England, Scotland, and Wales, except our economical condition: unless some scare of a Russian war could have been set on foot by our "rulers."

But though it is most necessary to face the fact spoken of in our last issue of the powerlessness of the political working-men under our present system, it may not be amiss to emphasise the other point mentioned therein; to wit, the humbug of our electoral arrangements; otherwise, well-intentioned people might be genuinely discouraged at the apparent desertion of democratic opinion by the working-classes in the just past elections. If Hercules is knowable from the sight of his foot, according to the classical proverb, Mr. Dell's figures in the *Daily News* of July 13th, are worth at least something in this direction as to the vote of the boroughs outside the metropolis. According to these figures, 512,415 Home Rule votes produced 50 members, while 512,415 Tory and Jingo votes made 97 members. Every one really knows that this is but a specimen of the juggling of our Representation, and in itself it disposes of the pretence of looking on the elections as they are now conducted as a test of opinion.

Admitting this juggle then, it may be said, for the encouragement of those that are discouraged by the would-be popular vote of the "New Democracy," that even from their point of view it is not so bad after all. Let them further consider the influences brought to bear on the workmen voters, influences which must bear heavily on the average of men. The confusion caused by the desertion of their leaders, Mr. Chamberlain the Ransomer, Mr. J. Bright the Tribune of the People, Mr. Jesse Collings the Allotter; the raising of the No Popery cry; the threat of Irish labourers flooding the English labour market, the mere hint of which is enough to alienate many a voter, who hasn't grasped the idea that one method of keeping the Irish in Ireland would be to allow them to cultivate Ireland. It might surely have been foreseen that such things as these brought to bear upon men forced into narrowness and ignorance by the invariable course of their labour and their lives, would be hard indeed to resist; and that they have been resisted as widely as they have been, should, when we come to look upon the matter seriously, give us good hope of even the average material of the "masses" on whom we depend for the body of assent which must be the first step towards the new Society.

Meantime, the past few days have developed an idea, founded, perhaps, on the considerations above mentioned, that Mr. Gladstone though he is beaten need not resign. The *Pall Mall Gazette* distinguished itself by suggesting that Mr. Gladstone should gather up all the different opinions on Home Rule, and frame a measure which should satisfy everybody from Mr. Chamberlain to Mr. Parnell. Mr. Labouchere thought that as the Tories would after all be in a minority, Mr. Gladstone might hold office for the rest of the year, and bring in a Home Rule Bill in the spring session. But as he was clear that such a bill would be defeated, not seeing, as the sapient *Pall Mall* does, how Yes and No could be reconciled, it is hard to see what, from

his point of view, could be gained by merely putting off the evil day, except the satisfaction of appetite for loaves and fishes for a short time. The plain truth is that no mechanical contrivances will hold together even the semblance of a Liberal party. The Whig-Tory party has triumphed, and though probably the name of coalition will be avoided in forming the new government, it will really be a coalition; but this will be a coalition not depending on temporary circumstances, but on the open admission of the fact that Whig and Tory no longer indicate real party differences, much less any ghost of a difference as to principles.

A Whig-Tory Government it will be, then, from the first, and, as to the Irish business, will plainly be inexpugnable. Nay, in other matters also it will be strong, because the fear of playing into the hands of the Separationists will always be present to the minds of the Jingo-Liberals whenever they may be inclined to assert their liberty. They have begun by letting themselves be made the tools of the Whig-Tory party, and they must play out their part to the end,—unless any of them should repent and swallow Home Rule after all, which is by no means impossible.

As for the Irish party, it is difficult to see what amongst ordinary parliamentary tactics they can take to. As long as they are in close alliance with the Gladstonian party their old game of parliamentary obstruction must be in abeyance: nor, indeed, was it ever anything more than a protest against the shelving of the Irish question. The position of tail to the Gladstonian party, or even head of it under Gladstone, would not be a very exciting one for them; but they will have to accept it unless they take one other course. Is it possible that when they see that the Westminster Parliament is determined not to yield to their just demand, then they should leave it to do as it will, and return to Ireland and there sit to give help and counsel, if nothing else, to the Irish people? It may be said that this would precipitate mere violent coercion on the English part; but what then? Are not the English preparing for veiled coercion at least? Will they not be driven to use that? And might it not be well to strip the veil from the ugly thing and show it for what it is? Might it not be well to say, "Since you must govern us, and against our consent; since you can no longer pretend not to know what we want—govern us, then! And take on yourselves the responsibility for the government! We have besought you, argued with you, taught you, warned you—in vain. We will do so no longer; we have no more to do with you. Take your own course, and find out for yourselves that Ireland is not England." Such a voice as this would ring throughout all history, if only it could be uttered. But it is not likely to be. The cause of Irish Independence will most probably have to be dragged through all kinds of pettiness and intrigue before its true aim, the happiness of the Irish people, becomes visible.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## "PUTTING HIS 'FOOTE' IN IT!"

WE have another "able editor" criticising Socialism; a man who has made himself famous by lecturing on Moses and Aaron, and other ancient Jews. Mr. G. W. Foote, in his magazine *Progress* for June 1886, criticises Mrs. Besant's little work entitled 'Modern Socialism.' Mr. Foote begins his article with what he calls an exordium. The talent for reasoning which runs through the whole article is displayed in this exordium. Here is an example: "Institutions do not precede men, men precede institutions. Mind is therefore more important than mechanism." The graceful style of the critique may be appreciated by such an extract as this: "Rain and sunshine blow the grass and ripen the corn through the silent hours, and the very mountains unhurt by avalanches are invisibly decomposed by the air, and carried away by running water. Everywhere the hard is moulded by the soft; and if you want to move the world, don't emulate Napoleon's thunders or Draco's laws, but work with the grey pulp of the brain and everything will yield to its impress."

Mr. Foote says similar remedies to Socialism have been offered by social doctors for the last 2000 years. Mr. Foote does not seem aware that 2000 years ago Society was altogether different from what it is to-day—that land nationalisation was not asked for, because the communal system of land ownership was then pretty nigh universal; that overwork in factories did not occur, because there were no factories; and that stock exchange gambling did not exist because there were no stock exchanges. The reign of capitalists has existed little over a century. Socialism is the next stage in human progress. It could not have come before its time. Had social doctors advocated Socialism 2000 years ago, they would have been 2000 years in advance of the age. Hence the complete absurdity of Mr. Foote's observation.

Mr. Foote writes: "Even if the ultimate form of Society will be Socialism, we fail to see much use in anticipating it." I fail to understand the sentence, but must point out that Socialists don't profess to know what the ultimate form of Society will be. What they say is that the next form will be Socialism, and that the men and women who live under that régime will be happier than the present generation. We are told by Mr. Foote "that the object of the capitalist is to produce a commodity of greater value than its cost." Put intelligibly, the object of the capitalist is to make profit, and the way it is done is by getting men to work and paying them for only a portion of their labour; the balance is retained, and this balance is profit. Socialists assert that as the workmen have a portion—how much does not matter—of their labour taken without payment, they have been robbed of it. The way Mr. Foote deals with the argument is as follows: "We deny it, and we protest that calling names will not settle an economical problem."

Mr. Foote is surprised at the statement that the portion of labour unpaid is a half—according to the American Bureau of Statistics. Mr. Foote says the figures given are simply preposterous, and backs up the assertion by telling us that Mrs. Besant confuses capital with skill. After this, Mr. Foote tells us "that the value of capital is what it will fetch in good securities, and that is not tremendous;" and so the "able editor" goes on stringing words together. We are supplied with the Socialist's estimate of Mill: "He is an exoteric person, who never dipped his hand in the sacred barley." What should be done with an "able editor" that goes on like this? Later on we are told that drawing a razor across the throat would cure small-pox! This kind of stuff may suit some of Mr. Foote's "Freethinking" audiences, but it will not do for Socialists.

We have a considerable part of the critique dealing with competition. Mr. Foote tells us life is a battle. The Socialist is quite awake to the fact that man has to wrest from Nature all the necessities of life, and hence he advises his fellows not to fight one another, as well as Nature. Let them rather co-operate and procure with the least exertion these necessities.

Here are two definitions of civilisation given by Mr. Foote: (1) "Life is a battle, but civilisation consists, and must long consist, in transferring the battle from the bloody field to the brain;" (2) "Civilization is co-operation; we believe in it, and we wish to see it extended." These definitions show conclusively that the "able editor's" thoughts are confused to an unusual extent. What is Socialism but universal co-operation? How, then, can Mr. Foote believe in co-operation and yet oppose Socialism; because the word co-operation is used by Mr. Foote in the second definition evidently in the wide sense of the word that makes it synonymous with Socialism. Not forced co-operation, but co-operation that grows, Mr. Foote believes in. This is a mixed simile taken from the hot-house; a forced plant has to grow just as much as one that is not forced, the only difference being in the greater or less rapidity of the growth, and Mr. Foote may note that if Socialists can cause co-operation to extend rapidly, they will do so in spite of the fact that he prefers "Co-operation that grows."

Mr. Foote is a Land Nationaliser and an anti-Monopolist, and thinks that he can be so logically without being a Socialist. I can understand that with Mr. Foote's talent for drawing inferences, his grounds for believing in Land Nationalisation may be rather queer. The usual argument is that as land is necessary for man's existence, the community should prevent anyone appropriating the soil, because by so doing the appropriators have in their power the lives of the landless men. If capital is a necessary like land, those who appropriate it have a similar power over the lives of their fellows; so, if only landlords are dealt with, man's freedom is but partly realised; to complete it, capitalists must be dealt with in a like manner. There is no logical halting-ground between land nationalisation and Socialism.

Mr. Foote, thinking perhaps, that his arguments are rather weak, throws out some insinuations as to the sincerity of Socialists. "Socialism is the evangel of 'the sweet by-and-bye.'" Probably some well-to-do Socialists are secretly, perhaps unconsciously, pleased at this. They can preach their Gospel without any sacrifice." I merely point out this piece of impertinence as an illustration of the kind of stuff that does duty as a criticism of Socialism.

Mr. Foote at the end of his article asks Socialists to deal with the "practical difficulties raised by Mr. Bradlaugh." The particular "practical difficulty" referred to is, How will a minority get a hearing? Pretty much as they do to-day; by using their tongue and pen. Mr. Foote very curiously imagines that in the future Society, the platforms and press will only be open to one phase of opinion. How he got at this notion it is hard to tell.

In conclusion, I must not fail to note a very curious saying of Mr. Carlyle, preserved by Mr. Foote, which, somehow or another, he thinks applies to Mrs. Besant: "We see what we bring eyes to see with." When Carlyle made this remarkable observation Mr. Foote does not

say. Perhaps when he was a baby; but how it applies to Mrs. Besant I fail to see. I think Mr. Foote should stick to the old game. Moses and Aaron hear not the wonderful yarns that are told of them, and so Mr. Foote has no fear of an exposure; but when he talks nonsense about Socialism he will find that Socialists are still in the land of the living.

A. K. DONALD.

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER VII.—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: CONSTITUTIONAL STAGE.

THE bankruptcy towards which France was staggering under the régime of an untaxed privileged noblesse drove the Court into the dangerous step of attempting to do something, and after desperate efforts to carry on the old corruption by means of mere financing operations, under Calonne and others, aided by an assembly of the "Notables," or kind of irregular taxing council, the Court was at last, on the 4th May, 1789, compelled to summon the States-General, a body which was pretty much analogous to a Parliament of our mediæval kings, that is a kind of taxing machine, but which attempted to sell its granting of taxes to the king for redress of certain grievances. This States-General had not met since 1614. Bickering between the three houses, Clergy, Noblesse, and Commons, immediately began, but the latter, which was middle-class in spirit though including some of the lower nobility, gave tokens of its coming predominance from the first. On the 20th of June the Court attempted a *coup d'état*, and the Third Estate held its celebrated session in the Tennis Court, and so broke with the old feudal idea, and became a constitutional "National Assembly," the Court making but a feeble resistance at the time.

It, nevertheless, was contemplating forcible measures against what had now become the National Assembly, when on the 14th July came the first stroke of the popular insurrection which the bourgeois began by accepting as an ally of its revolution, which so far had gone wholly on constitutional lines; this was the taking of the Bastille by the people, and the slaying of De Launay the Governor, and Flesselles the Provost of the merchants. The Court gave way at once; the king visited Paris as a sign of submission, and certain of the higher nobility fled from the coming ruin. Two typical feudal fleecers, Foulon and Berthier, were afterwards hung by the people.

The ground thus cleared for it, the Constitutional Revolution went on apace; feudal titles were abolished, the Church reduced to a salaried official department; the very geography of the country was changed, the old provinces with their historic names abolished, and France divided into eighty-three departments named after the rivers and other natural features; everything was to be reduced to a pattern constitutional centralised bourgeois bureaucracy.

But the other element of revolution was also stirring. The alliance of the mere starvelings could not be done without by the bourgeoisie, and they had it, whether they would or no. A *Jacquerie* had arisen in the country, and armed peasants everywhere burned the chateaux or country-houses of the gentlemen, and hunted away their occupants. The Revolution was necessarily accompanied by the dislocation of all industry, and the scarcity was bitterly felt everywhere.

In the midst of this the Court, recovering from the first blow of the taking of the Bastille, began to plot counter-revolution, and devised a scheme for getting the king away from Versailles to Rouen or elsewhere, and putting him at the head of a reactionary army and an opposition reactionary assembly. A banquet given by the Court to a regiment supposed to be loyal, practically exposed this plot, and amidst all the terror and irritation which it gave rise to, a popular rising headed by the famous march of the women on Versailles, came to the aid of the Assembly, and forced the king to go to Paris and take up his abode at the Tuilleries. In this affair the mere Sansculotte element became very obvious. It was stirred up by the artificial famine caused by the financial and stock-jobbing operations of the Court and of private persons; the popular middle-class Minister, Necker, having been the immediate cause of it by his issue of small paper money. And it was opposed by the Bourgeois soldiery, the National Guard, headed by Lafayette, who was the very embodiment of the Constitutional Revolution. This was followed by a further flight of the noblesse and higher bourgeoisie from France, which, as it were, gave a token of the complete victory of Constitutionalism over the Court party.

For some time the king carried on a struggle against the victorious bourgeoisie, apparently unconscious of its extreme hopelessness; while the bourgeois Government for its part was quite prepared to put down any popular movement, all the more as it now had a formidable army in the shape of the National Guard. But by this time there had arisen a kind of People's Parliament outside the Assembly, the famous Jacobins Club and the Cordelier Club to wit, and the sky was darkening over for triumphant Constitutionalism.

That triumph was celebrated by the great feast of the Champ de Mars, July 13th, 1790, when the king in the presence of delegates from all France swore to the Constitution. But Royalist plots went on all the same, and settled down at last into a fixed conclusion of the flight of the king to the northern frontier, where were the remains of what regular army could be depended on, with the threatening Austrian troops at their back. As a trial the king attempted at Easter to get as far as St. Cloud, announcing his determination as a matter of course; but he was stopped by a mixed crowd not wholly Sansculotte, though Lafayette did his best to help royalty turned respectable, in the pinch. At last on the 20th June, the king and the royal family made the

great attempt, in which they would most probably have succeeded, if they had not hampered themselves with all kinds of absurd appliances of wealth and luxury, and if they had had any idea of the kind of stake they were playing for. As it was in spite of, or perhaps partly because of, their having arranged for various detachments of troops to meet them on the way as escorts, they were stopped at the little town of Varennes and brought back again to Paris. It was a token of the progress of ideas, that by this time the king's presence in Paris was looked at from a two-fold point of view. By the pure constitutionalists as the necessary coping-stone to the Constitution, without which it could not stand; but by the revolutionists as a hostage held by the French people in the face of hostile reactionary Europe. Also now the word Republic was first put forward, and at last it became clear that there were two parties amongst those who were making the Constitution, the Constitutional Royalists and the Republicans.

The latter were supported by the people, who flooded the Assembly with petitions for the deposition of the king; the Assembly decided against it on the ground of the legal fiction familiar to the anti-Royalist party in our Parliamentary wars, that the king had been carried off by evil and traitorous councillors. But the split between the parties was emphasised by bloodshed. A Jacobin petition lay for signature on the Altar of the Country in the Champ de Mars, and great crowds were about it signing and looking on. In the evening Lafayette marched on the Champ de Mars with a body of National Guards, proclaimed martial law by the hoisting of the red flag, according to a recently made enactment, and finally fired on the people, killing many of them.

But in spite of this "massacre of the Champ de Mars," as it was called, the Constitutionalists triumphed for the time. The National Assembly completed its work, and produced a Constitution wholly Bourgeois and even Monarchical, which was accepted by the King amidst one of those curious outbursts of sentiment of which the epoch was so fruitful, and which generally as on this occasion included the exhibition of the little Dauphin in the arms of his mother to the crowd. The National Assembly dissolved itself after enacting that none of its members could be elected to the new legislative body or first Parliament of the Revolution. Of this Legislative the bourgeois Republicans, the aristocracy of talent, became apparently far the most powerful party; whatever there was of talent that had frankly accepted the alliance of the Sansculottes was outside the Legislative. But another element was now added to the contest, that of foreign war, Austria beginning the attack. The obvious and necessary sympathy of the king and Court with what had now become their only chance of salvation, was met by the equally necessary terror and indignation of the revolutionists of all shades, which of course strengthened the extreme party, who had everything to lose from the success of a foreign invasion. In spite of this, the king driven into a corner was in constant contention with the Legislative, and used his constitutional right of veto freely, yet was driven to accept a revolutionary Ministry with Roland at its head: but as the hope of deliverance from the invasion grew on him he dismissed it again, and the Court found itself ticketed with the name of the *Austrian Committee*. On the 20th June, the populace expressed themselves clearly enough by invading the Tuileries itself, and for a brief space it seemed as if the monarchy were doomed to end there and then; but as there was no resistance it ended with a mere demonstration.

Nevertheless, the end of the Constitutional Revolution was at hand. Lafayette, quite misunderstanding his strength, left the army, and tried to stir up the Constitutionalists to attack the Jacobins, but failed ignominiously, and presently fled the country. The King once more swearing to the Constitution at the Feast of the Federates, wore armour underneath his clothes, and insurrection was obviously brewing. On the 10th August it came. Whatever Royalist force was available was collected in the Palace of the Tuileries, including the Swiss Guard; and a desperate resistance was prepared for with the faint hope of the king being able to cut himself out and reach the frontier; but those Constitutionalists who had any intention of supporting the king found their hearts failing them, and even the "constitutional" battalions of the National Guard were prepared to take the popular side. The king and royal family left the Tuileries for the Legislative, leaving no orders to the unlucky Swiss, who with mechanical military courage stood their ground. The insurrectionary sections attacked the Tuileries and carried it, though not without heavy loss—1200 killed, the Swiss being all slain except a few who were carried off to prison. On the 13th August, the king and his family were bestowed as prisoners in the Temple, and the first act of the Revolution had come to an end.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued).

The working-class is the only class which is not a class. It is the nation. It represents so to speak, the body as a whole, of which the other classes only represent special organs. These organs, no doubt, have great and indispensable functions, but for most purposes of government the State consists of the vast labouring majority. Its welfare depends on what their lives are like.—*Frederic Harrison*.

• Touch the half a million a-year expended in keeping up the bauble called a crown, and it would be stigmatised as "beggarly economy"; cut down the sinecures and pensions of titled drones, and it would be disturbing "vested interests"; lop off the revenues of the over-gorged cormorants of the Church, and it would be "sacrilege and spoliation"; but to tax the industrious day-drudge in his daily bread—to suck from him dexterously the fruits of his labour—to curse him in his basket and in his store,—this is the aim and object of your genuine aristocratic legislation, this is the true art of Whig and Tory government.—*Leeds Times*, July 1840.

## THE DEAD TO THE LIVING.

(By FERDINAND FREILIGRATH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

WITH bullets through and through our breast—our forehead split with pike and spear—

So bear us onward shoulder-high, laid dead upon a blood-stained bier;  
Yea, shoulder-high above the crowd, that on the man that bade us die,  
Our dreadful death-distorted face may be a bitter curse for aye;  
That he may see it day and night, or when he wakes, or when he sleeps,  
Or when he opes his holy book, or when with wine high revel keeps;  
That ever like a scorching brand that sight his secret soul may burn;  
That he may ne'er escape its curse, nor know to whom for aid to turn;  
That always each disfeatured face, each gaping wound his sight may sear,  
And brood above his bed of death, and curdle all his blood with fear;  
That every sob breathed round us now may thrill his soul ere he be dead,  
And every clenched and stiffened fist be shaken o'er his dying head—  
Yea, if he lay him down to die as other folk are used to do,  
Or if for him a scaffold high be sprinkled with a dreadful dew!

Yea, thus with bullets in our breast—our forehead split with pike and spear—  
Beneath the king's high throne of state ye bore us on a slender bier.

"Come down!"—and down he cringing came—came quaking to our gory bed;

"Uncover!"—and he bared his brow; then, then the tyrant bowed his head  
(The tyrant who had scorned us erst)—pale stood he and oppressed with woe,  
While our dead ranks went up the streets, streets we had taken from the foe—

Then "Christ our sure and certain hope!" as in the book ye all may read,  
Though surely it were better writ, "A trusty sword our friend at need!"

The day had dawned at last and slain the night of death and murder done,  
And thus ye bore us to our grave with sense of worthy triumph won;  
And we—for though our skull was split and pierced and wounded through and through,

There gleamed a pride in our dead eyes in token we had nought to rue—  
We thought "the gain is worth the pain, although the price is something dear,"

And then we laid us down content in peace and quiet on our bier.

The shame be yours! We were deceived! Four summer moons have hardly waned,

And cowards have already lost what we by valiant fighting gained,  
Have lost and thrown in vain away the gain our death and glory gave—  
Alas, your tale of shame has reached the listening ghosts within their grave!  
Like wave on wave the ill news comes of trouble in the upper world;  
The folly of the Danish war, the flag of Poland's freedom furled;  
The fury of the wild Vendée in provinces that would not learn;  
The quick return of banished troops, the banished prince's quick return;  
The shame at Mainz, the shame at Trèves, the trick that triumphed every-where

Of taking from the people arms they just had won the right to bear;  
The knavery that dared to call the sack of arsenals a theft,  
That left not pure our sacred names, nor theirs that fell unslandered left—  
Where we in barricades had fought, the censorship of tongue and pen;  
The base denial of the right of men to meet their fellow-men;  
The snarl of creaking dungeon doors through all the limits of our land;  
The fresh-forged chains for all who dared upon the People's side to stand;  
The league with Cossacks, and the sound of blows about the People's head—  
That head whose right it is to rise with fairest laurels chapletted—  
For ye beyond the common crowd have rushed the dawning day to greet,  
Ye—Frenchmen of the days of June! strong souls triumphant o'er defeat!—  
And then the traitor's kiss that still ye ever reaped for your reward—  
O People, is it always Peace ye in your leathern aprons hoard?  
Say, lurks not War as well within? Up! let its blood-red banner wave—  
The second war, the war to death with all the forces that enslave!  
In your Republic's battle-cry let all the clanging bells be drowned,  
That now to consecrate afresh the robbery of your rights resound!

Alas, 'tis vain! and need it were that ye should bear us shoulder-high,  
Again upon a blood-stained bier, uncovered 'neath the naked sky;  
Nor now, as on that earlier day, before the coward king to stand—  
Nay, through the market and the street, and all about our native land!  
First through the limits of our land; then let these dead insurgents here,  
Where Lords of State in council sit, be stretched before them on their bier;  
There, there with earth upon our head will we their fearful gaze await—  
Our face with foul corruption marred—fit emblem of their rotten State!  
There will we lie and cry aloud, Ere we had time to rot away,  
All freedom in your famous State is quickly turned to foul decay.  
The corn is ripe that then was green, when we in wild mid-March were slain,  
But freedom's seed has fallen first, cut short before the sower's grain.  
A poppy waving here and there escaped the mower's fatal hand—  
O would that Wrath could wave as well her blood-red banner o'er the land!

Yet, yet Wrath must be with you still—that solace has at least remained—  
Too much of freedom have ye lost, too much of glory had attained;  
Too much of shame, too much of scorn is offered you for daily bread;  
Yes, righteous wrath must yet be yours—O trust us though we be but dead!  
She yet is yours, and lo, she wakes! she must, she shall indeed awake!  
Of that revolt so well begun a Revolution will she make!  
Well knows she how to bide her time, then sudden sounds her wild alarm;  
Sublime and awful, see! she stands with floating locks and outstretched arm!  
With metal melted down for shot, with rusted gun she comes arrayed;  
She waves her standard in the street, and plants it on the barricade;  
It leads the march of men in arms, it flies above the People's hosts—  
The thrones are all aflame at last, the Princes flee beyond the coasts;  
The kites with crooked beak and claws, the lions hurry far away—  
The People rising in their might assume of right the sovereign sway.

Meanwhile, until the time be ripe, we stir your souls with this our cry,  
Ye who, alas! have loitered long, and put your fair occasion by.  
O stand at arms, prepared to strike! Let all the land wherein we rest,  
So cold and stiff beneath the sod, be free at last from East to West!  
Then never need the bitter thought disturb us in our quiet graves:  
"We made you free, but slaves ye are, and evermore shall still be slaves!"





"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance should be attached to them because of the position they may occupy in these pages. None, therefore, are to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s.; six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 21.

ENGLAND		
Anarchist	Boston—Woman's Journal	Guise—Le Devoir
Worker's Friend	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	Bordeaux—Le Forçat du Travail
Daylight (Norwich)	Little Socialist	CANADA: Montreal—L'Union
Christian Socialist	Detroit (Mich.)—Labor Leaf	Ouvrière
Church Reformer	Princeton (Mass.)—Word	NEW ZEALAND: Watchman
National Review	Cleveland (O.)—Carpenter	INDIA: Madras—People's Friend
Republican	Toledo (O.)—Industrial News	Allahabad—People's Budget
Journal of Vigilance Association	San Francisco (Cal.)—Truth	Bombay—Times of India
Justice	Petersburg (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	Bombay Gazette
To-Day	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	GERMANY: Stuttgart—Neue Zeit
Freethinker	men's Advocate	HOLLAND: Recht voor Allen
Practical Socialist	St. Louis (Mo.)—Altruist	HUNGARY: Buda-Pest—Arbei-
Leicester Co-operative Record	American Celt	ter-Weekend-Chronik
Imperial Federation	Kansas (Mo.)—Sun	ITALY: Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Our Corner	Newfoundland (Pa.)—La Torpille	Brescia—Fardello primo
The Socialist	Evansville (Ind.)—Neue Zeit	PORTUGAL: O Campino
	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
	Portland (Oregon)—Alarm	Voz do Operario
	Salem (Oreg.)—Advance-Thought	O Seculo
	Paterson (N.J.)—Labor Standard	SPAIN: El Angel del Hogar
		Acracia (mana
		Barcelona—La Justicia Hu-
		Madrid—El Socialista
		Bandera Social
		Cadiz—El Socialismo
		Huelva—La Perseverancia
		SWITZERLAND: Zurich—Sozial
		Demokrat
UNITED STATES		
New York—Volkzeitung	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	
Der Sozialist	La Revue Socialiste	
Freiheit	Le Revolte	
Progress	Le Socialiste	
John Swinton's Paper	La Tribune des Peuples	
Spread the Light	Revue du Mouvement Social	
Our Country	La Citoyenne	
Amerikanische Arbeiter-zeit-		
Truthseeker		
Boston—Liberty		

RECEIVED.—"The Axe is laid unto the Root"—"The Coming of the Light"—"Ruskin as Revolutionist."

## THE "COMMONWEAL."

### WORKERS, SUPPORT YOUR OWN PRESS!

WE make a special appeal to all who read these lines on behalf of the COMMONWEAL. Especially do we call upon the workers to support a paper devoted to the Emancipation of Labour, and which unsparingly attacks all tyranny and monopoly. Those who conduct the COMMONWEAL are profoundly impressed by the conviction that until Society is established on the basis of common labour and common enjoyment of the fruits of labour, which necessarily includes reasonable leisure for all, no real progress can be made in morals, science, art, or literature. They therefore at present can only deal with these subjects in as far as they can be utilised with other means for the education of the workers and for the attainment of a body of assent essential for carrying out the revolution which will get rid of the war of classes.

The COMMONWEAL has hitherto been carried on with considerable difficulty, and only by heavy personal sacrifices in time and money, which are seldom, perhaps, taken into account by those who only think of getting a "big pennyworth." For the information of all whom it may concern, we state that the COMMONWEAL is in no sense a commercial speculation. The editors and contributors receive no pay for their work on it, and whatever gains may be eventually made by its publication will be wholly devoted to purposes of Socialist propaganda. We therefore ask for pecuniary help from those who believe in our Cause, to tide us over the early days of the struggle. And to all comrades and friends we earnestly appeal to "make hay while the sun shines," and to exert all their efforts to increase the circulation of our paper, that it may be firmly established as a beacon set upon a rock to lighten the darkness of the night of Commercialism, through which we are passing to the dawn of a nobler day.

## CIVIL LAW UNDER SOCIALISM.

### CONTRACT AND LIBEL.

It is a common thing for persons to incorporate with their conceptions of a Socialistic state of society elements drawn from the present one, and then to complain of the incongruity of the result. Few persons dream, for instance, that the present elaborate and complex judicial system, or something like it, will not obtain then as much as now. Hence the "difficulties" of so many worthy people.

"Law" is commonly divided into the familiar categories of civil law and criminal law, though legal pedantry could doubtless confound the distinction. Of the second of these we propose to speak in another article. By civil law we understand, in accordance with current usage, law concerned with disputes between individuals involving acts which are non-criminal or of which the criminal law takes no cognisance, including all law relating to contract, or the obtaining of damages for injuries, not punishable as criminal offences. It is this department of law upon which we wish to say a few words.

Now we contend that from the moment the State acquires a definite social end—the moment, that is, the machinery of government is taken possession of by, in the name, and for the sake of, the working classes, with a view to the abolition of classes—the whole department of law will become an anachronism which it will be incumbent upon the executive, whatever form it may take, to immediately sweep away. A very little reflection will suffice to show (as the phrase goes) that the civil law referred to is an entirely class-institution, designed (1) in the interest of that class within a class so powerful throughout all periods of civilisation—viz., the legal class, and (2) of the privileged and possessing classes generally. The first point is a trite observation to every one. We all know that "going to law" profits the lawyers more than the litigants on either side. The second point is scarcely less clear. The wealthy litigant is the only person for whom law is even available, for the most part, and certainly the only person for whom it can ever be profitable. The fear of litigation is a weapon society places in the hands of the rich man to coerce the poor man, irrespective of the merits of the case, by dangling ruin before him. If we examine any ground of civil action, we shall find it almost always turns directly or indirectly on a question of property—that is, on what individual shall possess certain wealth—the chances being invariably on the side of the wealthy litigant.

But it may be said, cannot civil law be divested of its class character, and thus serve an intermediary purpose at least in the initial stage of Socialism, when current conditions are still surviving, by constituting the judge, advocate, etc., a mere public servant or functionary, remunerated no more highly than the scavenger? Could not civil "justice" thus be made readily available for all? Perhaps it might, we reply, but it would be anti-Socialistic all the same. Civil law, like all special products of civilisation, is essentially individualistic. It is concerned with the relations of two propertied individuals, one with the other, and as such cannot concern a society established even incompletely on a Socialistic basis. What recks such a society or its administrators of the private quarrels of individuals? Wilful violence done to any member of society, whatever shape it takes, is a matter which affects society as a whole—an offence against society, and hence criminal in kind, whatever its degree. But the more or less obscure question as to who is in the right in a personal quarrel cannot possibly concern society as a whole. Two would-be parties in a civil action, were they to attempt to inflict their squabble upon a community even so much as on the way towards being Socialised, would surely deserve to be treated in the spirit in which the housewife possessed of a slop-pail is wont to treat two domestic cats that plead their causes plaintively upon the roofs at midnight. At present, of course, in a state busied in individual exploitation and scramble for possession, it matters not that an elaborate machinery is maintained, involving numbers of persons being kept from productive labour—in other words involving a waste of social power—for the sake of deciding quarrels; indeed, this machinery is an essential element in such a system of society. For is not the economic corner-stone of this society, contract, and do not the bulk of civil actions hinge on questions of contract? When contract is part of the economic constitution of society it is evident its legal system must take cognisance of contract, for the observance of contract then affects its existence vitally. But when contract between individuals is no longer part of the economic constitution of things such "contract" ceases to have any social importance as to its performance or non-performance. "Contract" will then be understood to be a purely private agreement. The community does not ask Peter to trust Paul; he does it on his own responsibility, and he has no right to come whining to the delegated authorities of the community for redress if Paul proves untrustworthy, or to expect the community to waste resources in keeping up machinery for the purpose of deciding disputes between them, with the chances, after all is done and under the most favourable circumstances, of as frequently arriving at a wrong as at a right decision. The principle once established, that contract rests solely upon honour—that any agreement, tacit or avowed, verbal or written, that I choose to enter into with another man, has no law to back it—must inevitably have a moral effect in the long-run of the most beneficial kind. Civil action concerned with contract being thus entirely anti-Socialistic in principle, its abolition ought, we insist, to be one of the first measures of that people's state whose final aim is to supersede the State itself by the Society.

To turn now to the case of a civil action which does not refer to "contract," and which probably to many people nursed under current

prejudices will seem of vital importance to maintain—the action for libel or slander, to wit. This “action” is supposed necessary to the vindication of personal character against attack. In the first place, the law relating to libel is double-barrelled, so to speak: it is criminal as well as civil. But in referring to it I may as well say at once that we include both aspects of it. The ambiguous nature of its *rationale* is pretty clearly indicated by the doubt hanging over it as to whether it is directed against *false* imputations or any imputations whatever, true or false. The law, as far as we understand, technically covers both; but the principle of farthing damages and no costs conveniently obviates the constant display of the fulness of its absurdity.

No greater or more unwarrantable restriction on freedom of speech or writing is, to our thinking, conceivable than this law of libel and slander. We beg the reader to put aside his prejudices for a moment and tell us whether it does not bear the most unmistakable impress of a corrupt society which it is possible to have. The law of libel, look at it what way one will, seems to be expressly designed to protect the astute rogue from the most legitimate consequences of his roguery. Vindicating character, forsooth, in proceedings for libel! Yah! Mr. Belt vindicated his character in this manner, got swingeing damages, and a few months afterwards a jury convicted him of a more glaring offence than that originally alleged against him. Every man of the world knows that the successful issue of an action or a prosecution for libel does *not* mean the clearing of the plaintiff or prosecutor's character morally. More often than not it merely means that he is a *clever* rascal rather than a stupid one, or that he has got a clever counsel to represent him. The real *raison-de-êtr*e of the law of libel in our hypocritical, hollow class-society is, as already hinted, written on its face: it is a stockade to protect rogues, and behind which every dirty scoundrel can sneak. The “privileged” classes know that their characters in many cases “will not bear investigation,” to use the familiar phrase—“shady” transactions in business with neighbours' pockets; “shady” transactions out of business with neighbours' wives. What man of social position—above all, what self-made man—does not owe his position, at some point or other of his career, to something that, were it exposed to the light of day, would constitute a libel for which, in the chicanery of law, he could obtain a verdict with heavy damages against the exposé? This explains the cold shiver with which the proposal to abolish all legal “protection of character” (*sic*!) is greeted by the average sensible man of business. His way of looking at things naturally extends itself to people who have no personal motives to influence them: the tendrils of a sentiment having their root in class corruption ramify far and wide. What every Socialist ought to stand by is perfect freedom of speech and writing so far as personal character is concerned. The Socialist is the last person who ought to form harsh judgments of, or deal hardly with, individuals for their failings; but he ought nevertheless to insist that every man has a right—the advisability or charity of doing so resting with himself—that he has a right, we say, to make known his opinion concerning any other man, be it good or bad, just or unjust, in any way he pleases. We all know that our present class-society—with its commercial and its social rottenness—could not stand for a month the cold douche which would result from the withdrawal of the legal protection behind which successful rascaldom skulks, at the first scent of danger discharging its “solicitor's letter” threatening “proceedings.”

I have been accused in some quarters of intolerance, because, forsooth, I think that children and ignorant and weak-minded persons (so long as such exist), ought to be protected by society from the ravings of a certain class of dogmatic theologians, even if necessary to the placing of such theologians under physical restraint. Probably the same persons who profess such unbounded *laissez faire* on current lines, and whose Whig ideas of “toleration” are so shocked at the bare notion of any repression of opinion or free speech, even when it means the terrorising of susceptible imaginations to the point of insanity, would wince at the notion of the right of free speech being extended to the opinion that they are morally undesirable persons. The bourgeois Radical finds his free-expression-of-opinion principles begin to fit him rather tight here. He finds it is surely most unjust that such an abominable lie should be circulated about him with impunity, when no one that knows him can have the slightest suspicion but that he is a most desirable person—especially morally. Free speech, my friend! Your adversary merely expresses an opinion concerning your actions and your motives. It is open to you to say he is wrong, and to show reason for believing that not you but he is the undesirable person for that matter. What more do you want? Is it the part of a magnanimous mind secure in a sense of its own rectitude to want to persecute the misguided wretch who presumes to express an opinion derogatory therefrom? Of course, given a law of libel we are well aware an individual may find himself handicapped in not availing himself of it, since in the event of a direct attack on his character, if he does not “clear” (?) himself, public opinion will allow the case against him to go by default; but this is no argument for the maintenance of the system. What I contend for is the *right* of every man to impeach my character, if he cares to, to the top of his bent, *provided* I have the same right as regards his. The abolition of legal restraints in free criticism of character, it is true, might lead at the outset to a prolific crop of mere malicious slanders. Like a new toy such criticism might at first be a constant recreation with some people. But it is easy to see that this would cure itself in a very short time. Assuming, as will probably be urged, that every man having a grudge against another would instantly proceed to circulate the statement that he had robbed his aged father, and that his untiring attentions at the bedside of his sick mother were to be explained by the fact that he

was engaged in administering digitalis in small doses, or that his solicitude for his niece's welfare masked incestuous relations, how long would it be before every sane person had ceased to heed any allegation made respecting another without corroborative evidence? Things having reached this stage how much longer would it be before the fashion of making false allegations had died out? Even now, who heeds the whispered insinuations made at election times about the character of rival candidates; or the many suspicious places in which Mr. Gladstone or any other public man is said to have been seen. The very fact of the existence of a law against slander, keeps the practice of slander alive by giving evil insinuations a sting much to the detriment of the man against whom they are groundless. The slanderer can always plead the terrors of the law in excuse for not giving definite shape to his dark hints. He “could an' if” he “would” dilate upon certain things he knows, but prudence compels him to be silent as to any specific charge.

The argument is commonly used, that were “legal redress” for libel and slander removed, physical force would be employed and breaches of the peace ensue. We hardly think the really calumniated would so conspicuously put themselves in the wrong. The employment of physical force against the “allegator” is strong presumptive evidence of the truth of the allegation. An assault is no answer to a charge—

Und könnt'ich sie zusammen schmeissen  
Köntt'ich sie doch nicht Lügner heissen.

Any scoundrel can commit an assault or get one committed for him, and the legitimate inference is that the intention of committing the assault was only the last resort of an ignoble mind unable to rebut the charge. In any case, personal violence is a criminal offence, to be dealt with as such. The baselessness in reason and inutility in practice, so far as honest men are concerned, of laws against libel is so plain, in short, that they may be taken as the most crucial illustration of the truth with which we started, that they exist, like all civil law, firstly, for the sake of the *legal class*; and secondly, for the benefit of the many doubtful personages that throng the commercial, political, and “society” worlds, but whom it is not convenient to have exposed. They are emphatically class laws.

E. BELFORT BAX.

## POOR HUMAN NATURE!

“ALL men think all men mortal but themselves,” says Young; and I have often wondered whether this remark applies to the numerous worthies who pronounce Socialism impossible because of “man's proneness to evil,” as they have it—his selfishness, ambition, and what not. “What you are seeking to establish is all very good in principle; but you cannot get selfishness out of men—it's impossible, sir. We have spoken.”

Thus are we tormented by men of all sorts and conditions, gentlemen sacred and gentlemen profane, unceasingly reminding us that the only obstacle in the way of Socialism is—human nature. It is human nature that prompts the strong man to prey on the weaker—to grind profits out of man, woman, and child, regardless of age, sex, or condition. Human nature it is to reduce the young girl's wages to such a pittance as necessitates recourse to prostitution as a means of subsistence. Human nature all this, and more—not *brute* nature, as might have been supposed! Yet I warrant that if you were to charge any one of these good citizens with such inhumanity, or such selfishness, not to say meanness, you would bring the blush of shame to his meditative brow. Not one of them but seeks to be thought disposed to generous ways, in the teeth of his argument to the contrary. Wherefore I am led to believe with the poet that all men think all men mortal, saving their own infallible selves.

Most solemnly, then, I dispute the time-worn belief as to man's ingrained selfishness. The reason why men do generally act selfishly in their every-day dealings seems to me clear: selfishness pays. The conditions of life under the order of things obtaining make selfishness an essential of success. And although generosity is a matter of universal approbation, even your millionaire is apt to pause before indulging himself that way, because of the spectre ever looming before him—the spectre of misfortune, which for all he knows may one day deprive him of his everything. The fact that selfishness is by general consent kept quiet as a painful necessity of the times, whilst generosity is applauded from the house-tops, ought to be sufficient to show that, given the proper surroundings, men's instincts would most certainly lead to better habits of conduct than other days have known.

When one comes to survey the seductive baits towards selfish courses which society has always held out to men, one is agreeably surprised to find a solitary virtue still left to them. For not once but always do we find Barrabas the world's elect; not once but always is the Christ of men crucified. Bruno was burnt at the stake when the narrow-minded bigot was surest of survival; Sir Thomas More was beheaded because he would not stoop submissive to the will of a royal debauchee; Ernest Jones, poet and orator, starved into obscurity whilst pigmy Disraeli was, for very opposite attributes, paving his way to an affluent prime-ministry. Here you have an instance or two, which might be multiplied manifold, wherein the best of men have shown themselves sadly unfitted when the conditions were such as would tend specially to nourish the ignoble and vile. And so to-day it is the man that is most selfish who may hope to wax fattest. Whoso in politics is prepared to tone his opinions down in order to suit party purposes; whoso in trade is ready judiciously to adulterate or swindle by short measure; whoso pretends conformity with established beliefs and customs, and

is, in short, pliantly conventional,—he is the man that is fittest and survives. Just as the toad is fittest in the stagnant pool, just as the sprat is fitter than man—under water, so the Mr. Facing-any-way-that-pays is fittest in that society where self is god and the public a baby.

The better nature—the human nature of man—has not yet been given a fair chance to come out and thrive. Remove the fear of ever-pending poverty, stop the possibility of one man preying on another—the strong man on the weak, the grasping on the generous; for I dare say there will always exist exceptional cases of the brute shaped as human. Give virtue an opportunity only, and, certes! vice shall not be fittest.

T. MAGUIRE.

### “Why should I Die so soon?”

A boy of seventeen, employed in a large engineering factory in the south of London, was ordered by his master or overseer to replace the leathern girthing of an enormous wheel *while the machinery was in motion*. This ingenious expedient for saving a few minutes' machine-work had the trifling disadvantage of inflicting mortal injuries upon the boy. Doubtless his employers have insured themselves out of their liability in the matter, and therefore feel no further concern; but I may be pardoned for thinking it worth a little more consideration.

What matters one life more or less amid our “teeming millions”? With the feeling of youthful blood stirring within him, taking a keen delight in boyish sports, and possessing a bright and cheerful disposition that made him a general favourite, those who knew him certainly think that it matters a good deal. His companions, who followed him to the grave wearing their cricket-caps, and who laid his own upon his coffin, appeared totally ignorant of Malthusian philosophy. He himself, upon his deathbed, seemed hardly “resigned to the will of Providence,” and asked, “Why should I die so soon?”

Poor boy! Well might he ask that question; and how many thousands more might ask it! How many infants poisoned almost at birth by the air they breathe or the food they eat; how many men robbed of their manhood, and women robbed of their womanhood; how many thousands sacrificed openly to the workshop of mammon, and millions *who never even live at all*, might ask, “Why should I die so soon?”

Let that cry be taken up and echoed from end to end of our murderous society, till our masters hear it, speechless with fear; and we will supply the answer.

R. A. B.

### LITERARY NOTICES.

*To-Day* for July has a quaint, readable sketch, “Birds of a Feather,” by R. G. B., and a thoughtful, comprehensive article on “Russian Socialism and its Organ,” by R. F. Lipman. Mrs. Besant contributes a condensed report of the Fabian Conference.

The *Church Reformer* and *Christian Socialist* for current month alike contain several articles well worth reading, although the usefulness of both is, for average folk, somewhat vitiated by the persistent attempt to give a theological bias to the most ordinary economical truths.

‘The House of Lords,’ by W. H. Brown (Haines, 212 Mile-end Road, 1d.), is a well-written pamphlet on a very trite subject. Those who confine themselves to an attack upon the “aristocracy” strangely overlook the fact that an exploiter without a title is quite as injurious to the community as a titled idler; usually more so.

‘Ireland, the Story of Her Wrongs,’ and ‘Gladstone’s Irish Parliament, would it Persecute the Protestants?’ are eloquently written and most forcible arguments against the pleas put forward by the reactionary school of politicians to justify a still further oppression of the Irish people. Written by Rev. J. Hirst Hollowell, they may be procured from him at Parkside, Nottingham, or from P. S. King & Son, King Street, London, S.W.

Shorter hours of labour for producers means shorter hours of stealing for non-producers.—*Newsman*.

Joseph Chamberlain, land thief advocate, fears the Fenians and has his house under guard, and travels surrounded by armed detectives. Verily robbery has its disadvantages.—*Industrial News*.

“A North Adams woman has dug a cellar this spring for a new house, entirely herself, and quarried the stone like a man.”—*Woman’s Journal*.—When will the Woman’s Rights advocates frankly accept the truth of “not like to like, but like in difference” regarding men and women? When a woman toils her life away at unsuitable labour, in the name of Humanity don’t boast of it!

“Miss Clara Barton, who is at the head of the International Red Cross Association, finds that some confusion has been caused by the recent organisation among the Chicago Socialists, called the ‘Brothers of the Red Cross.’ Miss Barton has issued a card to the public requesting that *anarchy and humanity* be not confounded.” Faith, madam, this is “confusion worse confounded.” That card to the public must have been the cruellest specimen of confusion that that mighty though rather easily-impressed brain has ever had forced upon it. Poor Humanity (with a big H)! M. M.

It is wondrous how in so-called “respectable” and even exclusive quarters of society the name by which the democracy is known—that is, “the people”—is increasingly treated with most respectful recognition. Princes, statesmen, preachers vie with each other in paying tributes of flattery to the power and worth of the people. “Dogs,” “the herd,” and the similar epithets which hit off in a word the estimation in which the aristocratic mind held the masses, are seldom heard now except from eccentric duchesses and young idiots of the dude type. The name is working its way into our institutions also. People’s palaces, shows, bazaars, and the like are quite the fashion. How steadily, if slowly, we are advancing to that desirable epoch when classes and masses alike shall be dignified by the name of the people! —Dodo, in *Reynolds*.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES:

### ENGLAND.

#### THE LONDON TAILORS AND MACHINISTS SOCIETY.

“The newly-formed London Tailors and Machinists Society are beginning well. They have prosecuted an East-end employer, one Abraham Goldstein, on a charge of assaulting three of his assistants, who had recently joined the society. The trial at Worship Street was very characteristic. Abundant evidence as to the assault was given by independent testimony. Mr. Hannay, however, dismissed the summonses, to the intense astonishment of all who heard the case. No one would believe the extent of the petty tyranny daily exercised in the metropolitan police-courts by irresponsible magistrates, against whom, in such instances as the present, there is no appeal except to public opinion.”—Dodo, in *Reynolds* of July 18. A valued correspondent in sending the foregoing extract, says: “I never listened to anything more unfair than Hannay’s summing-up. These men ought to be taught a lesson.” The Society have started an organ of their own, the *Anti-Sweater*, which should aid them considerably in their fight with the employers. They have also issued a most admirable series of questions addressed to members of the trade, in order to compile a useful body of statistics relating thereto. This latter example might well be followed by much more ambitious bodies.

#### WOMENS’ LABOUR IN MANCHESTER.

The wretched pittances paid for womens’ labour are notorious, but the following instances are more glaring than usual. My wife worked for some time lately in one of the largest shirt-making factories in Manchester. The hours of work were from 8 a.m. to 6.30 p.m., with an hour off for dinner; 8 to 1 on Saturday. Her wages averaged about 4s. 6d. per week; the work was piece-work. The prices paid were, for common boys’ shirts, 8d. to 1s. 2d. per dozen; mens’, 10d. to 1s. 11d. For these prices the shirts are entirely made, except buttons and button-holes. The wages earned vary from 3s. 6d. to 10s. per week, but very few make the top sum. These wages can only be made when work is plentiful; when work is slack they often get only two or three shirts in a day, but are expected to be at their machines the full time, whether there be work or not. At some factories the hands have to purchase their own needles and thread. The prices have been considerably reduced during the last few years, and are now being cut down still lower.—It is now the custom in large retail shops to employ a girl of about fifteen as cashier. I know of cases where they work from 8 in the morning until 9 at night, 11 on Friday and 12 on Saturday, for the magnificent remuneration of 4s. a-week.—F. H. C.

#### THE STRIKE AT THE LANCASTER WAGON WORKS.

The strike at the Lancaster Wagon Works and Phoenix Foundry, which began with the issue, on 24th June last, of the following address, has come to an end:

“To all who are in favour of a fair day’s pay for a fair day’s work.—Fellow-workmen and others,—We, the employees at the Lancaster Wagon Works and Phoenix Foundry, appeal to you for assistance under the following circumstances. For some years the rate of remuneration for our labour at the Lancaster Wagon Works and Phoenix Foundry has been lower than that paid by similar firms elsewhere. During the past four or five years we have repeatedly submitted to enforced reductions. Since Christmas we have submitted to one ten per cent. reduction on piece-work prices, and now we are called upon to submit to a reduction on our rate of day wages ranging from 5 to 7½ per cent. What is called a ten per cent. reduction amounts in some cases to fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five per cent., and this is a fair sample of what is called a ten per cent. reduction. It may appear that our present earnings are large, but it must be remembered that we work piece-work in a large contract shop where constant employment is impossible. That was a fortunate man who had six months full time during last year. The Lancaster Wagon Co. last year paid five per cent. to the shareholders, added £4,000 to the reserve, depreciated £5,000, and carried more than £1,000 to next year’s account. Under these circumstances we feel bound to assert the right of the working-man to a fair day’s pay for a fair day’s work, and, in asking you to assist us, we assure you that you will be helping men who have made up their minds to remain firm.—We are, your faithful servants, The Committee.”

The management succeeded in raising suspicion and distrust among the men. There were traitors in the camp, and when their firmness of organisation and agreement broke they had perforce to return to work at the masters’ terms. As usual, a trusted big-bug bolted with the funds, and, again as usual, he was a pious member of an adult Sunday-school class, a blue ribbonite, and a “saved sinner” generally!

In commenting upon an address delivered by our comrade E. P. Hall to the strikers, and a letter written by him in its own columns, the *Lancaster Observer* has the following sapient remarks:

“Wages, in their rise or fall, follow a natural law. When work is brisk and labour scarce, workmen will not have much difficulty in obtaining higher wages. Mr. Hall says the capitalist is able to take care of himself; but so is the workman in a similar degree. One is seeking higher remuneration for his capital, the other for his labour; but neither will get what he desires. Let us make the best of the circumstances in which we are placed. Cheap living has made the artisans of our towns better off than they were fifteen years ago. There is a suspicion that they are getting more than their share of the good things of this world. *The tiller of the soil is enriching others and impoverishing himself.* How long that will go on it is impossible to say; but if the farmer finds it ruinous to go on growing corn, or beef, or wool, he will cease doing so, and the limitation of supply of necessities of life will tend to equalise the benefits which now fall largely upon the class of artisans. The workmen will then find that even high wages do not mean increased comfort.”

This farrago of arrant nonsense has evidently been written by somebody who is entirely ignorant of social economy. The only redeeming point in it is the sentence we italicise, and the philosopher who wrote it might very profitably expend some small portion of his great powers in ascertaining whom the tiller is enriching—the slum-dweller of the cities, or the landlord and the capitalist?

It is gratifying to note that the labour-class of Lancaster is not quite so backward as their supposed teachers. Comrade Hall’s labours have not been without fruit. Many hundreds now know somewhat of Socialism, and it is not improbable that a strong branch will be started there soon. S.



## FRANCE.

## ANNIVERSARY OF THE TAKING OF THE BASTILLE.

In 1789 the people execute Flesselles, the scapegoat of their oppressors. History records it, and historians bow before the justice-dealing multitude: a new right arises from this necessary execution. In 1886 military reviews, officially-arranged fireworks and illuminations and wide-shouted vivats celebrate the destruction of Flesselles, Berthier, De Launay, and twenty other obstacles to the progress of ideas. It is well—we approve it! In 1886 the serfs of modern industry kill Watrin, scapegoat of the crimes of our new feudal system. Whereupon some wretched people are seized haphazard, convicted of crime and sent to prison. When will come the destruction of the modern Bastilles?—*Cri du Peuple*.

In opposition to 1789 we place 1871, to the 14th July, the 18th March, to the tricolor the red flag,—while awaiting the freeing of humanity by the Social Revolution, when all will celebrate the Universal Republic.—J. B. CLEMENT.

*Panem et circenses!* Bread and pageants! The device of empires, and also that of Opportunists, it would seem. . . . The social electricity which some day may become thunder, loses itself and disperses in the atmosphere of these festivities.—JULES VALLES.

ARMENTIERES.—Some weeks since Socialism made its appearance for the first time at Armentières a manufacturing town (not far from Lille) where the capitalist, supported by priest and gendarme, reigns supreme. The Socialist conference got up by our friends Blanck and Lafargue, heartily welcomed by the workmen who filled the theatre at Armentières, sowed such good seed in the spirits of the factory-slaves, that the masters felt themselves bound to reply by a counter-meeting. . . . At this meeting last week there were in attendance great numbers of gendarmes and police-agents to make disturbances and especially to arrest Socialists. The manœuvre did not fail to produce the usual results—affray, fighting, pistol-shots and arrest of five Socialists.—*Le Socialiste*.

PARIS.—A member of the group, *L'Avant Garde*, was arrested in Paris on the 14th, for sticking bills announcing a meeting of the unemployed for the following day. At the end of the meeting in question, several Socialists were dispersed by the police while attempting to plant a black flag on the Place de la République. The flag was confiscated, and one of their number arrested. Being locked up for indulging in the harmless passion for bill-sticking is as yet a pleasure to come for English comrades! Yet, courage! for, as Hamlet says, "If it be not now, yet it will come."

ROUEN.—The Court of Appeal at Rouen has confirmed the decision of the *cour correctionnelle* of the Havre, sentencing, apropos of the "unemployed" manifesto of 21st May, two citizens to six months' imprisonment, two to ten months, and one to thirteen months. There remains to revolutionaries one duty of solidarity to fulfil, which is to aid the families of the victims.—*Cri du Peuple*.

Frightful misery reigns in the mines at Le Creusot. Every day the Company discharges some men, the miners being those who suffer most. The 1500 workers usually employed are now reduced to 120.

A Socialist of Elbœuf having been condemned as manager of a paper to a certain fine with costs, was lately arrested with scandalous brutality, taken to the "lock-up" at Rouen on foot, between two gendarmes and heavily handcuffed.

Here is a sanguine, over-hopeful word of a revolutionary. Speaking of the demand of the Extreme Left for the release of Roche and Duc-Queray on the occasion of the Bastille celebration, a French provincial paper says: "They will not see the illuminations of the 14th, but they will leave their cell in time to take part in greater rejoicings, those of a people who, after having raised the royal Bastille, will have delivered themselves for ever from the rascalities of a hypocritical exploiting class." M. M. Roche and Queray, I earnestly hope, are not doomed to remain incarcerated until that consummation of our revolutionary hopes!

M. M.

## THE WAR IN BELL STREET.

FOR the past three Sundays, Bell Street, Edgware Road, has been literally besieged by police and detectives, who have taken upon themselves the censorship of opinion. In spite of the letter of Sir Charles Warren, in spite of the speech of the counsel for the prosecution, both asserting that there is no intention to meddle with the opinions expressed by the Socialists, it must be plain to every unprejudiced person that the authorities are making great attempts to suppress Socialist meetings. But, on the other hand, there is as much determination on the part of the Socialists that they will hold their open-air meeting-places so long as temperance, political, and religious meetings are not interfered with by the police. This is the point for the public to understand. A writer in last Monday's *Pall Mall Gazette* calls for evidence that the police help in creating the very obstruction which they attack. We have direct evidence to prove this assertion, which is certainly particular and not "general."

On the morning of the first arrest at Bell Street, there were several detectives and plain-clothes men standing on the pavement for the purpose of causing an obstruction, so that they might carry out their determination of making an arrest. This game has been carried on ever since the first interference. The people in the neighbourhood have always moved off the pavement when a speaker or any one connected with the meetings has requested them to do so, but the detectives and plain-clothes men have persisted in standing on the footway, and have insulted those who have civilly asked them to move. On one occasion one of them—a plain-clothes inspector I am told—when asked by one of our friends to be kind enough to move off the footway so that no obstruction should be caused, told him that he would "throw him into the bloody road." With regard to the other question, as to whether the police discriminate between Socialists and others on account of their opinions, let the *Pall Mall* listen to what was given in evidence at the Marylebone Police-court on Saturday last, 17th inst., as reported in the *Dispatch*, when Superintendent Draper stated in answer to a question that "the morals of the Salvation Army and temperance party were more favourable to him than the doctrines of the Socialists." It was this occasion also, by the way, upon which Inspector Bassett swore that Williams, of the S.D.F., had said, "We don't care one iota about obstruc-

tion," and then under cross-examination admitted that "he heard defendant give people advice not to interfere with the police or cause an obstruction!"

It would be easy to multiply instances of the animus of the police against the Socialists as Socialists. At Stratford and Harrow Road, both open spaces, our meetings have been stopped by the police. A letter pointing this out in the *Stratford* case, and offering the use of the plan which appeared in these columns, was sent to the *Pall Mall* on Monday week, but that journal did not choose to avail itself of the information so given.

Even in the parks we are continually harassed by the police—both in uniform and plain clothes—who are provided with note-books, in which they industriously record our speeches, thereby showing that they are on the lookout for the expression of opinion. We are told that if this partiality in the conduct of the police is true the Socialists will have everybody's sympathy. We hope that will happen, but the tone which the *Pall Mall* has now taken up hardly seems meant to conduce to this end.

But let me get back to Bell Street. For eighteen months meetings have been held there by the Marylebone Branch of the Socialist League without complaint of any sort until the police interfered. Since then, of course, there has been a certain amount of obstruction, as there always will be wherever and whenever the police interfere with open-air meetings.

According to announcement, William Morris addressed the meeting at Bell Street last Sunday morning. After adjuring the people to keep quiet and orderly in the event of the police interfering, he said that he had come to Marylebone to maintain the right of the Socialists to speak in the streets in the same way that people holding other opinions were allowed to do. The police meddled with our open-air meetings simply because we were Socialists—because we advocated the cause of the people. It was a very rational thing for folk to assemble in the open-air in the hot weather for the purpose of discussing their grievances. The authorities were afraid of Socialism, because the middle and upper classes knew their own wrong-doing, and that the Socialists were telling the working classes what was to their advantage. He refused to live contentedly under a condition of society which made a perpetual prison for the majority of the community. Our present society was grounded upon monopoly and corruption. Police, army, navy, magistrates, lawyers, parliament, etc., were all doing their utmost to sustain that monopoly and corruption. All wealth was the result of labour, therefore all wealth belonged to labour: those who labour should receive the wealth they create. Every worker to-day produces more than is necessary for his own bare subsistence, but the far greater portion of it was taken from him by an idle luxurious class. He was impelled to talk to them that morning because the present condition of things was a bad one. He had been asked by a lady the other day why he did not talk to the middle-class. Well, the middle-class had their books with plenty of leisure to read them; the working classes had no leisure, no books. [At this point Chief-Inspector Shepherd appeared outside the crowd, and said that he could not get in. This was false, however, and the inspector was immediately made way for by the people, who groaned him heartily as he approached the speaker. Having come to Morris he told him to desist, which Morris refused to do, on which the inspector took his name and address and left the crowd, when the speaker proceeded without further interruption.] The middle and upper classes were enabled to live in luxury and idleness on the poverty and degradation of the workers. There was only one way in which this state of things could be altered—society must be turned downside up. A true society meant to every one the right to live, the right to labour, and the right to enjoy the fruits of his labour. The useless class must disappear, and the two classes now forming society must dissolve into one whole useful class, and the labour class become society. In conclusion, he appealed to them to do all they could for the Cause; to educate themselves, to discuss the social question with their fellows, and prepare themselves for the great social revolution.

Morris's speech lasted thirty minutes, and his remarks were frequently cheered. The people then passed quietly away, after having subscribed to the Defence Fund. During the time this meeting was going on, a meeting was being held by the religious people a little way down the street; and several of the audience, seeing the way in which we have been treated by the police, passed down to the other meeting, and footways and roadway were soon completely blocked, but of course there was no obstruction there! The police did not interfere at all until some bystanders taunted them with the obvious unfairness of their conduct, and then not before these people had finished their meeting. Many instances of this kind occur in this neighbourhood; but the people of Marylebone are determined that the police shall not thus discriminate, and we are looking forward to a successful issue of the affair.

H. G. ARNOLD.

FREE SPEECH.—A man was sentenced to serve fifty days in jail in San Francisco for speaking to a crowd of working-men on the water front recently. No, San Francisco is not in Russia; it is in free America (the best government on earth), and there is perfect liberty of speech here, only you should be careful what you say; have it revised by the capitalistic bosses before you say it (or their tools, the capitalistic courts).—*Oregon Alarm*.

It was Victor Hugo, the poet, the patriot, the Intellectual Colossus of this century who said what follows. And yet if he had spoken it down on the water-front of San Francisco what a scalawag he would have been:—"To destroy the evils under which we groan there is no method but Revolution. Mark and remember it. The peace of Light must be preceded by the night of war and strife. You, the workers of the world, make all and have nothing. Those who make nothing, by law or by force, have all. It is your own. Do you now be men. Cringe not and beg for that which is thine own, but, since it is yours, go and take it."—*San Francisco Truth*.

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## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

### Notices to Members.

Reading Room.—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.

Library.—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

A General Meeting of London Members will be held on Monday July 26, at 9.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Leeds, Norwich, to April 30. Bloomsbury, Bradford, Croydon, Hammersmith, Hackney, Merton, to May 31. Clerkenwell, Dublin, Mile-End, North London, Oxford, to June 30. Manchester, to July 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Marylebone, to Sept. 30.—P. W.

### The "Commonweal."

The weather was too wet last Saturday for the Board Brigade to go out. Next Saturday if it is fine, the West End will be visited. Volunteers are requested to be at the office by 11.30 sharp.

Posters and slips for pasting up, to advertise *Commonweal*, will be sent to any Branch or member desiring them.

Boards for the use of newsagents can be supplied to Branches at 1s. each.

## REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

### Branch Reports.

BLOOMSBURY.—At Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, on Friday, July 16, T. E. Wardle lectured on "Home Rule" to a good audience.—During the week the Branch has held three outdoor meetings. Sale of paper good.—T. E. W.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, July 14, we held our usual open-air meeting on the "Green," when H. Sparling addressed a very fair audience; D. Nicoll, Allman, and Graham also spoke; no opposition; paper sold well.—On Sunday evening, July 18, R. A. Beckett lectured on "Equality" to a good audience; Hammond and Somerville also addressed the meeting; no opposition; good sale of *Commonweal*, and 1s. 1d. collected for the Defence Fund.—W. B.

HACKNEY.—Open-air meeting was held at Well Street, as usual, on Sunday morning, 18th inst., addressed by Westwood and Flockton. Fair audience and two new members.—At Victoria Park in the afternoon, Mowbray addressed a good audience; fair sale of *Commonweal*.—J. F.

HAMMERSMITH.—During the past few weeks the Branch has endeavoured to sustain the increased activity reported last month. Outdoor meetings have been held every Sunday morning in the Beadon Road, at which the speakers have been comrades Tochatti, Tarleton, Mordhorst, Beasley, and Kitchen. Attendances and sale of *Commonweal* have been better than last reported. On Sunday morning last, comrades Sparling and Tarleton held the first of what is hoped will be a series of meetings in the North End Road, Fulham. This spot is in the centre of a large working-class population, and is new ground for Socialist propaganda. Meetings have also been held in Hyde Park, at which comrades Sparling and Chambers, and G. B. Shaw have spoken. Notwithstanding the warm weather, that in former years has had the effect of reducing the size of our audiences at this season, the indoor meetings have been unusually well attended. Mrs. Annie Besant, of the Fabian Society, lectured on Wednesday, July 7th, upon "Interest and an Idle Class." The other lecturers have been (1. B. Shaw ("Unearned Increment"); Andreas Scheu ("Socialism and the Theory of Evolution"); and William Morris ("My Education"); the latter led to a rather brisker discussion than we have had lately; several of those who were formerly our most vigorous opponents being now within our ranks.—E. W., sec.

MARYLEBONE.—On Saturday evening our meeting in the Harrow Road was opened by comrade Allman, who was followed by comrade Arnold. After the latter had spoken about twenty minutes the police arrived, and he was informed by the inspector that he would be arrested unless he got down immediately. After consulting the members of the Branch, Arnold closed the meeting and got down.—On Sunday morning, comrade Morris addressed a large meeting at Bell Street, a report of which is given in another column.—In the afternoon our meeting in Hyde Park was a very large one, and was addressed by comrades Mainwaring, Donald, Graham, Arnold, and Burcham. The people were entirely in sympathy with us, and the meeting was brought to a close amidst loud cheers, after having been kept going for over three hours.—*Collections for the Defence Fund*: Bell Street, 8s. 7d.; Hyde Park, 8s. 8d.—H. G. A., sec.

MILE-END.—On Thursday, comrade Graham addressed a large meeting on the Waste; at the end of his address, some opposition was offered by a well-known theological debater; with Graham's consent, Davis answered his objections to the evident satisfaction of the audience; comrade Allman also took part in the discussion, and did excellent work by his exposition of the causes and effects of the French Revolution.—In accordance with a challenge thrown out on the Saturday night previous, comrade Mowbray debated with Mr. Yuill on Saturday night. The first twenty minutes was taken by Mowbray, who laid the foundation for debate by a well-pointed exposition of Socialism. Yuill utilised, or rather, wasted his twenty minutes in attacking what was either not stated or some far-fetched inference from his opponent's discourse. His audience, numbering about 200, listened very impatiently to the speaker's obvious misrepresentations. Mowbray replied in ten minutes; Yuill took ten also, but the audience, who had long despaired of getting anything like reason from him, listened for the most part with indifference. Altogether the debate was a success. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—We did not hold our usual meeting on the Waste on Sunday morning, but decided to have one in the evening, and at 7.30 comrades Lane, Benson, Quintin, and Davis met, and had a good meeting, which was very sympathetic; there was no opposition; good sale of *Commonweal*. Good work could be done here on Sunday evenings.—H. DAVIS.

MERTON.—The falling through of our outdoor arrangements has diminished the sale of *Commonweal*, on the other hand we have added to our list of weekly subscribers, and have held two parades, giving away all the back numbers on the hands of the Branch. Merton readers will please note that we have discontinued our outdoor meetings pending the selection of a more suitable spot than the one hitherto used. Next Sunday we purpose making a descent upon Wandsworth. Members and friends will please muster at the club-room by 8.30 sharp.—F. KITZ.

HULL.—On Sunday last a meeting of the members of the late Branch of the Social Democratic Federation was held. J. L. Mahon explained the position of the Socialist League in regard to palliative measures and political action. He also gave a sketch of the work which the new Branch of the League intended doing in Hull, and invited those present to join the League, and help in making a strong Branch. After some discussion, it was unanimously agreed to formally dissolve the Branch of the Social Democratic Federation, which had been long dormant, and the names of those present were given for the Socialist League Branch. A meeting-place will soon be taken, and a course of lectures begun.—M.

LEEDS.—Our usual meetings were held on Sunday. The article on Marshall and Co. gave the sale of the *Commonweal* a good lift, and will do much to make it known hereabouts. We have now three newsagents supplying the paper, and have good hopes of seeing the circulation soon go up.—T. M.

## The Right of Free Speech in Public Places.

### DEFENCE FUND.

Our comrades and friends are asked to bestir themselves to secure freedom of speech in our public ways, in contradistinction to freedom of speech for certain classes and sects only. The spirit of Socialism is at war with class interests: officialism is giving its support to class interests only. For endeavouring to assert the right of free speech the Socialist League has been heavily fined; and the Council of the League hereby asks that all friends of freedom should support the League with subscriptions in aid of this righteous cause. The Treasurer of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., will gladly accept, and acknowledge the receipt of, Pence, Shillings, or Pounds from friends of the Right of Free Speech in Public Places.

### RECEIVED.

Clerkenwell, July 4th, 2s.; 7th, 1s. 8d.; 11th, 12s. 1d. Hoxton, July 12th, 3s. 5d. Mile-end, July 5th, 6d. North London, July 5th, 5s. 8d.; 12th, 6s. 10d. Oxford, July 17th, 7s. 6d. Donations: Miss Monroe, 2s.; Mr. Walkden, 8s. Total, £2, 9s. 8d.—P. W.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W. Friday, July 23, at 8.30 p.m., Annie Besant, "Why the Workers should be Socialists." 30. Mrs. Wilson, "The Revolt of the English Workers in the Nineteenth Century."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday July 25, 7.30 p.m. T. E. Wardle, "The Fallacies of Society." Wednesday 23 (8.30). D. J. Nicoll, "Law and Order."

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.

Hackney.—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every alternate Tuesday at 9, for the enrolment of members and other business.

Hammersmith.—Kelmscott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays, at 8 p.m. July 25. Frank Podmore (Fabian Soc.), "American Socialistic Experiments."

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sundays, at 7.45 p.m. July 25. W. Chambers, "The Political Parties."

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

Mile-end.—East London United Radical Club, Mile End Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. July 27. C. W. Mowbray, "Woman: Her Position under Socialism and To-Day."

North London.—Communications to R. A. Beckett, St. Mildred's House, Poultry, E.C.

South London.—Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 at 112 Hill Street, Peckham, S.E.

### Country Branches.

Birmingham.—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30.

Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.

Glasgow.—Lecture and discussion in new rooms of the Branch, 84 John Street, every Sunday at 7 p.m. Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. The first of a series of Saturday Afternoon Propaganda Excursions will take place on Saturday 31st July. Members and friends to gather at rooms at 4 o'clock and proceed by train to Blantyre, where open-air addresses will be given. Return on foot—songs and choruses on the way.

Hull.—Important Business Meeting on Sunday 25th inst., at 3 p.m., at 11 Carr Lane.

Leeds.—No meeting-room at present. Out-door stations notified below.

Leicester.—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—County Forum. Thursdays, at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Monday at 8. Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m. July 26. F. C. Slaughter, "Woman and Marriage, To-Day and under Socialism."

Oldham.—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 27 Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m. August 5, at 9 p.m., C. J. Faulkner, "Free Trade, or the Man v. the State."

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

### LONDON.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
S. 25.	Croydon	11	J. Lane	Croydon.
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	H. Graham	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—Beadon Road	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	H. A. Barker	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	C. W. Mowbray	Mile-end.
	Regent's Park	11.30	T. E. Wardle	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	W. Chambers	Bloomsbury.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30	Donald & Burcham	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	W. C. Wade	Hackney.
	Clerkenwell Green	7	T. E. Wardle	Clerkenwell.
	Croydon	7	J. Lane	Croydon.
Tu. 27.	Soho—Broad Street	8	T. E. Wardle	Bloomsbury.
Th. 29.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	H. A. Barker	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	8.30	C. W. Mowbray	Mile-end.
Sat. 31.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7	W. Chambers	N. London.
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7	H. H. Sparling	Clerkenwell.
	Regent's Park	7	D. J. Nicoll	N. London.
	Mile-end Waste	8	H. Davis	Mile-end.

### PROVINCES.

Hulme.—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.

Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

Manchester.—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.

Oldham.—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

BATTERSEA BRANCH, N. S. S.—Sunday July 25, H. Halliday Sparling, "The Blind Samson," at 8 p.m.

UNITED SOCIALIST SOCIETIES OF LONDON.—The second excursion to Epping Forest, "Robin Hood," will take place on Sunday, August 1, 1886, for the benefit of the Socialist movement in America. The procession of the West End United Socialists will start from Charlotte Street, corner of Tottenham Court Road, and the East End from 23, Princes Square, George Street, for Liverpool Street Station, with full brass bands, banners, and standards, at 9 a.m. prompt. Return tickets from Liverpool Street Station to Loughton, 1s. each. Full entertainment of international singing clubs, dancing, concert, and games. Trains as follows:—From Liverpool Street Station, 10.40 a.m.; trains every hour after dinner. Returning from Loughton at 8.24, 9, and 9.31 p.m.

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 29.

SATURDAY, JULY 31, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## FREE SPEECH IN THE STREETS.

THE police-war against the open-air speaking of the Socialists is being carried on with much vigour this year, and cannot fail even at this stage of it to be noticed by the general public. As this number of the *Commonweal* may, like other numbers, come into the hands of many who are not Socialists, it is not untimely to say a few words on this subject; especially since it is one of great importance to us and not unimportant to people generally, even in these days of Dilke-Crawford trials and the coming Tory Government.

For the information of those who have not followed the course of the attacks made on us, I should premise that we were first interfered with at Stratford for speaking on a triangular piece of ground, where a meeting of 600 persons can be held without in any way interfering with the traffic, either foot or vehicular, and where the houses on one side at least are practically out of earshot of the speaking, certainly on days when there is any wheel traffic (our meetings there were held on Saturdays). One of our speakers was arrested there last year, but on his proving before the magistrate that there was no real obstruction to either foot-passengers or vehicles, the charge was dismissed, and we held other meetings there without being meddled with. It is worth while mentioning that a leading Radical of the neighbourhood on being appealed to for help in a demonstration which it has been proposed to organise apropos of this station, declined on the grounds that it had drawbacks as a meeting-place (every place has except the parks) and that there was a place farther on that we could use without interference; but it turns out that the place in question is private property, a piece of ground awaiting building operations, and from it, therefore, we could be turned off at any time.

About the same time that we were interfered with at Stratford, the Social Democratic Federation were attacked at Kilburn.

At Bell Street, Edgware Road, our speakers and those of the Social Democratic Federation had been in the habit of addressing the public on Sundays for eighteen months without any interference on the part of the police; but on Sunday July 4 one of our speakers was arrested, and the two following Sundays two more, together with one of the Federation.

This spot is certainly not so defensible as the piece of waste at Stratford, being a street merely; but there is very little traffic in it on a Sunday, and all Socialist speakers have sedulously kept the footways clear. Whatever inconvenience, therefore, there has been to the public in our meetings, must have been to the occupiers of dwelling-houses in the street; but for eighteen months no complaint has been made. That the inhabitants should suddenly wake up to the unbearable-ness of our meetings without any promptings from without, looks a little like a miracle, which perhaps the police authorities can explain. On the whole, it must be said of Bell Street that it is somewhat more inconvenient, though but a little more, than Dod Street, where last year public feeling compelled the police to yield.

At the Harrow Road our speakers were "moved on" some weeks ago and a better place suggested to them by the police; but they were not left in peace there. On July 3 a speaker of ours was summoned for addressing a meeting there and since then meetings have been interdicted. This station is much the same sort of place as the piece of ground at Stratford.

Now we do not claim to be allowed to hold *demonstrations* on these or such-like places, but only our ordinary weekly meetings, held for instruction in our doctrines and discussion of them; these from the nature of them cannot be very large, the same kind of people (often I should hope the same people) week after week; persons who attracted at first by seeing *something* going on, listen, and find it worth while to come again; on the whole, in fact, serious people with some political proclivities. Our Radical friend above-mentioned, was clearly thinking of the Stratford station as a place for holding an excited political meeting on a subject specially interesting at the time; in short, an actual demonstration; whereas our meetings are educational in their character.

It must be remembered, too, that apart from our wishing to extend the field of our operations, and to get at people that might be shy of

entering a lecture-room, we *cannot* always get a lecture-room for either love or money. We are strictly boycotted. This was the case in Stratford, and in the district of Bell Street also; at the latter place our Branch being turned out of several rooms after a lecture or two simply on the grounds of our being Socialists. In such districts, therefore, if we are not allowed to speak in the open-air we are gagged, and this although, at the latter place at least, the whole of the population in the streets are enthusiastically in our favour.

As to the causes which have impelled the police against us, I believe that they are complex. There is the natural wish to keep the streets as clear as may be: no one can have a word to say against that, except that there may be cases where the greater advantage may override the less. Only I have noted of late years a growing impatience on the part of the more luxurious portion of society of the amusements and habits of the workers, when they in any way interfere with the calm of their luxury; or to put it in plainer language, a tendency on their part to arrogant petty tyranny in these matters. They would, if they could, clear the streets of everything that may injure their delicate susceptibilities, although all this roughness and squalid stir is but the wrong side of the system which gives them their superior position. They are ashamed of these coarsenesses, though they are not ashamed to be the perpetual pensioners of those whom they force into them, and to live on their unpaid labour. They would clear the streets of costermongers, organs, processions, and lecturers of all kinds, and make them a sort of decent prison corridors, with people just trudging to and from their work. It is impossible but that this feeling should influence the police, who are their immediate servants; and I do not doubt that they truckle to it, apart from the question of Socialist or non-Socialist.

At the same time no one who has noticed the way in which street-corner meetings have been dealt with by them can doubt that they have, to say the least of it, shown a strong bias against Socialists, in spite of all plausible arguments to the contrary. It is quite clear that if they are allowed to indulge in this prepossession, and to act up to the letter of the law in one case while they let it alone in another, they can clear the streets of Socialists while leaving the religious, temperance, and other *respectable* meetings to flourish as they may; and moreover a very little exercise of the bias may do all that is necessary, as, *e.g.*, to let the gospel preacher have his full hour and *then* move him on, while the Socialist is accosted after ten minutes. Such things as this can be done, and so plausibly put before the public that it is humbugged into believing the police to be merely the champions of free circulation in the streets, while in reality they are lending themselves to mere party purposes.

What we Socialists ask for is not to be interfered with in cases where the holding of a meeting is no real inconvenience to the neighbourhood. We do not believe that the existing law was intended to interfere with such meetings, or that it should be strained in that direction against any bodies of men—religious, temperance, secularist, or others; at the same time we claim to be treated no worse than any of these. If, on the one hand, the police are ambitious to draw the reins of discipline tighter, and to turn London into a model city in such matters, do not let them attack the others through us, because we are a new sect and therefore accounted dangerous. On the other hand, if the authorities consider it necessary to suppress the preaching of our doctrines as dangerous, do not let them sneak behind a mere police order for the regulation of traffic, but attack us in front for our spoken or written utterances which are before the public everywhere. The public can then choose whether they like to see prosecutions for opinion going on in England at the end of the nineteenth century.

For the rest, we appeal to all reasonable people, not to allow the streets to be deprived of all life or pleasure at the dictation of wealthy pedants and pleasure-seekers. The workers have not too many intellectual pleasures. Their homes are dull and narrow at the best; for many the streets are their only drawing-room. It may be questionable whether setting their brains to thinking over "dangerous" doctrines is really so dangerous as driving them back into brutality by constant repression. It is perhaps worth while to sacrifice some of the decorum of the streets for the sake of some extra education in these days of political ferment. On the other hand, if there are any who think it possible to quench the expression of great principles that are at work throughout all civilisation by petty police persecution, they will find themselves mistaken. In short, the public have to make up their mind whether the police shall be their servants or their masters. In order that they may escape the danger of the latter event they must bestir themselves and look at what is being done without prejudice against the Socialists because of their doctrines.

WM. MORRIS.



## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: THE PROLETARIAN STAGE.

THE insurrection of the 10th August, which culminated in the final downfall of the monarchy and the imprisonment of the king and royal family in the Temple, was headed and organised by a new body definitely revolutionary, intended to be the expression of the power of the proletariat, the new Commune of Paris, the moving spirit of which was Marat, who even had a seat of honour assigned to him in the Council. Already, before the king had been sent to the Temple, the Girondin Vergniaud, as president, had moved the suspension of the "hereditary representative" and the summoning of a national convention. Danton was made minister of justice; Robespierre was on the Council of the Commune. A new Court of Criminal Justice was established for the trial of the crimes of August 10th. The members of the Convention were chosen by double election, but the property qualification of "active and passive citizens" was done away with.

While all this was going on, the movement of the reactionary armies on France was still afoot; and the furious flame of French national enthusiasm, which was afterwards used by the mere self-seeking conqueror Napoleon, was lighted by the necessity of the moment—not to be extinguished in days long after his. We mention this here because, in order to appreciate what follows, it must be remembered that an armed coalition of the absolutist countries was gathering together, threatening to drown the Revolution in the blood of the French people, and especially of the people of Paris; and that one of its armies, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick, a famous general of Frederick the Great, was already within a few days' march of the city; and that nothing was between Paris and destruction but undisciplined levies and the rags of the neglected army formed under the old régime; while at the same time the famous royalist insurrection had broken out in La Vendée. Every republican in Paris, therefore, had good reason to feel that both his own life and the future of his country were in immediate danger at the hands of those who did not care what became of France and her people so long as the monarchy could be restored.

Danton now demanded a search for arms, which was carried out on August 29th; and the prisons were filled with prisoners suspected of royalist plotting, and many of them surely guilty of it.

Verdun fell on the 2nd September, and the Duke of Brunswick boasted that he would presently dine in Paris; and on the same night insurrectionary courts of justice—Lynch-law, as we should call it now—were established at the prisons, and the prisoners were brought before them and judged. If found guilty they were turned out into the street with the words, "Let the prisoner be enlarged," or, "Let him be conducted to La Force" or "the Abbaye," according to whether he was at one or the other. He was then immediately cut down and slain by a body of men waiting for him. If he was acquitted, the word went, "Let him be enlarged," with the cry of "Vive la nation!" and he went free. It should be noted, in order to show the hysterical excitement amidst which all this was done, that the acquittals were greeted with cries of joy, tears, and embraces on the part of the court and its sympathisers. It may be further noted that the watches, rings, etc., of the slain were brought to the town-hall by the slayers, who claimed each a louis (20s.) for their night's work. The number of the slain was one thousand and eighty-nine.

The next day a circular was issued by the Committee of Public Safety approving of the massacre, signed by Sergent, Panis (Danton's friend), and Marat, with seven others.

The Girondins in the Assembly and elsewhere kept quiet for the time, though they afterwards used the event against the Jacobins.

Meanwhile the French army, under Dumouriez, had seized on the woodland hills of the Argonne, checked Brunswick, defeated him at Valmy, and Paris was saved.

The Convention now met—on the 20th September—and the parties of the Girondins and the Mountain, or extreme revolutionists, were at once formed in it. It is noteworthy that while it declared as its foundation the sovereignty of the people and the abolition of royalty, it also decreed that landed and other property was sacred for ever. Apropos of which, it may here be mentioned that the bookseller Mongro, having hinted at something like agrarian law, and some faint shadow of Socialism, had to go into hiding to avoid hanging.

So far, therefore, we have got no further than the complete triumph of bourgeois republicanism; though, indeed, the possibility of its retaining its position depended, as the event showed, on the support of the proletariat, which was only given on the terms that the material condition of the workers should be altered for the better by the new régime. And those terms, in the long-run, bourgeois republicanism could not keep, and therefore it fell.

The Girondins or moderate party in the Convention, began their attack on the Jacobins on the subject of the September massacres, and also by attacking Marat personally (on the 21st September)—which attack, however, failed egregiously. The Girondins, as their name implies, leaned on the support of the provinces, where respectability was stronger than in Paris, and tried to levy a body-guard for the defence of the Convention against the Paris populace; but though they got the decree for it passed, they could not carry it out. In their character of political economists, also, they resisted the imposing a maximum price on grain, a measure which the scarcity caused by the general disturbance made imperative, if the proletariat were to have any share in the advantages of the Revolution. In short, the Girondins

were obviously out of sympathy with the mass of the people—the only power that can support revolutionists; therefore, though they were posing as supporters of the rights of the people, they were bound to fall.

The trial of the king now came on, and tested the Girondins in a fresh way; they mostly voted his death, but as if driven to do so from a feeling that opinion was against them, and that they might as well have some credit for this. The king was beheaded on January 21st, 1793, and as an immediate consequence England and Spain declared war. But this business of the king made a kind of truce between the parties, which, however, soon came to an end. Marat was the great object of attack, and on the 25th February, 1793, he was decreed accused on account of some passages in his journal approving of the bread riots which had taken place, and suggesting the hanging of a forestaller or two. On the other hand, on the 10th of March, the section Bonconseil demanded the arrest of the prominent Girondins. Meantime, Danton had been trying all along to keep the peace between the two parties, but on April 1st, the Girondins accused him of complicity with Dumouriez, who had now fled over the frontier, and so forced him into becoming one of their most energetic enemies. The position of the Girondins was now desperate. On the 24th March, Marat was acquitted and brought back in triumph to the Convention.

The Girondins got appointed a packed committee of twelve in the interest of the Convention as against the Paris sections. As an answer to this a central committee of the sections was formed, which on May 31st dominated the Municipality (not loth to be so dealt with) and surrounded the Convention with troops. After an attempt on the part of the Girondins to assert their freedom of action, the Convention decreed them accused and they were put under arrest. They died afterwards, some by the guillotine, some even more miserably, within a few months; but their party is at an end from this date. All that happened in the Convention from this time to the fall of Robespierre in "Thermidor" was the work of a few revolutionists, each trying to keep level with the proletarian instinct, and each failing in turn. They had not the key to the great secret; they were still bourgeois, and still supposed that there must necessarily be a propertyless proletariat led by bourgeois, or at least served by them; they had not conceived the idea of the extinction of classes, and the organisation of the people itself for its own ends.

Marat's death at the hand of Charlotte Corday, on July 14th, removed the only real rival to Robespierre, the only man who might, perhaps, have made Napoleonism unnecessary.

The law of maximum was now passed, however, and a cumulative income tax, so that, as Carlyle remarks, the workman was at least better off under the Terror than he had ever been before; but without a direct attack on the root of exploitation there can be no true equality, and nothing that can be laid hold of as a principle of Society; the people cannot understand, and therefore cannot themselves organise themselves. Until labour is free, it has to be organised by those who are the masters of the labourers, and the revolutionists of this period were at once too good and too bad to be their masters; therefore, as above said, they could only drift on the current of events.

Robespierre, Danton, and the Hebertists were now what of force was left in the Convention, and doubtless the first of these had made up his mind to get the reins of power into his own hands. Meantime, a new calendar, in which the months were distinguished by names taken from the march of the natural drama of the year, was published, and an attempt was made to establish a new worship founded on Materialism; but, like all such artificial attempts to establish what is naturally the long growth of time, it failed. Chaumette, Hebert and their followers were the leaders in this business, which Robespierre disapproved of, and Danton growled at.

The Extraordinary Tribunal under Fouquier Tinville was now the Executive in Paris, and backed by the law of suspects, speedily got rid of all obstacles to the Revolution, and of many also who had worked according to their lights for its furtherance. Robespierre, it is hard to say how or why, became at last practical dictator.

The Hebertists under the name of the "Enragés" (rabids) were accused at Robespierre's instance, found guilty and executed. Danton, giving way it would seem to some impulse towards laziness inherent in his nature, let himself be crushed, and died along with Camille Desmoulins on 31st of March, 1794, and at last Robespierre was both in reality and appearance supreme. On the 8th of June he inaugurated his new worship by his feast of the Supreme Being, but did not follow it up by any diminution in the number of batches for the guillotine; and ominous grumbings began to be heard. According to a story current, Carnot got by accident at a list of 40 to be arrested, among whom he read his own name. On the 26th July, Robespierre was met by unexpected opposition in the Convention. The next day he was decreed accused at the Convention, and Henriot deposed from the commandship of the National Guard; but there was a respite which a more ready man, a man of military instinct at least, might have used. Robespierre lacked that instinct; Henriot failed miserably in his attempt to crush the Convention. The insurrectionary troops on being appealed to by the Convention, wavered and gave way, and Robespierre was arrested. In fact, Robespierre seems to have worn out the patience of the people by his continued executions. Had he proclaimed an amnesty after his Feast of the Supreme Being, he would have had a much longer lease of power; as it was he and his tail died on the 28th July.

<sup>1</sup> A curious exemplification of the change in the speed of the transmission of news, is given by the fact that *The Times* published the first news of this fall of Robespierre three weeks after the event.

There was nothing left to carry on the Revolution after this but a knot of self-seeking politicians of the usual type; they had only to keep matters going till they were ready for the dictator who could organise for his own purposes people and army, and who came in the shape of Napoleon. The proletarians were no longer needed as allies, and disunited, ignorant of principles, and used to trust to leaders, they could make no head against the Society which they had shaken indeed, owing to its internal dissensions, but which they were not yet able to destroy.

One event only there remains to be mentioned; the attempt of Babœuf and his followers to get a proletarian republic recognised; it has been called an insurrection, but it never came to that, being crushed while it was yet only the beginning of a propaganda. Babœuf and his followers were brought to trial in April, 1796. He and Darthes were condemned to death, but killed themselves before the sentence could be carried out. Ten others were condemned to prison and exile; and so ended the first Socialist propaganda.

It is commonly said that Napoleon crushed the Revolution, but what he really did was to put on it the final seal of law and order. The Revolution was set on foot by the middle-classes in their own interests; the sentence which Napoleon accepted as the expression of his aims, "la carrière ouverte aux talens"—"the career thrown open to talent"—is the motto of middle-class supremacy. It implies the overthrow of aristocratic privilege and the setting up in its place of the money-aristocracy, founded on the privilege of exploitation, amidst a world of so-called "free competition." The Middle-class, the first beginnings of which we saw formed in the Middle Ages, after a long and violent struggle has conquered and is supreme from henceforth.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued).

## PROFESSION VERSUS HANDICRAFT.

It is a very common point for anti-Socialists in discussion to cite the case of our leading professional men, and ask will such men be content to have their day's labour classed with that of the mechanic—can it be expected that Socialism should be applied to them—men who now fairly earn their thousands a-year? At first sight it would seem a stumbling-block to the equalisation of all employment. The fact that our eminent professional men command such high salaries only points out that good physicians, surgeons, engineers, architects, etc., are scarce, although the learned professions are overstocked, and overstocked, to a great extent, with intellectual failures. This is due to our present commercial system, as I shall now try to prove.

It is generally admitted and acknowledged by our middle and upper classes—that is, by the class who live on what is commonly called private property, or even partially live on it—that manual labour in the United Kingdom is degrading, although when they are driven, through misfortune, to go to the colonies, Canada, or the United States, they rapidly change their minds on this subject. The middle-class don't object to their sons being shepherds, providing it is beyond the seas somewhere. The consequence is that those who can afford it put their sons into the "gentle callings." Parents and guardians never ask the question, "Has this youth the intellectual capacity for this profession?" or "Is he socially and morally fitted for this work?" No; it is simply a question of money. The only questions that are asked are, "What will it cost to make him a doctor?" "Can I support him until he gets a practice?" A youth can be made a doctor for so much. Some of our leading engineers will take pupils for from three to five hundred pounds per annum; and after three to five years they are turned out on the world as civil engineers. From this system it will be seen how the professions are overstocked with mental failures.

It would be waste of time to cite the cases of doctors who have hated their work from the time they entered the dissecting-room. Many medical men have come to grief, not because they were bad men, but simply from the fact that the work did not suit their intellectual and moral organisation. Apart from the formation of the forehead—and a certain formation is necessary to make a good surgeon—there are moral and social faculties which must be taken into account before a man is qualified to attend to the young, the feeble, and the helpless.

All men are good, providing they are employed on the occupation suited to their intellectual, moral, and social characteristics.

It will be now seen why some professional men are so eminent. They happen to be suited for the work their friends put them to, consequently they are successful; but how about the others?

I should think that under a Socialistic system better means would be adopted for making doctors, engineers, architects, etc., than are in vogue at present.

H. C. D.

"THESE ARE THE GESE."—A correspondent writes to the *Daily News*:—"Anent your article on Colonel Makins referring to his extraordinary announcement 'that 80 years ago Ireland had no railways,' I may remark that so wonderful and sage a statement was capped by another not perhaps quite so marvellous, but certainly equally as true, by one of his supporters, a pseudo-working man named Copley, the secretary, I believe, of the Conservative Club at Walthamstow, who, in the course of a diatribe against Mr. Gladstone, said—'What should we do without gentlemen? How should we be paid our wages if it were not for the gentlemen? You have all of you heard of the goose that laid the golden egg. Well, gentlemen, these (turning dramatically to Colonel Makins and his friends on the platform) are the geese.'"

## SONGS FOR THE PEOPLE.

### II.—THE COMING OF THE LIGHT.

TUNE—"The rising of the Moon."

Hark! the sound of many voices proclaims the dawn of day,  
And in the glow of morning the shadows fade away;  
Lo! the trumpet call is ringing, and the sky is clear and bright,  
And your masters flee in terror at the coming of the light.  
O, the coming of the light! O, the coming of the light!  
Lo! your masters flee in terror at the coming of the light.

March! march! ye swarming myriads, from the alley and the slum,  
See, the gods of this world tremble with a fear that strikes them dumb.  
Arm! arm! then, and make ready. Ye know that might is right!  
And the workers' strength shall prove it at the coming of the light.  
O, the coming of the light! O, the coming of the light!  
And the workers' strength shall prove it at the coming of the light.

Raise again the blood-red banner, that your masters fear to see,  
With the Phrygian cap upon it that tells of liberty.  
Once, more, then, raise that banner, short and brief shall be the fight,  
For the people march to battle at the coming of the light.  
O, the coming of the light! O, the coming of the light!  
When the people march to battle at the coming of the light.

Now, beneath the rule of robbers the world grows sad and old,  
The people bound and fettered by a chain of glittering gold;  
But when the trumpet soundeth, the world shall see a sight,  
The golden chain is broken, at the coming of the light.  
O, the coming of the light! O, the coming of the light!  
The golden chain is broken at the coming of the light.

D. NICOLL.

## LITERARY NOTICES.

*Die Neue Zeit*, of Evansville (Ind.) U.S.A., has ceased to exist. Started under what were apparently promising auspices and run with a good deal of sagacity and enterprise it has, after a brief career, shared the fate of so many other pioneers and "gone under."

The *Irish World*, the paper which was honoured by the English Government with an interdiction upon its being allowed to enter England, and for fear of whose trenchant attacks have been adopted the tactics put in force by their predecessors against Mazzini and Garibaldi—the "Grahamising" of the mails—is not only an alert and vigorous foe of English misrule in Ireland, but also takes an advanced stand upon all labour-matters. Its editor and his staff have a pretty thorough grip of social economics, and are educating their clients to see that merely political liberty leaves a good lot yet to be striven for. "Hence these tears" on the part of our rulers, who have given to Patrick Ford's outspoken paper the proudly unique position of being the one in the wide world forbidden to enter our free and happy land!

"It is to be regretted that the failings of the other sex so often compel a woman after marriage to support her family," etc., etc.—(Boston) *Woman's Journal*. It is to be regretted that women offer their labour for a lower price in the market and undersell their husbands. It is also to be regretted that the woman's suffrage advocates do not go a little deeper into the economic causes of woman's position to-day instead of wasting their breath in abusing the male animal.—M. M.

We are sometimes accused of ill-nature when we hint that the disinterested benevolence which prompts mercantile folk to support foreign missions is not quite "all wool," and that besides the advertisement secured in solid papers, there is withal a good return for their investments in this direction. In alluding to the advent of an interesting stranger at one of the outlying military posts in Burmah, *Allen's Indian Mail* of 12th inst. says: "It was then ascertained that he was a missionary who had just made an adventurous journey from China. Possibly he may have gone over a portion of the ground that will be used in opening up a trade route between Burmah and China; but in any case he will doubtless be able to give information which will be of great service in establishing commercial relations between the two countries, and the trader will once more be indebted to the missionary as a pioneer." Just so!—S.

WHAT IS MURDER?—"Does murder become sanctified in proportion to its likelihood of resulting in wholesale massacre?" This important question is asked by that highly respectable Conservative organ the *Globe*, in a more than usually eloquent article on the extradition treaty between England and America. To this one can only reply that that entirely depends by whom the murder is committed. If a few individuals come over here and use dynamite and thereby endanger the personal safety of a Tory minister, we can understand that the action is a very wicked one, and those individuals should be immediately suppressed by all the resources that civilisation has at its back, in the shape of spies, policemen, prisons, and rope. But when a civilised government sends its troops armed and equipped with all the appliances that can be furnished by military science, to destroy the "life and property" of Arabs and Burmese, that of course is highly laudable; murder is "sanctified," "wholesale massacres" become "glorious victories," and decorations, pensions, and titles are showered upon the chiefs of the "civilised" banditti. The future, however, will decide who are the greater criminals; whether they are the men driven mad by tyranny and oppression—men who see all justice denied them, their wives and children starving, that their landlords and their governors might riot in riches and luxury—or the scoundrels who sit in high places and send their slaves and lackeys to do the deeds they dare not do themselves.—D. N.

"The ordinary Chinese peasant is far better off than the agricultural serf in England. And if some of the Chinaman's homes seem squalid to herd in, they are at any rate better than the dens which some English and Irish landlords think good enough for their Christian brothers. In England, too, how often will you see a peasant tilling his own land? How often will you find a peasant, who has any hope of possessing property, or any notion of any right except the right for which he struggles hard—a share in the public aims?"—"The Cruise of the Bacchante," by Prince Edward and Prince George of Wales.



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance should be attached to them because of the position they may occupy in these pages. None, therefore, are to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

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All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

#### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 28.

ENGLAND	San Francisco (Cal.)—Truth	HOLLAND: Recht voor Allen
Daylight (Norwich)	Petersburg (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	HUNGARY: Buda-Pest—Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Justice	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	ITALY: Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Free thinker	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Brescia—Parfarello primo
Club and Institute Journal	Portland (Oregon)—Alarm	PORTUGAL: O Campino
UNITED STATES	Paterson (N.J.)—Labor Standard	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
New York—Volkszeitung	FRANCE	Voz do Operario
Der Sozialist	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	SPAIN: El Angel del Hogar
Freiheit	Le Revolte	Acracia (Barcelona) [mana
John Swinton's Paper	Le Socialiste	Barcelona—La Justicia Hu-
Truthseeker	Guisse—Le Devoir	Madrid—El Socialista
Boston—Woman's Journal	INDIA: Madras—People's Friend	Bandera Social
Denver (Col.)—Labor Inquirer	Allahabad—People's Budget	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Little Socialist	Bombay—Times of India	Huelva—La Perseverancia
Detroit (Mich.)—Labor Leaf	Bombay Gazette	SWITZERLAND: Zurich—Sozial
Toledo (O.)—Industrial News		Demokrat

RECEIVED.—"The Axe is Laid unto the Root"—"Earl Morley on Socialism"—"Moderation."

#### ENGINEERS' ANNUAL REPORT—1885.

THE Report of the Amalgamated Engineers is neither hopeful for the trade nor creditable to the Secretary. Mr. Burnett tries hard, but vainly, to put a bright face on the state of affairs. The admitted fact is that last year was in all respects the worst the Society has yet felt in the course of its thirty-five years of life, except 1879. Yet 1885 was a peaceful year, there being no great dispute on except the fag-end of the Sunderland strike, while 1879 was a year famous for many and bitter disputes. Last year £78,669 were spent in donations, etc., to members out of work. This figure was never before reached, except in 1879, nor was any other year but that within £12,000 of it. A striking fact, not alluded to by the secretary, is that while the last six months of 1879 showed a hopeful tendency, the last six months of 1885 show a tendency for the worse—that is, the misfortunes of 1879 were passing away, while those of 1885 have been steadily deepening. During the last three years our trade in engineering products with Russia, Germany, Holland, France, Belgium, United States, and British North America and South Africa, has fallen heavily. Only in the cases of Egypt and India is there anything like a respectable improvement; and no doubt the people of both countries curse us and our products heartily and frequently enough. In the face of these facts Mr. Burnett assures us, with a Giffen-Levi like suavity, that we are not so badly off after all. He admits that we cannot expect the increase in our trade to go on as it has been doing; but he also prophesies that the national trade will certainly revive. There is no reason given for this expectation; and as every sign at present shows the other way, we cannot put much trust in it.

The Employers' Association is quietly preparing to fight the unions. Their first move will be to establish a uniform wage—of course by the process of levelling downwards. Mr. Burnett proposes to meet this by a counter effort to level upwards, but does not show how it can be done. It is very well to say, "Increase the organisation," but any extraordinary increase is impossible while the depression is deepening and the subscription to the Union is increasing. The trades' unions may as well recognise that all they ever did was to raise wages when the market was rising, and they cannot fully resist reductions

when the markets are falling. In fact, trades'-unionism fails at the point where it is most needed, and this must be so while its aim is a mere increase of wages.

This point is the one overlooked by the leaders of the trades'-union movement. While trade is good, work fairly plentiful, and the competition between capitalists for the market not over keen, the trades' unions may force wages up or prevent reductions to a slight extent. This has been the position of the trade and the unions for the past forty years. But now things are changed. Trade is falling as rapidly as it once increased; work is far from plentiful, as is proved by the great number of unemployed on the list; and, most important of all, the engineers of other countries are trying to drive us out of our markets. We cannot butcher the Germans, French, Belgians, and Americans, as we do the Egyptians and Soudanese; so we must compete with them by lowering our prices, and hence lowering wages. To raise wages while trade is declining is impossible, and the only resource is to drive the capitalists out of possession, or fall back upon the miserable alternative of becoming a mere sick and funeral club, and letting the capitalists do as they please.

The total reserve-fund has decreased £43,688 during the year, the present reserve being £2, 6s. 1d. per member. There has been a fairly satisfactory increase of members, but the income has gone down £12,000. A delegate meeting to revise the rules cost £7,486! The Society's expenditure in superannuating, sick-nursing, and burying increases, while its efforts in fighting the capitalist become more and more feeble. The reduction in the spring of this year was scarcely even questioned. Indeed, Mr. Burnett played into the masters' hands in a suspicious manner by publicly announcing at the critical moment that the reserve-fund was rapidly ebbing away. This action, and the remarks on the report he has issued at a time like the present, stamp Mr. Burnett as an incompetent and spiritless official. However, too much must not be expected from Mr. Burnett. He will be so busy with the Government places lately given to him that he will have little time and less anxiety to give to the work of the trades' unions. In the report there is never a suggestion that the members should discuss or try to find out the cause of these depressions in trade; never a word of hope for any of them who might be trying to find a way out of this miserable scramble for a paltry living; and, worst of all, this last year's report, like its predecessors, gives not the faintest inkling that the leaders of this great working-class movement have any idea of trying to bring about the abolition of that competitive system which they so often condemn.

J. L. MAHON (Amalgamated Engineers).

#### RUSKIN AS A REVOLUTIONARY PREACHER.

##### III.

If there be any readers of these "pearls strung together," with interest enough to care for accuracy, let me ask them to take out the quotation marks of the first sentence of No. I., and for "Gladstone" last line but four, p. 102, read "Goschen." I am sorry for this mistake, because I have an especial dislike to Goschen above that for most of the so-called leaders, which dislike I am a little glad Ruskin has. 'Fors' No. 23, Nov. 1872, opens, for instance, with a short quotation from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of 21st October, 1872: "Mr. Goschen is the one man to whom, and to whom alone, we can look even for permission to retain our power at sea," and Ruskin wonders what Sir Francis Drake would have thought of such a piece of news; and any man may wonder at any nation depending on one man—and such a man—"for even permission to retain" anything.

This particular 'Fors' (23) is occupied with dealing in most complex fashion with the great Athenian Squire Theseus, the labyrinth or maze, the House that Jack built, and Dante's Hell—the whole of which he makes bear on our subject of political economy, and all of which helps me back to 'Unto this Last,' Essay III., entitled "Qui Judicatis Terram," "Ye who judge the earth," the rest of the sentence being, as in the writings of a pre-Christian Jew merchant, "give diligent love to justice,"—which, as Ruskin goes to prove, is a quite unusual thing.

(21) "The merchant says, 'He that oppreseth the poor to increase his riches shall surely come to want.' And again, more strongly: 'Rob not the poor because he is poor, neither oppress the afflicted in the place of business. For God shall spoil the soul of those that spoiled them.'"

(22) "This 'robbing the poor because he is poor,' is especially the mercantile form of theft, consisting in taking advantage of a man's necessities in order to obtain his labour or property at a reduced price. The ordinary highwayman's opposite form of robbery—of the rich, because he is rich—does not appear to occur so often to the old merchant's mind; probably because, being less profitable and more dangerous than the robbery of the poor, it is rarely practised by persons of discretion." (P. 70.)

More than once does our writer argue that the bold open robbery by force is the better of two evils—the highwayman a better man than the trickster, even though the latter has a legal sanction.

Writing against war, 'Fors' No. 7, July 1871, p. 18:

(23) "But war between nations (thieves and fools though they be) is not necessarily in all respects evil. I gave you that long extract from Froissart to show you, mainly that Theft in its simplicity—however sharp and rude, yet if frankly done and bravely—does not corrupt men's souls; and they can, in a foolish but quite vital and faithful way, keep the feast of the Virgin Mary in the midst of it."

(24) "But Occult Theft—Theft which hides itself even from itself, and is legal, respectable, and cowardly, corrupts the body and soul of man, to the last fibre of them. And the guilty Thieves of Europe, the real sources of



all deadly war in it, are the Capitalists,—that is to say, people who live by percentages or the labour of others; instead of by fair wages for their own. The *Real* war in Europe, of which this fighting in Paris is the Inauguration, is between these and the workman, such as these have made him. They have kept him poor, ignorant, and sinful, that they might, without his knowledge, gather for themselves the produce of his toil. At last, a dim insight into the fact of this dawn on him; and such as they have made him, he meets them, and *will* meet."

Now let me be your Virgil and lead you back to No. 23, with its Dante, and Hell, and Goschen:

(25) "That Hell, which so many people think the only place Dante gives any account of (yet seldom know his account even of that) was, he tells you, divided into upper, midmost, and nether pits. You usually lose sight of this main division of it, in the more complex one of the nine circles; but remember, these are divided in diminishing proportion: six of them are the upper hell, two the midmost, one the lowest. The deepening orders of sin, in the nine circles are briefly these:—1. Unredeemed Nature; 2. Lust; 3. Gluttony; 4. Avarice; 5. Discontent; 6. Heresy; 7. Open Violence; 8. Fraudful Violence; 9. Treachery." (P. 19).

The uppermost and least dreadful hell, he says, contains the first six which are sins that essentially hurt the *sinner* most.

(26) "Then the two lower hells are for those who have wilfully done mischief to other people. And of these some do open injury, and some deceitful injury, and of these the rogues are put the lower; but there is a greater distinction in the manner of sin, than its simplicity or roguery: namely, whether it be done in hot blood or cold blood. The injurious sins, done in hot blood—that is to say, under the influence of passion—are in the midmost hell; but the sins done in cold blood, without passion, or, more accurately, contrary to passion, far down *below* the freezing point, are put in the lowest hell, the ninth circle . . . in the same way that Dante was. . . . I have myself been taken far enough down among the diminished circles to see this nether hell—the hell of Traitors; and to know, what people do not usually know of treachery, that it is not the fraud, but the *cold-heartedness* which is chiefly dreadful in it. Therefore, this nether hell is of ice, not fire; and of ice that nothing can break." (P. 21.)

Surely in the light of this some of the great have secured a place in Hell No. 9; men who for years have used place and power to keep their fellows ignorant, who dole out occasional cheques to the poor, whom by treachery and fraud they are making poorer and yet poorer; posing as philanthropists while making vast sums by contracts for soft swords and bayonets to arm cheap soldiers to be exported—say to Egypt, to defend traitor's interests. Cold-hearted traitors are they who use the wives of the cheap soldiers to make shoddy clothing, too common to reach even the soldiers it is sent out to. Cold-heartedness! If any readers of *Commonweal* have not done it, let them read Seymour Keay's 'Spoiling the Egyptians.' Consider the heart of any man who at one and the same moment stood before the world as creditor, counsel, judge, adviser to the debtor, dictator of terms, and director of armies and navies to enforce them. The intense hardness and coldness of heart induced by our commercialism, capitalism, and hunger for exploitation, seem to have completely obliterated any feeling akin to honest indignation, or surely some would "shiver with indignation," and something more would have been heard of the scandalous story mentioned in the *Daily News* in March and April.

In 'Fors,' No. 44, August, 1874, p. 178, speaking of capitalists as money-lenders, he says:

(27) "There is nothing more monstrous in any recorded savagery or absurdity of mankind, than that governments should be able to get money for any folly they choose to commit, by selling to capitalists the right of taxing future generations to the end of time. All the cruellest wars inflicted, all the basest luxuries grasped by the idle classes, are thus paid for by the poor a hundred times over."

But the full monstrousness of this absurdity does not to me seem to be grasped, until we consider—that the power to order or cause the spending; the spending, and the profit from it; and the lending, and the profit from that, all are in the hands of the same few. Consider, for instance, and appoint a place in the nine circles for a man, drawing immense wages from the workers of one country (A), professedly, to protect them against the workers of another (B), selling, however, all the time his best work to the capitalists of B, that they in turn may be able to exploit the workers of B to threaten those of A.

In the time of Drake and Froissart, generals, admirals, governors, have been shot for a less crime than this I now refer to, all done by our captains of industry under the fetish "Free Trade" and "Freedom of Contract." Instead of shooting we send them to the House of Lords.

This is the "science" of ordinary political economists:

(28) "He calls it shortly, 'the science of getting rich.' But there are many sciences, as well as many arts, of getting rich. Poisoning people of large estates, was one employed largely in the Middle Ages; adulteration of food of people of small estates, is one employed largely now. The ancient and honourable Highland method of black mail; the more modern and less honourable system of obtaining goods on credit, and the other variously improved methods of appropriation—which, in major and minor scales of industry, down to the most artistic pocket-picking, we owe to recent genius,—all come under the general head of sciences, or arts, of getting rich." ('Unto this Last,' Essay III., p. 76.)

"Love of Justice" is the main point of Essay III., and he speedily shows how little of that is extant:

(29) "Money payment . . . consists radically in a promise to some person working for us, that for the time and labour he spends in our service to-day we will give or procure equivalent time and labour in his service at any future time he may demand it" (p. 81). "When we ask a service of any man, he may either give it us freely or demand payment for it. Respecting free gift of service, there is no question at present, that being a matter of affection—not of traffic. But if he demand payment for it, and we wish to

treat him with absolute equity, it is evident that this equity can only consist in giving time for time, strength for strength, and skill for skill." [Just fancy asking one of the Marlborough family to expend his skill and strength on such terms, or a Duke of Bedford giving hour for hour!] "If a man works an hour for us and we only promise to work half-an-hour for him in return, we obtain an unjust advantage. If, on the contrary, we promise to work an hour and a-half for him in return, he has an unjust advantage." [But he urges this mostly to be agreed to.] "The justice consists in absolute exchange; or, if there be any respect to the stations of the parties, it will not be in favour of the employer. There is certainly no equitable reason in a man's being poor, that if he give me a pound of bread to-day, I should return him less than a pound of bread to-morrow; or any equitable reason in a man's being uneducated, that if he uses a certain quantity of skill and knowledge in my service, I should use a less quantity of skill and knowledge in his. Perhaps, ultimately, it may appear desirable, or, to say the least, gracious, that I should give in return somewhat more than I received. But at present, we are concerned on the law of justice only, which is that of perfect and accurate exchange." (Pp. 82, 83.)

One is forced to ejaculate "Vot a larks!" Could the position of the wholesale exploiter be better exposed than by suggesting that every one on a works of two thousand hands should ask of the exploiter an exact return in time-labour for the labour rendered. The enormous discrepancy between the wage of the worker and the "Organiser" can not be more plainly put. To many of the bourgeois it will be tolerably revolutionary to suggest such exchange as above; but when he carries the argument on, as he does, to show that labour is a loan, which should bring its whole interest to the worker and *not* to the exploiter—this too, while always *against* interest, shows what manner of preacher we have to deal with.

The importance of the rest of his argument warrants more space than is now open, so it must be held over.

Seeing the manner in which Ruskin flies off at a tangent from time to time, and that he will drive home an argument by an instance apparently very remote, I shall number the quotations as if from the first. This I think may save trouble, as sometimes a sentence or quotation which cannot be conveniently broken deals with a matter of other concern, and may be of point later on.

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

## OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM.

(A Reply to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P.)

VII.

(Continued from p. 118.)

ONE of our most constant, and, I think, one of our most just causes of complaint against antagonist critics, is their habit of reading into the conditions of the future the conditions of to-day. The habit is fatal to anything like dispassionate argument. As a double example of it, let me take two questions put by the writer of this pamphlet. They are apparently suggested by the fact that Socialists propose to do away with the power of capital, in the hands of a private individual, to buy labour-power—i.e., to purchase slaves. Of course, if labour-power were in all cases fully remunerated, and received the equivalent of the value it had added to the commodity, this particular objection to capitalism would not hold. But since we know (and our opponents know) this is not the case, and since we know (and our opponents know) this never will be the case, as long as the capitalist class has command of all the means of production and the labour class has command of none,—we are bound (and our opponents are logically bound) to antagonise private property in anything that can give one man the power of exploiting another.

Let us now see what are the two questions to which this idea gives rise. "Does [it] mean that £30 saved by an artisan would not be attacked so long as he kept it useless, but that if he deposited it with a banker who used it in industrial enterprise, or if he invested it in railway shares, it would be forfeited?" That is question No. 1; and you will see the charming confusion of what is now and what will be hereafter that runs through it. In that hereafter, no such hideous thing as a banker who pays interest out of other men's unpaid labour; no such thing as a railway share, the dividend on which is paid out of other men's unpaid labour to some one who has done nothing to earn it, will be conceivable. Is there not, in this connexion, something irresistibly comic, but for the tragedy of it, in the idea of a banker "using" money "in industrial enterprise"? A pretty euphemism this for the calling of one who simply directs money unearned by him into channels whence it returns bearing with it a surplus-value equally unearned by him!

But mark next that word "useless," and see in it the unconscious confession that in our society of to-day the one use of money is to buy other men's bodies and wring from these unpaid labour. If this criticism seems harsh, let us ask Mr. Bradlaugh if he thinks the artisan's £30 is useful if going out from him in, say, industrial enterprise or in railroad-making, it comes back to him as exactly £30, and not £31 10s.? And let us further ask him, what is the source of the extra £1 10s.? Alas! to these questions we shall have no answer save from Socialist lips. The source of the extra £1 10s. is unpaid labour. The £30 going out and coming back as £30 might yet have been useful. But the moment it comes back with a farthing more than itself, it ceases to be useful simply; it becomes injurious by an amount roughly measurable by the amount of the surplus-value it brings home with it. Not stopping, for the moment, to enquire too curiously into the usual methods by which money—£30, or more—is "saved," this much we can say. A man may have the right to use that money and get for it

its exact equivalent, neither more nor less; but no man can have the right to receive for such money as he may advance one penny more than its equivalent.

"Oh, but the £30 is his. He has earned it; he has saved it!" cries the apologist for Society.

"Be it so, if you will. The £30 is his. He has earned it. He has saved it. Let him have £30. But the £1 10s., that is not his. He has not earned it. He has not saved it. And to that he has no right."

Money then, £30 or otherwise, is not attacked when it is invested in other men's paid labour, because it is useless or useful; but because it is injurious to the community.

The second question runs thus: "If an artisan may, out of the fruits of his labour, buy for £3 and keep as his own a silver watch, why is the £3 to be confiscated when it gets into the hands of the Cheapside or Cornhill watch-dealer?" Note the irony of the phrase, "out of the fruits of his labour." What is really meant is, "out of the fraction of the fruits of his labour he receives as wages." If the artisan with his £3 gets the equivalent of £3, no more and no less, in the name of honesty let him keep the £3 or their equivalent, be it watch, or food, or clothes. But if he even thinks to get out of the unpaid labour of his fellows 3s., and to make his pounds, guineas, then in the name of honesty confiscate the 3s. The watch-dealer is almost sure to use his £3 to exploit others. How else can he pay Cheapside or Cornhill rents, to say nothing of the family house at Brixton, and maybe a villa at St. John's Wood? But if he will only use his £3 to get their exact equivalent, £3, there need be no talk of confiscation. It is the 3s. that must be confiscated, though if artisan or dealer refuses to take this equitable view of things, and insists upon his right to do what he will with his own, even to the extent of doing what they will not with other people's labour-power, then Society will have to take from him even that which he hath, just as it takes from a man his own knife if he persists in using it to the injury of others.

Once again, then, and let me hope (against hope) for the last time, what we attack is that private property in the means of production, that gives its owner the power to buy human labour-power, to remunerate it inadequately, and to live on the products of unpaid labour.

EDWARD AVELING.

(To be continued.)

### CROFTER INSURRECTION IN TIREE.

ANOTHER naval expedition against the Crofters! Her Majesty's gunboat *Assistance* ordered to proceed to Tiree! Such is the news that afflicts the ears of the law-abiding portion of the people of Scotland at this moment. While waiting for "developments," as the American humourists have it, I may as well state briefly the circumstances that have brought about this "deplorable" affair.

The Island of Tiree is situated somewhat north of the disaffected Island of Skye, and is the sole property of his grace the Duke of Argyll. Some time ago the lease of a large farm expired, and a new tenant in the person of a farmer, who already possesses two large farms on the island, was accepted by the Duke. There happens, however, to be a Branch of the "Land Law Reform Association" on the island, which is much more vigorous and revolutionary than its name would suggest. When the day came for the old tenant to hand over the keys to the new tenant, the land law reformers interposed and took possession of the keys. Forthwith they invited a number of the poorer crofters and cottars to place their cattle upon the land and take joint possession—which said crofters and cottars immediately did. It is but fair to state that application for the farm on behalf of the crofters had previously been made to the duke, which application had been refused; and also, that the crofters and cottars who took possession had agreed to pay the full rent. An order for ejectment of the "squatters," as they are legally designated, was subsequently obtained from the Court of Session, and last week a large force of constables were despatched from Glasgow to protect the sheriff officer in serving the notices to quit. The Tiree people, who had already evinced a hopeful communistic tendency in the method of acquiring and disposing of the land, are gifted also it would appear with a healthy propensity to revolutionary rather than constitutional methods of reform. When the officers of the law made their appearance with the "Queen's writs," the crofters, with their sons, wives, and daughters gathered as of old in battle array, and made such an effective display of their earnestness and power, that the "officers" prudently gave up the attempt to serve the writs, and betook themselves away from the scene.

Now the alarming intelligence is over the land that the crofters are in "revolt," and that they have openly defied the law and deforced its officers. The most recent information is that a gunboat and marines have been dispatched to quell the disturbance and bring the "misguided" people of the island to a just appreciation of the majesty of the law and the sacred rights of property. On the other hand, we hear that the crofters are burnishing up their old guns and swords, that the blacksmiths on the island are forging rude forms of bayonets, and that the women are collecting large heaps of stones—all with the view of preventing her majesty's forces having an easy "walk over" on the island. What the upshot will be it is not easy to prophesy, as the Highlanders, like their Celtic brethren in Ireland, have a remarkable faculty for bamboozling, when they cannot successfully combat, the unexhausted resources of civilisation and law. One thing I may say, that the heartiest sympathy and wishes for "good speed" of all Socialists are with the bold and seditious little band of crofters and cottars in Tiree.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

"A DANIEL COME TO JUDGMENT."—The writer of a leaderette in Wednesday's *Daily News*, concludes with the following sapient advice to the crofters: "The Crofter's Act of last Session does not give satisfaction to the crofters, and probably no Act would. But they must obey the law, and trust to Parliament for justice." Can the force of folly further go? And so the crofters are simply to wait patiently and endure their fleecing quietly till the House of Monopolists can find time to pass another useless Act of Parliament, to be followed in its turn by yet another and another. Truly, to use the writer's own words, "such a course is, as Dogberry has it, 'most tolerable and not to be endured.'"—T. B.

### SOCIALISM IN MARYLEBONE.

Prosecution of Socialists for speaking in Bell Street—A Member of the League committed for Trial at the Sessions.

At Marylebone Police Court on July 24, S. Mainwaring appeared to answer to adjourned summonses charging him with causing obstruction in Bell Street and in Fernhead Road. Mr. Poland was hired by the Treasury to conduct the prosecution. A summons was also out against J. E. Williams (S. D. F.) on a similar charge. Mr. Poland asked the magistrate to put up the defendants for trial together. Mainwaring and Williams' counsel protested against such a procedure on the very reasonable ground that they were charged for offences on different dates and at different places. Mr. Poland said that there evidently was a connexion between the defendants, which is utterly untrue, and which not a solitary scrap of evidence was brought forward to prove. The magistrate, Mr. Cooke, decided to put both the defendants in the dock together.

Then came a very curious proceeding on the part of Mr. Poland. He sprung a charge on Mainwaring for which he had not been summoned, and which, in fact, he never heard of until he was in the dock. The charge was that on the forenoon and evening of July 18 he spoke in Bell Street. The evidence given showed he was on a stool for half a minute in the morning, and not more than five minutes in the evening. Mainwaring at this point protested against being charged in court with offences for which he had not been summoned. The protest was ignored by Mr. Cooke, and this very unfair advantage was taken by Mr. Poland.

In Mr. Poland's opening speech he said that it was merely a case of obstruction. The defendants were creating a nuisance, and it must be put a stop to. There was no desire to interfere with freedom of speech. The untruth of this statement was made very clear before the proceedings were over. It would be awkward for Mr. Poland to prosecute a man for speaking to his fellow-citizens, so he is prosecuted for causing an obstruction. It appeared from the evidence of the witnesses that on ordinary occasions no substantial obstruction occurred, although on the evening of the 18th a real obstruction took place, and that the meeting of the 18th was an exceptional one, caused by the police interference; and it was quite clear that if police interference ceased the meetings would resume their usual dimensions and cause no real obstruction. The extent of the nuisance was shown by the petition got up by the publican Hillier. Hillier, who it was hinted in court was under obligations to the police, had made great exertions to get up a petition, and had at last succeeded in getting twelve signatures. Whether these twelve signed of their own freewill, or whether the signatories were under obligations to publican Hillier for unpaid scores, or to the police, did not come out in the evidence.

It was shown that religious meetings were held in the same street and were not interfered with—because, Mr. Poland alleged, they caused no obstruction. It was pointed out, in answer to this, that while the meeting of July 18 did cause an obstruction (it was an extraordinary meeting, convened by handbills, to protest against police interference), ordinary Socialist meetings caused no more obstruction than religious ones. It is to be considered in this matter whether the 3000 or 4000 persons who were interested in the demonstration should have to cave in to the twelve persons who objected, or whether those twelve should not have to submit to a little inconvenience.

In spite of the evidence brought forward to show the very partial manner in which some of the sects had been treated compared with the Socialists, both defendants were committed for trial. Here again the great anxiety on the part of Mr. Poland to get a conviction at once was shown. He asked that the prisoners should be committed to the Middlesex Sessions for trial on July 26, the next legal day after their trial in the police-court. In Mainwaring's case the unfairness was of the grossest kind, as the charges were sprung on him in court on the afternoon of the 24th. To prepare his defence in a proper manner is thus clearly impossible, unless the judge at Middlesex Sessions grants an adjournment. It would appear that any treatment, no matter how unfair, is good enough for working-men Socialists who try to gain converts.

After Mainwaring and Williams' case was over, William Morris appeared to answer a summons for obstructing the queen's highway in Bell Street, on the morning of July the 8th. Mr. Poland tried "soft sawder" on Morris. "As a gentleman he would at once see, when it was pointed out to him, that such meetings were a nuisance, and that he would desist from taking part in them." He thought a fine would meet Morris's case. Morris did not seem to look at the matter in Mr. Poland's way at all, and showed as clearly as possible from the evidence of a policeman named Shepherd, that no real obstruction had been caused; and hence of course no nuisance. One witness stated in court that at the meeting he observed a group of persons, evidently in connexion with the police, trying to get up a disturbance so as to discredit the Socialist meeting. This may seem incredible to some readers, but it is surprising that Mr. Poland did not venture to cross-examine the witness on the point. If this is true, as it appears to be, it is time for Englishmen to bestir themselves, else their boasted freedom will be a complete fiction, as it now is in great part. Mr. Poland thought a fine would meet Morris's case; the magistrate Mr. Cooke, who appeared a kind of Jack-in-the-Box, to do whatever he was told by the Treasury prosecutor, thought a fine would do, so he was fined 1s. and expenses, and this for exactly the same offence as Mainwaring was sent to Middlesex Sessions for.

A. K. DONALD.

"Are you going to strike?" asked the boss boiler maker, as he met his men coming out of the yard with their coats on. "No," replied the leader, "we are going to stop striking until our wages are raised."—*Industrial News*.

ON THE CARS.—One cold night last winter I jumped on the front platform of a Fourth Avenue car at Eighteenth Street. The driver was half dead and trying to blow a little warmth into his fast numbing fingers. I passed the time of night with him, and somehow we got into conversation. "Been long on the road?" says I. "Fifteen years," says he. "You must be a favourite with the company," says I. "Yes, I am," says he: "you see that old grey horse—that nigh one there?" "I do," says I. "I am a favourite with the company," says he: "last winter the old grey fell sick. So did I. The company sent for a doctor for the horse, and sent me notice to quit. I'm a — of a favourite!"—*American Paper*.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES.

## AMERICA.

Seventy girls in a New York feather factory have struck against a reduction in wages. In February they received 18 cents a yard for feather-sewing. Then wages were reduced to 12 cents a yard, and lately a further reduction of 2 cents was ordered. When told of the proposed reduction, the girls stopped work and left the building.

The cigarmakers, painters and tailors locked out of several establishments in Boston will start co-operative shops.

Sixteen hundred employing barbers of Chicago have acceded to the demand of their employes for shorter hours of labour.

The letter carriers of New York have held a mass meeting to take steps toward the enforcement in their case of the National eight-hour law.

A monster meeting of working people, held in New York on Wednesday July 7, denounced Judge Barrett, who recently sentenced the boycotters to Sing Sing. They also denounced the jury who rendered a verdict of guilty without the shadow of law for the same.

## FRANCE.

The agitation in Marseilles against the reactionaries, augmented by some dispatches in the *Soleil du Midi*, has been continued for several days, and finally, a collision took place with the police, in which several men were wounded. The public blame the excessive zeal of the police, whose maladroitness has given to this affair a serious character, which otherwise it would not have had. The Socialists of Marseilles have, of course, regarded the affair from afar, and have taken no part for or against.

In the glass-makers' strike at Lyons, only 100 men have gone back to work out of a total number of 480.

The man named Gallo, who has recently been tried for throwing prussic acid and firing a pistol in the Paris Bourse, explained in the course of his examination that his aim was to "suppress the greatest number possible of the exploiters of the working-class," so he naturally went Bourse-wards on his deed of knight-errantry. The emancipation of the proletariat is his one aim and desire, he declares. When in the Bourse, he says he hesitated to fire on the man who secured his person, as he was poorly clad. I may venture to pronounce M. Gallo's estimate of a man's character by this "outward and visible sign" as vague in the extreme—a roughish division into good and evil! Poison-throwing is not a convincing form of propaganda; it has, moreover, this inconvenience, that it gives to the so-called regulators of public safety and welfare a right to constrain in durance vile those enthusiasts who resort to such means. The "twelve good men and true" have returned a verdict of guilty, and poor M. Gallo is sentenced to twenty years hard labour!

At a recent sitting of the Municipal Council of Paris there was read a dispatch from the Syndicate of Miners and the Municipality of Decazeville, expressing their lively recognition of the solidarity, prompt action, etc., etc., which the Paris Municipal Council displayed in aiding the strikers to "terminate their pacific struggle successfully." It would be well to know how many of the strikers themselves have in their heart of hearts honestly endorsed the sentiment of mutual admiration and self-satisfaction herein expressed.

At the same sitting there was a discussion on the various propositions regarding the erection of a monument commemorative of the Revolution. To spend monies over any such work (of Art?) in these days of trouble is sufficiently revolting, but the shoddy sentimentality of it becomes tragicomic when the same is to be done in the name of all Humanity, that Humanity's eye may gaze aloft in time to come at—what? the bourgeois glorification of that incomplete and one-sided freedom-stroke of the 18th century. "But this eternal blazon must not be,"—it is for you to hinder and protest, you, the Proletariat.

In France, the unemployed in the country parts are increasing, and are growing desperate. In the Western departments bands of vagabonds go about in a threatening manner demanding relief. The farmers of Touraine, Chinnonais, and Anjou live in fear of the "knights of the outstretched hand," as they designate them. This is a counterpart of the armed vagrant of the United States, who is likewise nothing more or less than a worker out of work.

*Le Socialiste* publishes the report of the Syndicate of Stonemasons and Sawyers to the Municipal Council of Paris, from which I quote a few items. The workers engaged by M. Aubrin, who is the contractor for a new *Mont-de-Piété*, work 70 hours a week and earn 25 to 30 francs. Those employed on the blocks work 11 hours at the rate of 70 centimes an hour. The stone is badly cut, and tells its tale of under-pay. A young man is occupied in the yard at covering the bad work and natural defects with plaster and cement. The overseer of the yard is a type of the upholder of the interests of the capitalist; he is well aware of the part he plays and of the esteem in which the workers hold him, for he never appears there without his revolver. Another contractor pays 30 francs for 84 hour's weekly labour. Yet another is cited whose workers are paid 1 franc 25 centimes a day of 10 hours for road-mending and pavements—that is (if he works Sundays also) about 7s. 3d. a-week.

There has been a disturbance on the railway line in course of construction in the department of Drôme between the French and Italians at work there, owing to the latter taking lower wages. Police and soldiery had to be summoned to quell the incensed workers.

## HOLLAND.

Thirty people slain outright in the streets of Amsterdam, and according to the bourgeois papers the cause is a quarrel between the people and the police about a popular game. Can this be so? It certainly cannot have been the cause, though it may have been the occasion for this 'murder great and grim.' If there is any truth in this account it shows how bitter the general feeling must be between the people and the authorities. We wait for further information.

## ITALY.

## Child Labour in Sulphur Mines.

The burial of nearly 200 persons in one of the sulphur mines of Sicily has called the attention of the Italian press to the scandalous condition of the miners. Out of 600 Sicilian sulphur mines, 350 are farmed out by the land-owners to speculating tenants, who show small mercy to their labourers. The labourers are of two sorts—the "Picunieri," who break up the sulphur into portable pieces, and the "Karusi," who carry up these pieces out of the pit to the surface of the soil. These Karusi are nearly all children of from eight to ten years of age. They are miserably paid, and work almost naked, for the heat in the sulphur pits is intolerable. The loads which they are compelled to carry cripple and disfigure them, and they are often killed early by the effect of the sulphur on their lungs. The supply of child labourers for this cruel employment is kept up by means of a veritable slave trade. The "undertaker," as the tenant is fitly called, pays poor parents a sum for the use of their children for a term of years. The highest sum is 150 lire. The contract, in order to give it a stamp of legality, has a clause empowering the father to redeem the child at any moment by the payment of a stated indemnification. But as the father is rarely in a condition to find so much money, his child remains a slave.

A. Cipriani has been returned again at Ravenna and Forli, in spite of the advice given to the constituents by the Radical leaders to desist from the agitation. The presidents of the polling-bureaux, while sending the return-paper to the Legislature, have expressed their hope that the Government will now show a better respect for the will of the people, and take towards Cipriani such measures as justice requires.

At Pesaro, eleven Anarchists are undergoing trial for conspiracy to overthrow the Government. One of the accused has become so very ill from prison ill-treatment that he is unable to be present at the Court. One of the chief facts brought against the prisoners is that they composed or distributed amongst the Mantuan peasants the famous "Socialistic Decalogue," which contributed so much to last year's agitation. The punishment attached to political conspiracy in Italy is very heavy, as it may consist even of twenty years' hard labour. The process against the members of the Workmen Party, lately proclaimed, is going on very slowly, as is usual with criminal justice in Italy, and especially in political matters where it is feared that the prisoners will be acquitted by the jury, and is therefore thought expedient to keep them under restraint as long as possible, delaying the trial. This prosecution, however, has a more than usual importance, as it shows how useless it is in Italy to rely upon any other method of propaganda and action than that of secret societies and such like illegal means.

## Proposed International Congress of Bottle Makers.

We have received the following letter from a comrade in Dublin:

"The necessity for international communication and action between the workers of the glass-bottle trade was strongly felt during their late strike here, and I was asked to draw up rules, etc., for an International Society of that trade. This I did, and they have met a hearty approval both in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Dublin, and are now to be laid before the Congress to meet in London in September. The Societies in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, have resolved to send delegates, but no communication has yet been opened with France, Spain, and Italy. I think that the Socialist League would do useful work, and gain ground amongst the workers by taking action in this matter, such as giving use of room in Farringdon Road for the Congress, and also in sending notices for publication in the French, Spanish, and Italian Socialist papers, inviting the bottle-makers of those countries to send delegates."

The Council have unanimously agreed to give the use of the Hall of the League as desired, and the Secretary is instructed to render every assistance to make the Congress a success.

**STRIKE OF FACTORY GIRLS AT GLASGOW.**—The factory girls of Messrs. John Lean & Son, steam-loom weavers, Bridgeton, Glasgow, are out on strike against a proposed reduction of their wages by 1s. 6d. per week.

**PROPOSED SHORT TIME IN THE COTTON TRADE.**—The Cotton Spinners' Association met in Manchester yesterday, and passed a resolution expressing a decided opinion in favour of adopting short time in the cotton spinning mills of Lancashire, inviting the co-operation of district associations, and convening a meeting of the entire trade to consider the situation.—*Daily News*, July 28th.

The London land thief press insists that Gladstone is incapable of settling the Irish question. On a basis of justice the Irish question is simple and easily settled, but to pacify the Irish and still keep on robbing them is what troubles British statesmen.—*Industrial News*.

The Hospital Sunday Fund lists are an excellent evidence of the real character of that philanthropic interest which the "classes" profess to have in the miseries of the poor and needy. Any one can see that by far the larger portion of the subscriptions is made up by the "people's pence." The rich ignore what they have gained at the expense of the workers. So it is ever. The working-man is always victimised. First, he is robbed of a fair return for his labour; he is robbed of his health; and then he is saddled with the responsibility for his own and his fellow citizen's sickness. Wealthy persons do nothing less than a criminal act in refusing to support hospitals for those who get their health broken, and who suffer from accidents in the process of filling the money-bags of the idlers.—*Dodo*, in *Reynolds*.

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Norwich, to April 30. Bradford, Croydon, Hackney, Hammersmith, Merton, to May 31. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Dublin, Leeds, Mile-End, North London, Oxford, to June 30. Manchester, to July 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Marylebone, to Sept. 30.—P. W.

### The "Commonweal."

On Saturday last the Board Brigade went round the W. and N.W. districts, attracting a great deal of attention and selling a fair number of papers. To-day (31st) they will visit the Strand and West End. Volunteers are requested to be at the office by 11.30 sharp.

The Treasurer of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C., will gladly receive Subscriptions from all friends willing to aid in carrying on our Paper.

## REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

**BLOOMSBURY.**—At Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, on Friday, July 23, Annie Besant lectured to an audience of about 500, on "Why the Workers Should be Socialists." Sale of paper good.—The usual outdoor meetings were held during the week.—T. E. W., sec.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, July 21st, Annie Besant lectured to a crowded audience upon "Duties of Socialists under the Present System," effectually disposing of the "putting into practice" taunts so freely used by our opponents, and making an eloquent appeal for more solidarity and mutual help among Socialists. The discussion mainly turned upon "political" (Parliamentary) action, on which very varying opinions were expressed; over a quire of *Commonweals* sold, and 5s. 4d. collected at end of meeting for Propaganda Fund.—W. B.

**HACKNEY.**—On Sunday morning, Graham and Westwood addressed a good audience in Well Street. The police were in strong force.—In the afternoon, Wade spoke in the Park, followed by Graham and Allman, who held an impromptu debate with two Secularist opponents. The sympathy of the audience was on our side throughout. Good sale of literature.—J. F.

**MARYLEBONE.**—On Saturday evening we held our usual meeting opposite the "Prince of Wales," Harrow Road, which was addressed by comrade Wardle for nearly an hour, the police going to and from the police-station several times. At last, apparently, they received orders to stop the meeting. Comrade Allman was speaking at the time, and his name and address was taken, as also was that of Wardle, who had got permission from one of the constables to close the meeting. After the meeting was over, the police behaved in a disgraceful manner, hustling our comrades about and following them for a long distance.—On Sunday morning, in accordance with the resolution of the Branch, comrade Arnold addressed a meeting at the corner of Bell Street for about ten minutes, for the purpose of telling the people that the Branch would not hold meetings at that corner while Mainwaring's trial was pending, but would take up other places in the district. From there we went to the corner of Seymour Place, Marylebone Road, where comrade Allman addressed a very good meeting for nearly an hour. At length the police interfered, and two of them, after behaving in a very rough manner, took comrade Allman's name and address. But they were not satisfied with this, so they went to John Street police station and returned with Inspector Gillis and several other constables. They had determined on clearing the place, the inspector saying that he would arrest every one of the crowd if they did not go away at once; but this only made matters worse, for the crowd resented the interference, and did not seem inclined to be pushed about by the police. The behaviour of 88 D. was especially obnoxious.—In the afternoon a very large meeting in Hyde Park was addressed by comrades Mainwaring, Arnold, Donald, Banner, and Burcham. The audience was entirely in our favour, and strongly denounced the interference of the police with our meetings.—The people in the district of Marylebone are sympathetic, and will stand by us in our struggle for free speech. Collected for Defence Fund: Harrow Road, 2s. 0½d.; Seymour Place, 1s. 3d.; Hyde Park, 12s. 7½d.—H. G. A., sec.

**GLASGOW.**—On the invitation of the Secretary of the Miner's Association, comrade Glasier, last Sunday, addressed a meeting of about 500 miners, now out on strike at Blantyre. His address, which consisted in an exposition of Socialism and its bearing upon the condition of the miners, was listened to with great attention and apparent unanimity of approval. At the close of the meeting many of the miners expressed their anxiety to assist in spreading the doctrines amongst their fellows, and promised the Socialist League a large audience at its outdoor meeting to be held there next Saturday.—J. B. G.

**HULL.**—On Thursday 22nd inst. J. L. Mahon spoke at the Radical Club on "Radicalism and the Future of the Working Class." He criticised the Radical programme, pointing out its inadequacy to benefit the whole working class. Radicalism would have to put the emancipation of the wage-workers in the front, and leave its present palliative measures in the background. A real Radical party must aim at the abolition of class antagonism and the ending of the present industrial competition. It is meant that the Radical party should become Socialistic, apparently a very serious change, but in reality it was only the bringing of Radicalism up to date. A good discussion followed.—On Sunday last a meeting of the Branch was held, when a programme of meetings for the next four weeks was approved. A number of members were made. A room has been taken at the Foresters' Hall *pro tem*, but we hope to have club rooms of our own very speedily.—E. T.

**LEEDS.**—We were unable to hold our usual outdoor meeting on Sunday morning, as the weather was unfavourable. In the afternoon, we met the members of the Bradford Branch at Apperley, and spent a very instructive and pleasant afternoon with them.—F. C.

**MANCHESTER.**—We held a meeting at Grey Mare Corner in the morning on Sunday; fair attendance, good sale of paper, and several promised to join.—In the afternoon, comrades Unwin and Cadle took part in a meeting of the Labour Union, which is being formed here to organise the labour of the unemployed instead of making paupers of them; it also aims at giving the labourer the advantages of a trades union without the disadvantages of a narrow aim and selfish exclusiveness which are too common in present unions. It is somewhat on the lines of the Knights of Labour of America, and will do good if they will keep in view the fact that complete emancipation of labour will only come when the workers take into their own hands the management of the means of production. The present leaders seem to see the necessity of this as an ultimate aim. *Commonweals* sold well at the meeting. We hope shortly to open a club and reading-room near our open-air station in Grey Mare Lane. Gifts of books, papers, etc., will be very acceptable from any friends who have any to spare. There seems good promise of doing much useful work in this district.—R. U., sec.

### FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Our comrades and friends are asked to bestir themselves to secure freedom of speech in our public ways, in contradistinction to freedom of speech for certain classes and sects only. The spirit of Socialism is at war with class interests: officialism is giving its support to class interests only. For endeavouring to assert the right of free speech the Socialist League has been heavily fined; and the Council of the League hereby asks that all friends of freedom should support the League with subscriptions in aid of this righteous cause. The Treasurer of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., will gladly accept, and acknowledge the receipt of, Pence, Shillings, or Pounds from friends of the Right of Free Speech in Public Places.

### RECEIVED.

July 19.—Bloomsbury, 7s. 6d. Clerkenwell, 1s. 1d. Hammersmith, 5s. North London, 3s. 7½d. Collected by Mrs. Taylor, 5s. 3d. Total, 22s. 5½d.—W.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W. Friday, July 30, at 8.30 p.m. Charles Faulkner, "Free Trade, or the Man v. the State." Music before and after the lecture.  
**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday August 1, at 7.30 p.m. W. Blundell, "Starvation." Wednesday 4, at 8.30. H. H. Sparling.  
**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.  
**Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every alternate Tuesday at 9, for the enrolment of members and other business.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays, at 8 p.m.  
**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sundays, at 7.45 p.m.  
**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.  
**Mile-end.**—East London United Radical Club, Mile-end Rd. Tuesdays at 8 p.m.  
**North London.**—Communications to R. A. Beckett, St. Mildred's House, Poultry, E.C.  
**South London.**—Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 at 112 Hill Street, Peckham, S.E.

### Country Branches.

**Birmingham.**—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30.  
**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.  
**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—On Sunday 1st August a lecture will be delivered in Rooms 84 John St., at 7 p.m., by George McLean, on "The Social and Political Condition of the Island of Jamaica." The first of a series of Saturday Afternoon Propaganda Excursions will take place on Saturday 31st July. Members and friends to gather at rooms at 4 o'clock and proceed by train to Blantyre, where open-air addresses will be given. Return on foot—songs and choruses on the way.  
**Hull.**—Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street, every Friday at 7.45 p.m. August 6. J. L. Mahon, "How Socialism will be Realised."  
**Leeds.**—No meeting-room at present. Out-door stations notified below.  
**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Ashton New Road. Business Meeting, Thursday, at 8 p.m. Contributions of books, pictures, and money for furnishing the Reading and Club Room will be gratefully acknowledged by Raymond Unwin, sec., at above address.  
**Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Monday at 8. Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m. August 2. Comrade Hipperson, "Christianity and Socialism." 9. T. Morley, "Socialism and Freethought."  
**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.  
**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 27 Pembroke Street. Thursday August 5, at 9 p.m. C. J. Faulkner, "Free Trade, or the Man v. the State."

### Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

LONDON.					
Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.	
Sat. 31.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7	W. Chambers	N. London.	
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7	H. H. Sparling	Clerkenwell.	
	Regent's Park	7	D. J. Nicoll	N. London.	
	Mile-end Waste	8	H. Davis	Mile-end.	
	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales")	7	D. J. Nicoll	Marylebone.	
	Croydon	11	H. Davis	Croydon.	
	Edgware Rd.—Seymour Pl.	11.30	A. K. Donald	Marylebone.	
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	Wade & Westwood	Hackney.	
	Hammersmith—Beadon Road	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.	
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	H. Charles	Hoxton.	
S.	Mile-end Waste	11.30	J. Allman	Mile-end.	
	Regent's Park	11.30	W. Chambers	N. London.	
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	The Branch	Bloomsbury.	
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30	W. Morris	Marylebone.	
	Victoria Park	3.30	W. C. Wade	Hackney.	
	Clerkenwell Green	7	The Branch	Clerkenwell.	
	Croydon	7	H. Davis	Croydon.	
	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7.30	W. Chambers	N. London.	
	Soho—Broad Street	8	W. Chambers	Bloomsbury.	
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	H. Graham	Hoxton.	
Th.	Mile-end Waste	8.30	C. W. Mowbray	Mile-end.	
	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7	The Branch	N. London.	
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7	The Branch	Clerkenwell.	
	Regent's Park	7	The Branch	N. London.	
	Mile-end Waste	8	J. Lane	Mile end.	

### PROVINCES.

**Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.  
**Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.  
**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

**UNITED SOCIALIST SOCIETIES OF LONDON.**—The second excursion to Epping Forest, "Robin Hood," will take place on Sunday, August 1, 1886, for the benefit of the Socialist movement in America. The procession of the West End United Socialists will start from Charlotte Street, corner of Tottenham Court Road, and the East End from 23, Princes Square, St. George Street, for Liverpool Street Station, with full brass bands, banners, and standards, at 9 a.m. prompt. Return tickets from Liverpool Street Station to Loughton, 1s. each. Full entertainment of international singing clubs, dancing, concert, and games. Trains as follows:—From Liverpool Street Station, 10.40 a.m.; trains every hour after dinner. Returning from Loughton at 8.24, 9, and 9.31 p.m.

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 30.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 7, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## POLITICAL NOTES.

THE Tories in office again and dividing the spoils won by their recent victory—such as it is. A purely Tory Ministry, with the assurance of the “benevolent neutrality” of the Whigs: that is to say, their complicity without responsibility in the game of reaction which the new Parliament is pledged to play. What are their chances in the game? In the first place it is only the Irish question which need be taken into consideration; on all other points the Tory Government will do pretty much the same as a Liberal one would; so we need only consider how they will deal with their Irish kettle of fish.

There are signs even in the more moderate of the Tory prints that they are expected to make *some* move in the direction of coercion; to take advantage of any opportunity the Irish may give them by riding rusty under their defeat. But after all, the Tory rank and file has to put up with as many disappointments at the hands of its leaders as the Radical rank and file has, and it is likely that this will be one of them. Lord Salisbury will do nothing at all as long as he can; and will at least try what he can do in the way of saying “Yes” and “No” at once to the Home Rule claim. He will bring in some “gas and sewage” Home Rule Bill, which the Irish need not fight against, but which of course will not choke their agitation; nay, many Irishmen think and have thought for some time, that any Bill for Local Government would be of use to them; that they would use the bodies so constituted to organise their agitation still further and more completely. Perhaps they are sanguine in this; but, at least, the most revolutionary Irishman need not be afraid that Lord Salisbury will offer Ireland so much or put what he does offer in such a dramatic manner that it will injure the sentiment for Home Rule among the people.

Of course, what the Tories would do if they could would be to offer such a “concession” as would irritate the Irish into open resistance, while it would seem a fair offer to outsiders. Happily this is scarcely possible after the frank and almost too effusive way in which Ireland received Mr. Gladstone’s incomplete and unsatisfactory measure. Indeed Lord Salisbury is much more likely to spoil his game by acting like a timid whist-player and being stingy with his trumps. So we may wait without excitement for the Tory Home Rule Bill.

Meanwhile how great is the relief from a sense of danger, which all Tories and Whigs are now feeling is shown obviously enough not only by the ordinary jubulations after a successful electoral contest in the party papers, but also in more grotesque and downright fashion. The prospectus of the Loyalist League of Great Britain (printed in true-blue) which has found itself at the Socialist League office, is a fair example of this terror calmed for the present. After stating in fairly plain terms that one of their objects was to further civil war if they could not have *all* their own way, they appeal for help “to resist to the utmost the disloyal and Socialistic associations in their persistent efforts to disintegrate society and weaken the empire.” Well, some people may laugh at their big words and their premature terror; but after all their instinct has not misled them. Home Rule doesn’t aim specially even at the weakening of the empire, still less at the disintegration of society, yet it is a sign that both these movements are going on. Friend “Loyalists,” it can’t be helped! An empire which is the empire of cheating and hypocritical traders cannot last for ever; “society” which is but a band of thieves has a tendency to disintegrate, you need not doubt that!

As to the “Cabinet-making” which has been going on lately, no one scarcely pretends to take any interest in it except so far as concerns the position of Lord Randolph Churchill. But we Socialists need not

trouble our heads about that either; the fact that such a man could be considered of any importance in Parliament does but give us a measure of the weight and depth of the others. It is scarcely worth while to say that he has all the faults of a reactionary demagogue, and not much else, since the man himself scarcely professes to be more than a machine, whose design has been taken from a much more exquisite piece of machinery, the late Lord Beaconsfield, to wit. One thing we may be pretty sure of, that the new Parliament will play a considerable part in sickening people of the whole business of Parliamentary Party Government, and help still further to discredit the knot of wire-pullers, landlords, money-lenders, lawyers, and professional politicians, who profess to represent the people of these islands.

While on the one hand the instruments of bourgeois domination are visibly wearing out, on the other there is a feverish activity arising against Socialism. In America, the determination, whatever may happen, to have some victims to middle-class revenge for the Anarchist outbreak at Chicago, and the suppression of freedom of speech generally; in Belgium the vindictive sentences against the rioters, in Holland the sentence against Domela Nieuwenhuis, and the arrest of Fortuin and Vanderstadt at Amsterdam; the obstinate deadlock in Denmark; in France as the latest item, the approaching trial of Louis Michel and Jules Guesde for “inciting to murder and plunder;” and finally, with us, the attack treated in the English, or petty and hypocritical style, by setting the police at us as street nuisances, and pretending that opinion has nothing to do with it, and that they do not notice our utterances, though the police make elaborate notes of them. All this does specially and above all things show fear on the part of our rulers, a sense of insecurity, the origin of which is not so much the open Socialist agitation (that is an effect rather than a cause), as the crumbling away of the basis on which “Society” is built, to wit, the safe and continuous expansion of the exploitation of Labour by Capital.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## THE FALL OF DILKE.

THE Dilke case and the comment it has excited afford a curious and noteworthy illustration of the manners and morals of latter-day civilisation. We are not going to follow up this remark by descanting, in approved style on the bestiality, the brutality, the criminality, etc., etc., of Sir Charles Dilke’s conduct in the matter in question, although treachery towards a professed friend, and double-dealing of the worst kind, there undoubtedly was—albeit, perhaps no worse than is common among the circles of high social position in which Sir Charles moved. What is curious and noteworthy is the attitude of “public opinion” and its press towards the case. The holy horror, the unspeakable disgust, professed at its mere sensual side is slightly amusing, when it is an open secret that bizarre forms of eroticism are by no means unknown among persons of high standing in official and governmental circles whom the horrified journalist most delights to honour. As for the lust-element itself, it is enough to say that while the mere animal side of the sexual passion still obtains in human nature—as it undoubtedly does to-day, and as it will as long as civilisation exists with its corrupt material conditions and its hypocritical personal ethics and canting of “purity” to fan the flame—just so long shall we find it manifesting itself, and no amount of head-shaking and name-calling will affect it. Not before many generations of rational social life have shaped man will it be modified—of that we may rest assured. Meanwhile “society,” which pretends, with its frowns and its ostracism, when scandal arises, to force men to asceticism, only succeeds in making them hypocrites. It may be a desirable thing that the coarser side of the sexual passion should be eradicated: in any case it will only be affected by a gradual succession of inherited changes in the human organism through the medium of its social and economic surroundings, and not by any amount of enthusiastic determination to be “even as the angels are.” Physiological miracles are as hard to work as any others. A strong inherent tendency must wear itself out by a process of exhaustion, so to speak; if you try to stamp it out, it will only

flourish the more luxuriantly. The best receipt for developing eccentric forms of lust is to dwell, like a St. Anthony or a St. Theresa, on the beauty of "purity."

But to our thinking the most noteworthy point to future generations in the Crawford case will be the horror and indignation called forth by a few sexual delinquencies, while the enormities of Dilke's public career meet with not only no word of reproach, but with approval. Let us remember what Dilke was as a politician. A friend of the arch stock-jobbing political adventurer Gambetta, his aim in public life was to emulate this worthy. Accordingly the whole of his political career was an attempt to pose as a commercial statesman, the end of his statecraft of course, being the acquirement of markets and the "development" of "imperial resources." It is to him that we owe the whole Egyptian policy of the late Liberal Government. From the bombardment of Alexandria to the Soudan expedition, Dilke, it is now known, was the guilty instigator of the whole infamous series. In pursuit of his one object, personal ambition, he was utterly reckless of all else. What mattered it to him whether injustice and misery were poured out upon weaker races unable to defend themselves, provided he carried a successful "policy" which would henceforward be identified with his name? One of the papers described Sir Charles Dilke as a "heartless miscreant," and we quite agree with the sentiment, only we find his "heartless miscreancy" exhibited in a far more lurid light in the "public services" with which he is credited than in the comparatively paltry peccadilloes exposed in the divorce court—mean and treacherous as some of these were, in all conscience.

Anyhow, there is a certain satisfaction in the thought that we have heard the last of this blatant, swashbuckling jingo—this second-rate imitation of the French article—and that his unworthy ambition in life has been successfully blasted. Would there were no others of the same kidney to take his place!

E. BELFORT BAX.

### EARL MORLEY ON SOCIALISM.

IN spite of the trade depression and the increasing bitterness of the class struggle, the spirit of flunkeyism is rampant as ever in some working-class movements. This spirit, of course, is most obvious among the better-off part of the working-class. Too many co-operators and trades' unionists seem anxious to show that they are nearer to the middle-class than to the "common herd." This is one of the most dangerous, and at the same time disheartening, tendencies of workingmen who rise a little above subsistence level; and it behoves genuine co-operators and trades' unionists to repress this feeling as much as they can. If the working-class is split into two parts, one of which considers itself of a superior order to the other, there is little hope for either. If trades' unionists and co-operators can be hoodwinked into thinking themselves middle-class people, if they can be cajoled into aiding the middle-class in its defence of property, above all, if they allow themselves to be dubbed "respectable" and assist in keeping down the "lower orders," there is little hope for a working-class movement. Every effort is now being made to bring this about, for the last hope of the capitalist against Socialism is in the snobbishness of those workmen who think they are of a different order from fellow labourers who earn a few shillings less a week and are not "tradesmen."

The last Trades' Union Congress was patronised by Lord Roseberry, and the Co-operative Congress by Earl Morley. The individuals are not particularly objectionable. Roseberry, if a snob, is an amiable one; is an excellent fellow for an after-dinner speech, and with his harmless small jokes, inoffensive irony, and mild, albeit inconstant, Radicalism, is not altogether intolerable. He has never *done* anything worth notice, but being the friend of a famous old statesman, by whom he is occasionally judiciously flattered, great things are *expected* from him; indeed, he is reputed a genius with his light under a bushel, and only awaiting the right moment when he will shine forth as a luminary among England's statesmen. Earl Morley, however, is a man of another cut. There is nothing enticing about him. He is an insufferable mediocrity in the truest sense of that dismal word. Too witless to please, too dull to argue, too feeble to win supporters, too ingenuous to make enemies—on the whole, the worst kind of man to attack or defend anything. Since Mr. Bradlaugh gave up the battle, Socialists have become almost hopeless of getting an opponent with fight in him. If we cannot get an opponent who will argue with us, at least let us have one who will amuse us, or even abuse us. Earl Morley can do none of these things, and it is difficult to imagine what could have induced the co-operators to bring this harmless and uninteresting gentleman out of his appropriate obscurity as a member of the House of Lords. It is only fair to him to say that he did not know himself. He confessed himself "puzzled to know what qualifications he possessed" that could have guided them in their choice of a president. The only two reasons he could think of was the accident that he lived near the meeting-place, and the fact that he knew less of the details and practical working of the system than any other member of the Congress. Curious qualifications surely!

Anyhow, elected President he was, and delivered his inaugural address; was cheered by the audience, and complimented in the most reckless manner by the seven or eight leading co-operators, who moved seconded, and supported the inevitable evergreen "vote of thanks." The address was a kind of politico-socio-economic sermon got up to please all sections of the congregation. The Earl's knowledge of the subject was, as he frankly admitted, of the most limited order. After going through the usual high-flown eulogism of the democracy, he urged the need for "a sound knowledge of the principles on which our com-

mercial prosperity is based." He got rid of the troublesome points by coolly announcing that he would not "pause to inquire" whether the national wealth had been justly shared between capitalists and workers, or whether the past fifty years increase of riches and population had added to the general happiness of the community. The contrast between rich and poor was deplorable, but inevitable, because "no human ingenuity can counteract the laws of nature, which work for inequality." There is nothing more frequent and more hopelessly stupid than this assumption that the "laws of nature" (a conveniently indefinite expression) make the loafer rich and the toiler poor. How curiously alike in his argument is the noble lord to the market-place crank who is always ready with the revelation that there must be rich and poor, and there must be inequality in social rights and duties because—the laws of nature have ordained it so.

Communism and State regulation are "false theories," "contrary to the experience of history," "would violate sound economic doctrines," and "could only lead to disaster."

Now, State regulation is not Socialism, nor has it been brought about by Socialists. The State interfered with the capitalist for the simple reason that capitalists showed themselves worse than slave drivers when left with "liberty" to do as they liked. State interference, in fact, would have been as yet unheard of but for the gross brutality of the factory lords, the chicanery of merchants, and the inhuman conduct of shipowners who heedlessly sent men out in rotten hulks, hoping by the loss of ships and men to put something in their own pockets. State interference in short is not Socialism, but simply the admission that the capitalist class cannot be trusted to observe the commonest feelings of humanity towards their employés, or the most ordinary principles of morality towards their purchasers.

The Earl's definition of the aim of Socialists was fairly good. He said "they desire to re-organise Society on a basis of common property and equality of enjoyment of the fruits of industry by all its members." This definition only requires the addition that all the members of Society would have to perform their duties, *i.e.*, do a fair share of work before they would have any rights. If the Earl had only seen this very obvious condition, he would have been spared the absurdity of assuming that under Socialism "the idle and shiftless would be as well off as the industrious and thrifty." Of course, Socialism would be impracticable if every one were allowed to lounge about or work just as he pleased and when he pleased. The Earl reminds me of an opponent who asked me the crushing question, "What would you do under Socialism if one-half of the people lay in bed all day and the other half went to France to amuse themselves?" In reply to these sage queries it can only be remarked that any form of Society would tumble to pieces if all the people went mad, but that, as the present system is doomed, there need be no fear of this happening.

One point urged by the Earl is that under Socialism we could not produce nearly so much wealth. This might be true if everybody went crazy, as the Earl seems sure they would. But leaving aside this contingency, the very opposite would certainly be true. First, the unemployed workmen now wandering about in enforced idleness, and the rich lazy capitalists and noble lords who now fritter away their time in nonsense and mischief, would be set to work. Secondly, the labour thrown away in entirely useless things—such as making and maintaining two lines of ships or railways where one is sufficient, or supporting twenty shops where one store would do as well—would be directed to useful production. These two alterations themselves would result in increasing our wealth far beyond our requirements, and it would become necessary to reduce the hours of labour and increase the general standard of living. Further than this, the inventive genius of men would be used more freely. At present an invention is only accepted if it will "pay" some one to bring it out. If it clashes with some vested interest every effort will be made by that interest to crush it out. Under Socialism an invention would be accepted—not as at present, if it profited some individual—but if it benefited society.

These are a few points of the Earl's address. The washed-out fallacy of the wages fund was also brought up. We are further told that the conflict between rich and poor always has existed from the earliest stages of society, and that "no reconstruction of society can ever abolish the distinction between the rich and the poor, or the discontent caused by that distinction." This prediction is hazardous, to say the least; and more hopeful people will try to abolish it before despairingly assuming that it is impossible. The best part of the Earl's address is where he points out that the "co-operative production" schemes are really unworthy of their name; that they are merely joint stock companies. For the rest, the general quality of the speech can only make one wonder whether it was tolerated because spoken by an Earl, or whether a rigmarole of discarded platitudes is congenial food for the co-operative mind.

What are congresses for? It is understood that they are a means of gauging the progress of a movement, of bringing its principles before the public, of comparing the health of its various sections and adjusting their relations, and above all of bringing the best minds into communion once a year. But alas! where is the congress or conference that does this? It seems as if the purpose of congresses nowadays was to exchange compliments, pass votes of thanks and abstract resolutions without number, get patronised by a bigwig, and talk endless twaddle with an air of owlish gravity. It is to be hoped that co-operators and trades' unionists will soon recognise that trifling does not suit in times like these; that a great question is pushing itself forward for settlement; and that they must earnestly consider what can be done, and do it, or forfeit all claim to be the teachers and guiders of the working class.

J. L. MAHON.



## The New Age.

SCARCELY had the Genius uttered to himself these words, than an immense noise proceeded from the west, and turning my eyes to that quarter, I perceived at the extremity of the Mediterranean, in the country of one of the European nations, a prodigious movement, similar to what exists in the bosom of a large city, when, pervaded with sedition, an innumerable people, like waves, fluctuate in the streets and public places. My ear, struck with their cries which ascended to the very heavens, distinguished at intervals these phrases:

"What is this new prodigy? What this cruel and mysterious scourge? We are a numerous people, and we want strength! We have an excellent soil, and we are destitute of provision! We are active and laborious, and we live in indigence! We pay enormous tributes, and we are told that they are not sufficient! We are at peace without, and our persons and property are not safe within! What then is the secret enemy that devours us?"

From the midst of the concourse, some individual voices replied, "Erect a standard of distinction, and let all those who, by useful labours, contribute to the support and maintenance of society, gather round it, and you will discover the enemy that preys on your vitals."

The standard being erected, the nation found itself suddenly divided into two bodies of unequal magnitude and dissimilar appearance: the one innumerable and nearly integral, exhibited in the general poverty of their dress, and in their meagre and sunburnt faces, the marks of toil and wretchedness; the other a petty group, a valueless fraction, presented, in their rich attire, embroidered with gold and silver, and in their sleek and ruddy complexions, the symptoms of leisure and abundance. Considering these men more attentively, I perceived that the large body was constituted of labourers, artisans, tradesmen, and every profession useful to society; and that in the lesser group there were none but priests, courtiers, public accountants, commanders of troops, in short, the civil, military, or religious agents of Government.

The two bodies being front to front assembled, and having looked with astonishment at each other, I saw the feelings of indignation and resentment spring up in the one, and a sort of panic in the other, and the large said to the small body:

Why stand you apart? Are you not of our number?

No, replied the group; you are the people: we are a privileged class; we have laws, customs, and rights, peculiar to ourselves.

People. And what labour do you perform in the society?

Privileged Class. None: we are not made to labour.

People. How then have you acquired your wealth?

Privileged Class. By taking the pains to govern you.

People. To govern us! And is this what you call governing? We toil, and you enjoy; we produce, and you dissipate; wealth flows from us, and you absorb it. Privileged men, class distinct from the people, form a nation apart and govern yourselves.

Then, deliberating on their new situation, some among the group said: "Let us join the people, and partake their burdens and cares; for they are men like ourselves. Others replied: "To mix with the herd would be degrading and vile; they are born to serve us, who are men of a superior race." The civil governors said: "The people are mild and naturally servile; let us speak to them in the name of the king and the law and they will return to their duty. People! the king decrees, the sovereign ordains."

People. The king cannot decree anything which the safety of the people does not demand; the sovereign cannot ordain but according to law.

Civil Governors. The law calls upon you for submission.

People. The law is the general will; and we will a new order.

Civil Governors. You are in that case rebels.

People. A nation cannot be a rebel: tyrants only are rebels.

Civil Governors. The king is on our side, and he enjoins you to submit.

People. Kings cannot be separated from the nation in which they reign. Our king cannot be on your side; you have only the phantom of his countenance.

Then the military governors advanced, and they said: "The people are timorous; it is proper to threaten them; they will yield to the influence of force. Soldiers, chastise this insolent multitude!"

People. Soldiers our blood flows in your veins! Will you strike your brothers? If the people be destroyed, who will maintain the army?"

And the soldiers grounded their arms, and said to their chiefs: "We are a part of the people, we whom you call upon to fight against them."

Then the ecclesiastical governors said: "There is but one resource left. The people are superstitious; it is proper to overawe them with the names of God and religion."

Priests. Our dear brethren, our children, God has appointed us to govern you.

People. Produce the patent of his commission.

Priests. You must have faith; reason leads men into guilt.

People. And would you govern us without reason?

Priests. God is the God of peace; religion enjoins you to obey.

People. No; justice goes before peace; obedience implies a law, and renders necessary the cognizance of it.

Priests. This world was intended for trial and suffering.

People. Do you then show us the example of suffering.

Priests. Would you live without gods or kings?

People. We abjure tyranny of every kind.

Priests. You must have mediators, persons who may act in your behalf.

People. Mediators with God, and mediators with the king! Courtiers and priests, your services are too expensive; henceforth we take our affairs into our own hands.

Then the smaller group exclaimed: "It is over with us; the multitude are enlightened." And the people replied: "You shall not be hurt; we are enlightened, and we will commit no violence. We desire nothing but our rights; resentment we cannot but feel, but we consent to pass it by; we were slaves, we might now command; but we ask only to be free, and free we are."—From Volney's "Ruins of Empires."

The business of a barrister depends on the good opinion of attorneys; and attorneys never could think well of any man who was troubling his head about reforming abuses when he ought to be profiting by them.—Sir Samuel Romilly.

The true virtue of human beings is fitness to live together as equals, claiming nothing for themselves but what they as freely conceded to every one else, regarding command of any kind as an exceptional necessity, and in all cases a temporary one, and preferring, whenever possible, the society of those with whom leading and following can be alternate and reciprocal.—John Stuart Mill.

## IN HEAVEN.

(By FERDINAND FREILIGRATH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

It chanced in heaven a while ago, old Fritz stood up and slapped his thighs, And rubbed his hands, and shook his sword, and glowered with his piercing eyes, Stalked up and down the shining floor, and stretched and stiffened out his spine, Stepped quickly up to Blücher then, and to the famous Herr von Stein.

He signed to Ziethen to approach, and summoned Winterfeldt by name, To join the group of chattering lords, and Gneisenau that instant came; And Schwerin hurried up as well, and Scharnhorst too, and Keith in state, And all the famous Prussians else, of ancient and of modern date.

Then when they in the presence stood; "Deuce take it all!" the monarch said; "This state of things will drive me mad; 'tis too provoking to be dead! Deuce take it that I cannot now be in my palace at Berlin! 'Twould be the very time for me—ha! isn't that the fact, Schwerin?"

"I'd make the most of such a chance! But not as autocrat again! No, no, my lords, another age brings other methods in its train. I lit myself too large a light, too much of fruit my actions bore, To let me now play o'er again the very part I played before.

"Nay, all I did, and all that made my deeds of weight upon the scene, And all that epoch of events beginning with the year 'thirteen, Would merely my foundation be—broad-based, 'tis true, and grand and great—Whereon I now would firmly plant the timbers of the modern State.

"But modern States want something more than treachery and black deceit, And modern times ask something else than nets of lies to snare men's feet; Yea, men need something other now than empty noise of wordy strife—To draw deep draughts of freer air, and live a larger, fuller life.

"Poor German folk, betrayed and sold—with no one to avenge your wrong—With no one to demand at last the rights withheld from you so long—With no one to exact in full repayment for each broken vow, Tread Karlsbad under foot in scorn, and Austria's compact disallow!

"I'd do it! All their rotten nets I'd tear in twain with this right hand—Then equal laws, and open courts, and justice free through all the land, And everywhere free speech for all! By God, I'd carry through the thing! By God the Lord, I'd make it work, as sure as I am called a king!

"'Twould be a bomb-shell! What of that? Things might go badly for a year— I'd put it all to rights ere long, and work it smoothly, never fear! And if storm-clouds came rolling up, and kings in arms against me stood, A king myself, I'd face the kings, and fight them for my People's good.

"Then when the clouds had cleared away, we straight should see on every hand Our grand old country strong and free, one great united German land: Yea, after all the storm and stress, like Iris on a parting cloud, One bond of unity and love between the princes and the crown."

"Our folk are like a noble stream! Whoe'er its danger boldly braves, Whoe'er with unaffrighted soul commits him calmly to its waves, Him will it on its bosom bear, and carry down its course with pride; The coward and the knave alone die strangled in its angry tide.

"But me it would have borne on high—ha! Blücher, isn't not as I say? True hero of the People still, I should have won their love to-day; And then lamented died at last with all men's blessing on my head!"— The old lords acquiescent bowed: "'Tis true, your majesty!" they said.

WORKMEN AND HORSES.—Nothing is more instructive from a Socialist standpoint than the way the Paris "Company of Omnibuses and Tramways" treats its men and its horses. The men don't cost the Company a farthing, they are to be found in all places ready to fight one another for the privilege of working for the Company, but the directors don't find horses running about the streets anxious to be harnessed. They have to be bought at a cost of from £48 to £60, and hence they are treated in a different manner from the men. From the accounts of the Company the cost of food, stabling, and grooming is 3s. 9d. a day per horse; the average wages of the drivers, conductors, and employes of all kinds is 3s. 2d. a day. It will be seen that the Company gets the service of a man for 7d. a day less than a horse, and in addition it is to be noted that the men work three and in some cases four times as many hours as the horses. The horses work four hours a day, the men from twelve to sixteen hours. When the horse is ill he is carefully attended to in the stable, and sent to the country to recover his health; if the employe is ill, for all the company cares he can go to the d— if he likes.—Paris *Le Socialiste*.

An article in the *Daily News* the other day, called "School in Prison," is well worth attention. The ordinary middle-class person, who is not likely to see the inside of a prison except as a visitor when he is sitting on a grand jury, is not more sure of anything than of the perfection of our prison system; he regards it as the culmination of all reason, and is absolutely convinced that if there are still any criminals in existence in England it must be on account of their inherent wickedness, since the last twenty years of our prison system, with its mingled fineness, mildness, and forethought, must have converted all those who were so ill-judged as to become inmates of a prison. "School in Prison" should be rather startling to this optimism. Although it only draws up a very small corner of the curtain, it shows a picture of petty tyranny and torture, almost the more hopeless because it is the result not of malice, but of hopeless imbecility and dishonesty. The truth is, that in this matter of prison life, as with work-a-day life, the society of to-day has become hopeless of any real progress, though habit will not allow it to confess as much. It is almost becoming conscious that it is but waiting till the Revolution shall sweep it away, and that meantime it is not worth while to try to do anything. Apply the official rules, since they are ready to hand, and will ease us of all responsibility; let them take the place of hope, desire, emulation, and sense of duty—of life in short.—W. M.



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance should be attached to them because of the position they may occupy in these pages. None, therefore, are to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

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All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 4.

#### ENGLAND

Church Reformer  
Justice  
Freethinker  
The Present Day  
Hull—Express  
Norwich—Daylight

#### UNITED STATES

New York—Volkzeitung  
Der Sozialist  
Freiheit  
Progress  
Truthseeker  
Boston—Liberty

Boston—Woman's Journal  
Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer  
Little Socialist  
Detroit (Mich.)—Labor Leaf  
Cleveland (O.)—Carpenter  
Toledo (O.)—Industrial News  
San Francisco (Cal.)—Truth  
Chicago (Ill.)—Herald  
Vorbok

Petersburg (Ill.)—Voice of Labor  
New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate  
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt  
Paterson (N.J.)—Labor Standard  
FRANCE: Paris—Le Socialiste

Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)

CANADA: Montreal—L'Union

Ouvriere

INDIA: Madras—People's Friend

BELGIUM: Brussels—Le Chanteur

Clair

HOLLAND: Recht voor Allen

HUNGARY: Buda-Pest—Arbeiter

ter-Wochen-Chronik

PORTUGAL: O Campino

Lisbon—O Protesto Operario

SPAIN: Madrid—El Socialista

Bandera Social

SWITZERLAND: Zurich—Sozial

Demokrat

RECEIVED.—"Moderation"—"The Axe is Laid unto the Root"—"The Emigration of Capitalists"—"Oxygen."

### NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

A brilliant and spirited foreign policy has for long been the speciality of the Marquis of Salisbury, and now that he is again in office we may expect some display of his capacity for exciting the public mind by some startling disclosures of Russia's attempt on the Indian Empire, and so forth. In the minds of some Tory editors these pranks fail to get sufficient attention from the working-class electors, but they do not despair of interesting them by-and-by in foreign politics. It would be a very hopeful sign to us if they could not be interested in foreign politics, that is to say until their own affairs were in a more satisfactory state than they are now. Unfortunately when we recall the immense hold Jumbo took of the public mind, we are prepared for anything. So long as the working-class can be led from considering their own miserable lot by red herrings of this kind, so long they will be poor and over-worked.

The chairman of the Great Eastern Railway Company announces the amount of the gross revenue of the company for the past half-year to be £1,687,084, and of the net revenue, £729,869—not a bad bit of plunder! Every penny of this revenue was earned by the railway servants, who, we are credibly informed, have often to work more than twelve hours a-day. Clergymen who preach about the duty of rendering unto Cæsar his due should make a practical application of their text and advise shareholders to refrain from taking other people's labour without giving them any return for it. Railway servants should help the Socialists to form a strong working-man's party to enable them to retain their own.

A certain Sir Joseph Lee, a witness called before the Commission to enquire into the depression of trade, says that "combinations of working men put restrictions on the way in which work was to be done, and encouraged medium rather than superior-class labour." This is pure invention. It must be known to Sir J. Lee that what manufacturers demand at present is cheap labour, in order to produce cheap commodities. Cheap wares are the artillery employed to conquer new markets; and it is not the fault of the working class that commodities nowadays are of a very bad quality, but of capitalists like Sir Joseph Lee, who in their greed for profit make any article that will sell, dis-

regarding altogether whether it is of good or bad quality, or whether it is harmful or beneficial to the community. Sir J. Lee would like all trades' unions broken up to make it good for trade; but note, what Sir Joseph means by being good for trade is a state of affairs wherein capitalists get large profits. Workmen don't need to care much about that kind of good trade. What they should look after is good wages; and high profits and good wages don't go together always.

A Russian paper, the *Novosti*, has recently shown that the number of suicides has doubled in Russia since 1813, after allowing for increase of population. How is it that where one person put an end to his life seventy years ago, two do so to-day? The *Novosti* writer thinks that pessimism is as much to be blamed as want. Perhaps, but why do men become pessimists? Because of want—not only want of food but of want of real enjoyment in life, caused by the miserable system of individualism which at present is the creed of the civilised world. This miserable system makes every one's economical position insecure, and prevents most of us from leading a decently-ordered life. Until we resolve to bear one another's burdens, I fear the proportion of men that destroy their lives will continue to increase.

Mary Ann Britland, thirty-nine years old, a factory hand, was recently condemned to death for murdering her husband, her daughter, and woman friend. The lives of the three victims were insured, and the object of the murders appears to have been to get the insurance-money. A case of this kind helps non-Socialists to realise the horrible state of society to-day. A woman, for the sake of a few paltry pounds, murders three fellow-creatures, two of them nearest relations. Factory-work blunts all the best feelings by continually keeping the hands insufficiently supplied with the necessities of life, until at last any means are resorted to to supply them. In a rational state of society such a horrible event could not occur, as it would be found a pleasant and easy task to obtain by honest work a good livelihood. Many will strongly reprobate this woman, and say hanging is too good for her; but I venture to think we are all culpable in this matter. These deeds are possible only through our failing to reform society; and so long as we are slothful in reform, we must bear the odium of such deeds. I regard the grocer that adulterates his butter and sugar, the butcher that sells rotten meat, the sausage-maker that sells diseased sausages, and the jerry-builder that sells unsanitary houses, all for profit, just as bad as this woman. Unfortunately, she will be hung, they will be left alive to slowly poison thousands of citizens.

The police interference with our meetings has not been quite so great during last week. I am afraid that many citizens will begin to think that Socialists exist solely to quarrel with the police. Socialists usually come into public notice, not as social reformers and as the apostles of a better system of society, but as obstructors of the Queen's highway. This is very unfortunate, and Socialists should do all in their power not to court police interference. Our aim should be to disseminate our views as widely as possible with the least exertion. Every row with the police is so much energy diverted from the true object of our mission.

A. K. DONALD.

### ORTHODOXY SPEAKS.

THE *Dublin Review* for the current month contains an article from the pen of the Rev. W. Barry, D.D., on "The Progress of Nihilism," which is doubly interesting as being the expression of opinion by a cultured Roman ecclesiastic, fully alive to the sham and brutality of our present system, though of course his remedy for it all is a wholesale seeking of refuge in the bosom of the Catholic Church. With the singular inconclusiveness, to which we are so well accustomed in those among "men of light and leading," who do, with apparent honesty, endeavour to grapple with social problems, he states again and again the most part of the premises and blinks the conclusion, because of the obliquity of mental vision which a conventional education has developed in him.

The strange deductions that he makes have little interest for us save as examples for the study of mental atavism, but there is yet much to interest us in the frank admissions he makes in passing. Speaking of our latter-day civilisation and its effects, he says: "I am tempted to say that it resembles Midas, not only in his power of creating the precious metal, but in the pair of asses' ears with which mythology has garnished him. As much talk as gold, and little wisdom with either. Franchise, free trade, compulsory education, whatever be the worth of these things, it remains true that, in a world teeming with resources, endlessly fruitful, with a blue sky over it, and the great ocean-ways bringing wealth to every land, the multitudes must not only work, but too often must work and starve. Or say merely, that the relations between work and wealth on one side, and work and want on the other, appear at first blush to many in the highest degree anomalous and unjust. It is this feeling which has called up the red spectre of Nihilism. Here is the problem. One set of men accumulate wealth by their hard labour, and another much smaller set, distribute it more or less according to their good pleasure. The new religion—call it anti-religion if you please—begins by asking, 'Why should I toil that thou mayst eat? Is it not fairer that both thou and I toil, and then we may both eat the fruit of our labour?' Each man should live for himself and for his fellows, and no man simply for another who happens to have chained him up in a mill and bidden him grind!"

Dives has long gone clad in purple and fine linen, while Lazarus lies, full of sores, at his gate. True; but Lazarus during many, many ages, could only lie at the gate; he was helpless, ignorant, isolated. A mighty change has come over the world. There is a social organism forming in the depths, with its own laws, instincts, powers, and sentiments. We may, if we will, see these new barbarians—for so they have been called—rising up towards the light, armed and confederated, aware that they have been nothing, and convinced that when they choose they can be everything. It is part of their creed that the aristocracy overturned the throne, the middle-classes the aristocracy, and that fate has chosen them to overturn the middle-classes. They look down upon a soldier as the vile creature who forgets that he is a man, and suffers himself to be made a machine and a weapon in the hands of injustice. And a priest is to them only a baser species of soldier, wanting in the courage to face artillery, but seduced by the prospect of an easy life to become the defender on the altar steps of institutions which perpetuate slavery. A logic as clear as it is pitiless compels them to recognise in the preachers of any and every supernatural doctrine their resolved opponents. Priests, they say, offer the people Heaven as a bribe to be quiet and submissive; the churches take this world to themselves and leave the next to any one who can get thither."

All this, with which few of us would be disposed to quarrel, and much more in the same strain are, as a matter of course, blended with many misrepresentations. One who read the above sentences gathered from the Rev. Father's article would imagine the writer one who saw with us eye to eye—but no! he says of our creed that it "is not good but evil." Of the noble women who have in this degraded time given us examples of heroic self-sacrifice, and patient, loving endurance, not even to be matched in legendary "Lives of the Saints," he says, "The revolutionary frenzy has its Mænads, its Furies, its loathsome Harpies, unfeminine bearers of the dagger and flaming torch, to whom murder, fire, and rapine appear the natural means of inaugurating a golden era." *Tu quoque* is hardly an argument, or we might remind him of some among those venerated by his Church, against whom were made charges fully as foul, and with quite as conclusive "proof," as any of those formulated against heroines of the revolution by the tools of a government, or its allies on a corrupt and venal press.

"They believe in reading and writing, in science, in a social philosophy of which the outlines, to their thinking, may be clearly sketched; and they do not believe in religion, art, culture, refinement, manners, marriage, political forms, inequality of birth, poetry, or anything whatsoever of the ideal order." Truly, in this passage the good cleric has apparently striven to bind together for rhetorical purposes a hopelessly incongruous collection of unrelated things! We *do*—we of the revolutionary school—believe in art, culture, refinement, manners, poetry, and many other things of the "ideal order," for this is but another phrasing of our oft-repeated demand for a free, full, and happy life for every human being. Yet is there some truth in the sweeping phrase, if only the words be taken with the meaning our ecclesiastical friend would give them, for under "religion" he would class what we know as superstition; under "marriage" what to us is legalised prostitution, the selling by a woman of her body for years instead of for a night; under "political forms" he would include what to us stand out in their true colours as monopoly-power and class-injustice; and under "inequality of birth" he would defend not alone the inevitable inequality of mental and physical faculties between individuals, but the "inequality" of material position which gives into the hand of one a power of life and death over thousands of his fellows. We say that these things *must* perish. If the good inwound with them must passingly perish also, even then must the evils of Society be smitten unrelentingly. We know that whatsoever of truth and goodness there is in the institutions of to-day, will survive the revolutionary fire that shall purge away all that is base or unworthy, the spurious and temporary outgrowths of an effete civilisation.

"Poverty and obedience, say the Socialists, have been the necessary conditions under which a few have flourished on the toil and sufferings of the multitude. And the Gospel makes of poverty a beauty, and of obedience a counsel. Does it, then, perpetuate a servile past? Let history, a faithful witness, give the answer." Whereupon are adduced the myriad instances in which the Church, after battling until beaten against some advance of mankind, has adapted itself to the new conditions, and arrogated to itself the credit of having brought them to pass. But, "Testem quemquis inducit pro se, tenetur recipere contra se," and when the Church is once more arraigned for persistent obstruction of human progress, and History is called as witness, deposing to the treatment accorded Hypatia, or Bruno, or Galileo, let not her testimony be impugned by the men who now call upon her to lie on their behalf!

"Now comes this dangerous, enthusiastic, secret propaganda, abounding in sympathy and troubled with no scruples of conscience, asserting that the whole order of things is unjust, that it is nothing but organised selfishness in State policy, organised hypocrisy in religion, offering the round world and the fulness thereof to men whose bread has never been sure, declaring that the obligation to labour carries with it the duty on the part of rulers to find work, and reiterating Fourier's demand, that employments shall be made proportionate to capacities; in fine, scorning the golden age of the poets as a fable, laughing at Eden as a myth, and bidding all men look forward, instead of backward, to the true golden age that is yet to come. Is not this a religion in its power to move, to excite, to create man in its own likeness, in its bold affirmations and swift diffusion, and readiness for the combat, and tremendous anathemas, and appeal

to what is deepest in the human heart—to love, and pity, and hunger?" Whatsoever it be, this it is that shall rive asunder all chains binding mind or body, that shall overturn all thrones, "spiritual" or "temporal," and shall "create man in its own image"—the image of one able to live with his fellows happily, in a community based upon the principles of Freedom, Justice, Brotherhood—a community not needing "the consolation of religion," or "the protection of the State."

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

## SOCIALISM AMONGST THE LANARKSHIRE MINERS.

### A Propaganda Excursion.

ANY Socialist reckless enough to attempt an experiment in social revolt could not find better material for his purpose than the miners of Lanarkshire. The gospel of discontent—profound discontent—has sunk deeply into their souls. They feel more acutely than perhaps any other body of men that they are the victims of society—that society confers no benefit upon them, and that they owe nothing, therefore, to society. Law, they regard merely as the lash of their oppressors; and they respect it no further than an Indian respects a locomotive when he steps off the railway track on its approach—knowing that if he disregards it, it will crush him.

It is not difficult to account for this attitude of the miners. In the first place, they are an intelligent, if by no means an educated, class of men. The very nature of their employment, and the fact that they are associated together in large bodies, make them naturally quick of apprehension, critical, and at the same time strongly sympathetic. Though somewhat rude of speech and manner, it is impossible to converse with them on equal terms without discovering a genuine ring in their notions and sympathies. Further, they live mostly outside of the cities and larger towns—in villages that partake of none of the conveniences of large towns and none of the beauties or amenities of the country. Their dwellings are long low monotonous rows of slated houses containing two apartments. Thus they feel that they are peculiarly outcasts of civilisation—that to the great mass of their fellow-men their existence is apparently unknown or at least disregarded. Nor can we wonder at, or blame, this indifference on the part of outsiders. There is an association of beauty and historic interest attached to the tenant farmers of Ireland and the crofters of Skye and Tiree, that enlists the sympathy of the average public in their struggles against social oppression, which is entirely absent in the case of the miners. Their name suggests nothing attractive in nature or art, but rather ugliness—dark, unwholesome mines, explosions, squalid rows of houses, and grimly-garbed men. Another element in accounting for the disaffection of the miners, is that they are largely composed of Irishmen, who have a wholesome chronic antagonism to the constituted order of things. But perhaps a stronger element still, is the fact that the miners as a body have for years been battling against their employers in no spirit of the "mutual advantages of capital and labour," but in a spirit of inveterate enmity. The production of coal is not a complicated process; and the jugglery by which the earnings of the miners are transferred into the pockets of the capitalists and landlords cannot be kept occult as in many other branches of production. The miners know that they receive, according to the state of the market, 4d. or 6d. for digging and filling a ton of coal, and they also know that their masters receive from 6s. to 8s. for each ton at the pit head; and the fact that they are fleeced grossly and impudently, cannot be disguised from them by all the craft and *finesse* of modern economic legerdemain. It is not difficult to understand, therefore, why the war between the miners and their masters has been of such a persistent and bitter character.

Strikes amongst the miners are of continual occurrence. Indeed, the district is scarcely ever entirely free from them. Owing, however, to the want of concerted action, not only amongst all the miners of Scotland, but even amongst the miners of Lanarkshire itself, these strikes seldom achieve any advantage to the men. There is, however, one consoling feature in them, which is, that the masters suffer during a strike almost as much as the men. What with the "crushing in" of the coal, and the expenditure necessary to put the mine again in working order, and, sometimes more important than both, the rent or "royalty" to the landlord running on—the master or company seldom comes out of a strike without bitterly rueing the contest.

Last Saturday, the Glasgow Branch of the League made its first Saturday afternoon Propaganda Excursion to Blantyre, one of the most important mining districts in Scotland, situated about nine miles south of Glasgow. In this district there is a strike. The men working in one of Messrs. Dixon and Company's pits some time ago, came out on strike against a reduction of wages. The masters yielded and the men returned. It was found, however, that the manager had refused to allow the leaders of the strike to descend the pit, and the miners refused to a man next day to lift their lamps and go down until their comrades were also permitted to descend. Thus matters stand at present. It is surely encouraging to note this solidarity amongst these poor fellows, who when working earn only about 2s. per day, and can have literally nothing "laid by" for such emergencies, and who can expect only a pittance of support from their employed fellow-workmen. The price paid to the miners in this pit per ton of coal is, I understand, 3½d. to 4d. By making big "dargs," or outputs, they could even at this rate earn from 15s. to 20s. per week, but bitter experience has taught them how disastrous large outputs have been to themselves by "flooding the market;" and they have resolved, come what may, to restrict the output to the very lowest minimum that will enable them to live. The animus against the manager is very strong, as he is believed to be their chief foe. I had a somewhat grim evidence of this when I addressed the strikers a couple of Sundays ago. I had referred to the assassination of the manager of the Decazeville mines, and when I had done speaking one of the miners in exceedingly plain language, recommended that they should follow the example of the Decazeville strikers. This proposition met with unbounded applause, as did also a subsequent reiteration of it in more ingenious words, "You believe in prayer, then pray morning and night, pray standing and pray kneeling, that God may 'remove' this man." I must confess that I felt almost as if I were a contemptible reactionary when I interposed my advice against any such notion, and pointed out that the "removing" of one man or another would not improve their condition one whit, but possibly make it worse. The meeting of the League was held on an open piece of ground in the centre of the village. Many hundreds of miners were present, and Mr. Small, the Secretary of the Miners' Union, introduced the League in a thoroughly socialist speech. A miner, named Fury, who was voted into the "chair," pronounced himself at the outset a Socialist, and evinced in his speech a



thorough knowledge of the problem. I next addressed the meeting, and was followed by comrade Downie, who made his *debut* as an open-air orator, and spoke with exceeding pith. The miners listened throughout with the greatest attention, frequently applauding and interjecting remarks that showed they were thoroughly in sympathy with our teaching. One could not help feeling that the men required not so much to be instructed as organised and directed—that they are already Socialist enough, and are ready at our hands to form into line with us and join the “people marching on” to the Revolution.

We sold all the *Commonweals* we had with us—about two dozen copies—as well as a large quantity of Socialist pamphlets. Before going away many of the men came and shook hands with us, and made us promise to revisit them at an early date.

As a hint to other Branches, I may state that we took a paste-pot and brush with us, and in making our return journey on foot placarded the telegraph poles and walls on the roadside with leaflets, back numbers of the *Commonweal* and ‘Chants for Socialists.’ We intend doing this in all our future journeys, so that the roads leading into Glasgow will give wayfarers a notion that they are about to enter a veritable city of Socialists.

Tramping homeward in the dusky evening, we startled the dreams of the trees and wonder of the village folks with lusty renderings of the “March of the Workers” and the Marseillaise.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

### THE PEOPLE'S PRESS.

The knotty problem in the Home Rule issue is, how to make the Irish believe they have Home Rule and at the same time keep the Land Thief Rule of robbery.—*Industrial News*.

Give us this day our daily press, is the wish of many a workman. When a sufficient number get to wishing hard enough to make great sacrifices for it, their wish will be answered.—*Workmen's Advocate*.

The average brainless press scribbler is very busy now telling what he would do with Anarchists. At the same time were boss Anarchist Gould to chance into his sanctum he would kiss his big toe and boast of it afterwards.—*Industrial News*.

In labour organisations as in most other societies there are men of little minds and selfish purposes who regard their own spites and interests in preference to the good of their fellows. These are the men who by stooping to contemptible methods eventually ruin where they fail to rule. It behoves all good men to see that such persons are driven to the rear.—*Paterson Labor Standard*.

The forty-five millionaire senatorial lawyers are not inclined to make a law that will prevent lawyers from taking bribes in the shape of fees from corporations. It may be interesting to the ignorant dupes of the political bosses to know that Democrats and Republicans vote together on this just the same as they vote on all questions of interest to monopoly.—*Industrial News*.

PROFIT-SHARING.—Working-men have the sop of profit-sharing thrown at them once in a while. Profit-sharing with capital to divide the share awarded to labor is an *ignis fatuus*, a fraud. Labour is past, or getting past, profit-sharing, and demands all the profit. It produces everything, even capital, and should, therefore, have all it produces. Why not?—*Puget Sound Co-operator*.

If the poor starved factory girl could leave her garret these fine evenings and visit Newport or Saratoga, she would see the fat paunched factory lord and his libertine son paying homage to the flirting butterflies of fashion. How gallant and polite they are! No one would suppose to see them now that they are engaged in the very profitable business of robbing helpless women and children.—*Industrial News*.

When a man or woman or child starves to death or dies from privation, as they often do, every man who upholds the system of government under which they perished, amid wealth and plenty, should feel himself responsible. There is generally a remedy for every wrong and it is the duty of all mankind that a remedy be sought and found for this terrible state of affairs.—(San Francisco) *Truth*.

Mrs. Mackey, wife of the great American monopolist, who maintains a palace in Paris and another in London, has set the whole army of American toadys and brainless dudes on their heads, by giving a dinner to the Prince of Wales and seventeen other land thieves and mongrel monopolists. Mrs. Mackey can give a million dollar present to each of the little Mackeys every Christmas morning, while the children of American toilers who produce it all are dying for want of fresh air. What a glorious thing a free government is!—*Industrial News*.

One of Jay Gould's dispatches from Washington says that the “wholesale immigration of European Anarchists, Socialists, Communists, and dynamiters, is thought to be the underlying cause of most of our domestic difficulties.” This is the old trick of turning attention from the real cause of bad business and riots. It is social inequality and injustice that makes men violent in their language and their acts, and it is the plunder of the many by the few that paralyses industry and creates poverty and vice. The law to-day in this and all other countries legalises the plunder of the producing classes, and until this ceases to be so we must expect bad business, social uprisings, and criminal acts.—*Paterson Labor Standard*.

People who feel satisfied with the world as it is may pooh-pooh the aspirations and aims of Socialists, but it is well to remember that a large proportion of the vast multitude which makes up the population of the civilised world is not so satisfied, and sooner or later this fact will have to be reckoned with. It is well, therefore, in view of impending social changes, that all who wish to aid in directing the social forces, now gathering strength everywhere, should equip themselves for the task by acquiring full information and knowledge concerning the ideas and aims of the democracy.—*Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*.

ÆSOP'S FABLES REVISED.—THE LANDOWNER AND THE MULE.—A rich man had a piece of land on which a young mule was grazing. “I shall harness you,” said the man to the mule, “and make you plough this land to grow melons on, of which I am very fond, while the stalks will amply supply you with food.” To which the mule replied: “If I consent to toil on your teams, you will have all the melons and I shall be worse off than now, inasmuch as I shall have to eat dry stalks instead of feeding on the fresh green grass. I'll not do it, sir.” “How unreasonable you are,” remonstrated the landowner; “your father never had any other food but thistles, and yet would work sixteen hours and even more a day without grumbling.” “Alas! that is true!” retorted the mule, “but then you know my father was an ass.”—*Our Commonwealth*, S. Australia.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES.

### ITALIAN WAGE-SLAVERY IN LONDON.

It may not be generally known that in many parts of the metropolis, notably in the neighbourhood of Leather Lane, there obtains amongst the Italian population a system of exploitation which is almost incredible. I should say that among the plaster-figure makers and manufacturers of ornamental work the system is to be seen at its worst. The master employs generally about fourteen or fifteen lads, who are kept at work at hours ranging from 75 to 90 per week. The room in which they work is usually a kitchen, cellar, or some such miserable tenement. The workers are all lodged in the same room, the bedding consisting of straw or sacks. Their food consists almost entirely of a very poor kind of soup, which is kept over a fire in a large iron kettle for two or three days together, and to which these poor fellows apply when so inclined. It is needless to say that the sanitary conditions under which they live are something terrible. The weekly sum given them in wages is from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d., according to the caprice of their task-master.—W. W. B.

### AMERICA.

NEW YORK, July 15.—There is increasing indignation against the capitalist Judge Barrett on account of his vindictive sentences against the boycotters, and meetings of denunciation are still being held in this city and in Brooklyn. We had an illustration last Thursday of the way in which the arrests are being made. Seventeen men had been held for nearly two months on the charge of boycotting the Landgraff bakery, and when the cases were brought up before Barrett for trial, eleven of the accused had to be immediately discharged, on the ground that there was not a shred of evidence against them. The police had simply grabbed a crowd of innocent working-men, to appease the rage of the capitalist class and their judicial tools. But for the protests that are being made by working-men against Barrett's malice, these eleven men would doubtless have been thrown into the penitentiary for two or three years.

The journeymen house-painters of Brooklyn are preparing for a conflict with the bosses, who have concluded that they will either lengthen the day or shorten the pay. The painters, like the other building trades, have the nine-hour system, and they will be sustained by all the building trades.—*Cincinnati Unionist*.

The secret boycott against Ehret's beer is assuming various shapes. Here is one:

“New York, July 7. To the officers and members of the Tin Can and Pail Makers' Union.—Whereas, It has come to our knowledge that five men were stricken down last week by a malignant disease, believed to have its origin in the neighbourhood of George Ehret's brewery, Ninety-Second Street and Third Avenue. Therefore the board of health of the union hereby warns all members of the union to refrain from drinking any lager beer made in that brewery; and the board desires every member to heed this warning. Any neglect to do so will surely result in a serious mortality among the members of the union.—By order of the health board of the Tin Can and Pail Makers' Union of New York and vicinity.”—*Workmen's Advocate*.

BALTIMORE, July 15.—The Bricklayers' Union here, by a unanimous vote, decided on Thursday night to connect with the International Union.

On Monday July 19 the Furniture Workers' Co-operative factory will commence operations under most favourable auspices.

One Bauernschmidt, a brewer, made boast some two weeks ago that he didn't care anything for the action of organised labour. After a vigorous boycott of his beer for over a week he discharged his non-union foreman and made retraction of his boast in the German papers here. His beer is not objected to now.—*Cincinnati Unionist*.

WHEELING, July 15.—The streets are being excavated for the laying of natural gas mains. Although it gives many men employment, yet the number of unemployed seems to be undiminished. It seem to attract the surplus labour from other points.—*Cincinnati Unionist*.

### FRANCE.

“The members of the Executive of the Socialist Electoral Committee of the Seine, in anticipation of the municipal elections of the IVth and Xth Arrondissements, have decided that, in order to protest against the imprisonment of Roche and Duc-Quercy, continued in spite of the will of 100,000 citizens expressed at the last election in May, it will be advisable to choose Duc-Quercy as a candidate for the district of L'Hôpital Saint-Louis.” Again we say of this, as of Cipriani's parliamentary election, that as a possible means of releasing these two men from prison (for if one is out, the other will, we presume, go along) we wish his friends success, and hope that the committees of the arrondissement will take the intimation of the Socialists, and select Duc-Quercy as candidate.

M. des Isnards, a Legitimist of high birth, was sentenced to a month's imprisonment by the Correctional Tribunal of Marseilles for inciting to riot in the recent disturbance there, but was immediately set at liberty. Really, this is but a sorry and slighting treatment to subject a French nobleman to! In comparing his case with that of Roche and Duc-Quercy, M. des Isnards cannot but feel a dash of humiliation at the slight esteem in which he is held. The bastilles of past days were deemed scarcely strong enough to hold safely the dangerous spirits of the noble prisoners of the realm: now, alas! the authorities will scarcely offer them hospitality for a month!

The three citizens who were imprisoned for the attempt to display a black flag in the Place de la République on the 14th July have only now been set at liberty. These small official tyrannies sound very trivial and laughable, but they are all part of the “great whole.” Tout va bien!

The trial of Guesde and Louise Michel for incitement to murder is fixed to come off on the 12th August.

Indeed “the old order changes,” when we have to record children raising their own voices to protest against their exploiters. Here is an instance of it in an agricultural colony of orphans and foundlings in Porquerolles, an island in the south of France, not far from Toulon. This colony is a speculation of a certain M. de Roussen, who bought the island for agricultural pur-

poses, and not caring to pay for full-grown labour to cultivate the same, he managed to get about 100 boys placed at his disposal by the Administration of Public Relief of Paris, ostensibly to instruct them and bring them up to earn their own living, though in reality to exploit their labour shamefully. The continued ill-treatment at this place caused four of the boys, whose ages vary from 12 to 20, to attempt twice to escape in a boat, falling into the hands of the gendarmes on reaching Hyères. Their deposition there led to an official enquiry into the state of things, which was found to be iniquitous in the extreme. They are over-worked and ill-fed; and in short it is no exaggeration to say that the colony of Porquerolles becomes a veritable convict-prison to the little waifs and strays who are sent there. The director was severely blamed on the discovery of the state of affairs, and, naturally enraged at the interference, he brought down the storm on his own head by increasing the customary severities. The insurgents went to work in picturesque style: they armed themselves with stones and sticks, and, mounting a little hill crowned by an old disused fort, they installed themselves therein, put it in a state of defence, and raised the drawbridge. At this appalling spectacle the poor director, M. Ferry, quite lost his head, and telegraphed to Toulon for military assistance. The authorities preferred to attempt a peaceful parley, which was successfully achieved by the sous-préfet of Hyères. The drawbridge was lowered, and the young insurgents left their "bad eminence" to resume work. Reform is of course promised them, but M. Ferry has been stupid enough to renew severities, which has brought on another *émeute*, followed by renewed telegrams for help from Toulon, renewed promises, etc., etc., and there the matter rests at present.

There has been an attempted revolt at the prison of La Roquette, this not being an isolated case, as several other penitentiaries of the Seine Department are in a disquieting state of effervescence. One paper declares that a mutiny at La Roquette was no more than what might be looked for; for though one does not expect a penitentiary to be exactly a bed of roses, yet the prisoners are left almost to die of hunger. I quote the bill-of-fare of the ordinary régime of the prisons of the Seine. It consists of two kinds of rations—"ration maigre" and "ration grasse," the latter being the régime of those who are in on a long term. "Ration maigre" consists of breakfast,  $\frac{1}{2}$ -litre of soup; dinner,  $\frac{1}{2}$ -litre dried vegetables and potatoes, or rice; and 500 grammes of bread per day. "Ration grasse," breakfast,  $\frac{1}{2}$ -litre of soup; dinner, 25 grammes of beef, and bread. It is needless to say that all the food is of the worst quality, and badly cooked. It is sometimes put to a warlike use, as the director of Saint-Lazare, who, on visiting one section of the prison lately, was received by a shower of stony haricot-beans, can testify.

There is a special bureau for mendicity at the Prefecture of Police at Paris. All the beggars arrested during the previous day and night file before the head of the second division, who examines them and then decides as he thinks fit what shall be done with them. This functionary has his audiences quite privately, so that it is impossible to control his decision. The number of beggars arrested in Paris increases terribly from year to year.

A strike has just taken place in a factory near Saint-Dié (Vosges): 120 weavers have refused to work, complaining of the insufficiency of their wages.

Roche and Duc-Quercy have been visited by some of their friends, who are indignant at their treatment in the prison of Montpellier. These political prisoners are treated so differently from ordinary criminals, lodged in wretched unwholesome cells in an overcrowded prison—one of the worst in France. This is a "levelling of classes" with a vengeance!

Think of being denied the gratification of spirit derived from chanting the "Marseillaise"! So it happened to a certain small commune of the Oise Department, whose hard-hearted mayor has so deep-rooted an antipathy to this universally—if not wisely—accepted patriotic song, that last year he had an enthusiastic citizen arrested and fined for demanding its execution by the town musicians, and this year the folk sigh in vain for the sound of their national anthem. Seriously, something too much is made of the "Marseillaise" by latter-day Socialists *pur sang*. We are not "patriots," surely, thirsting for blood, or, as it is usually (more decorously) put, yearning for Honour and Glory? M. M.

### STRIKE AT COPENHAGEN.

The female workers, numbering about 240, of Mr. J. H. Ruben, of Copenhagen, steam-loom weaver, are out on strike. The average wages of these workers, amongst whom are several married women, are 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a-day. The working-day is from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., with an hour and a half's rest, thus making the wages about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. an hour. This miserable gain is further reduced by a system of fines almost entirely at the will of the employer. For being five minutes late a fine of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., or more than an hour's wages, is due. The gates of the works close five minutes after the exact time for commencing work, thus exposing the workers, often residing at a distance, and having their house-work to attend to, to lose half-a-day's wages. The remainder of the bye-laws show a similar feeling of humanity. Mr. Ruben, who gains £10,000 a-year, thinks that his employés are gaining their dry bread too plentifully and easily, so he exacts a further reduction of wages. The women have ceased working. Mr. Ruben is trying to draw foreign workers to his factory. These facts speak for themselves, for those who consider the international union of the workers the weapon by which to fight for the common cause. Subscriptions are received by the *Strikekomiteen*, 22, Romersgade, Copenhagen; by the editor of the *Social-Democraten*, Copenhagen, and will be accounted for in that paper.

FOLLY OF DIVIDING MORAL AND PHYSICAL FORCE.—Two travellers were way-laid by a robber. They felt that united they were stronger than he, and fearlessly pursued their journey. As they walked on together, they discussed the manner in which they should pass him. The one said, "I will arm myself, and if he ventures an attack, I will repel force with force;" the other said, "No, not so, let us reason with him." Doubtless, both plans were very well meant; but they could not do less than quarrel. The bandit heard their dispute, and attacked the armed man, whose companion would render him no resistance. Singly, the traveller was no match for the bandit, and, though he gallantly defended himself, and severely wounded his assailant, he was at last slain. The bandit then turned upon the man of peace and stabbed him to the heart.—*Char-List Circular*.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

### Notices to Members.

Reading Room.—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.

Library.—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Norwich, to April 30. Bradford, Croydon, Hackney, Merton, to May 31. Hammersmith, Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Dublin, Leeds, Mile-end, N. London, Oxford, to June 30. Manchester, to July 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Marylebone, to Sept. 30.—P. W.

### The "Commonweal" Board Brigade.

Saturday 31st July four comrades with boards and three selling the paper met at the Office and started for the south of London, taking Holborn, Waterloo Bridge, and south to the "Bricklayer's Arms," where a meeting was held, and then returning to the Office. Sale of papers good. If only more members would join us, a great many more papers would be sold. To-day (Saturday) again we shall take route in the south, and all members out of work are earnestly requested to turn up at the Head Office and help by carrying boards or selling papers. Time of starting, 1 p.m.—THOMAS E. WARDLE.

## REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, July 30, at Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, W., Charles Faulkner lectured to a good audience; some very weak discussion followed; sale of papers good.—Usual outdoor meetings were held with success.—T. E. W., sec.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, July 28th, D. Nicoll lectured to a good audience on "Law and Order," and pointed out very plainly that in our present Society there were plenty of bad laws and no order; a good discussion followed.—On Sunday morning, August 1, at the invitation of the secretary of the London Patriotic Club, Clerkenwell Green, W. Blundell lectured to a good muster of the members and friends on "Education," mainly dealing with the "passive obedience" doctrines of orthodox institutions, and the difficulties young men and women had to contend against in their endeavour to educate themselves on social (and even political) subjects; an able discussion followed, which was satisfactorily replied to.—Successful open-air meetings have been held during the week.—W. B.

MARYLEBONE.—On Saturday evening, a short meeting was held in the Harrow Road, which was addressed by comrade Nicoll, without any interference from the police.—On Sunday morning, comrade Donald spoke for about half an hour at the corner of Seymour Place, Marylebone Road. Several police and inspectors were present, but did not interfere.—In the afternoon we had a large audience in Hyde Park, in spite of the Church Army, who had taken up our position. The meeting was addressed by comrades Mainwaring, Morris, and Chambers. We had some opposition from a Hindoo, which was ably dealt with by comrade Morris. At the close, 8s. 4d. was collected for the Defence Fund.—H. G. A., sec.

MILE-END.—On Tuesday, July 27th, at the East London United Radical Club, 143, Mile End Road, at which address the meetings of this Branch will now be held, C. W. Mowbray lectured on "Woman: her Position To-day and under Socialism," to a large and interested audience. He dealt at length with the anomalous position of woman to-day, and showed the advantageous one to be obtained under a Socialist régime; a good discussion followed; a small collection was made towards the rent of hall. If we can hold on to this hall, and members give a little more of their time and energy in the coming winter, we shall have a very vigorous Branch.—H. DAVIS.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday evening at the Rooms, 84, John Street, comrade McLean (late of Jamaica) gave an interesting account of the social condition and recent history of the Island of Jamaica. He exposed the wholesale system of plunder carried on in the interest of British officials, and gave a graphic description of the habits of the negro population, who, in his opinion, understand better the use of life, and are in many respects more truly civilised, than the people who send out missionaries to reclaim them from "heathendom."—J. B. G.

HULL.—The first public meeting was held on July 30th, when J. L. Mahon lectured on "What Socialism Means." Owing to the rain there was only a small audience. Fair sale of literature.—T.

LEEDS.—Last Sunday morning we held our usual outdoor meeting on Hunslet Moor. Comrade Maguire addressed a very attentive audience on the "Condition of the Featherstone Miners," showing that there was no hope for the miners unless they demanded the nationalisation of the mines. After the lecture, one of the audience asked some questions relative to Earl Morley's address to the Co-operative Conference, and said that "Socialism was impracticable, inasmuch as it went against the laws of nature." Comrade Maguire answered the questions to the satisfaction not only of the audience in general, but of the questioner also.—In the evening we held an open-air meeting in Vicar's Croft. Comrades Sollett and Maguire spoke to a large and sympathising audience on "Passing Events."—Sale of *Commonweal* about two and a half quires for the day.—F. C., sec.

### "Commonweal" Printing Fund.

A SMOKING CONCERT will be held on SATURDAY AUGUST 14th, in the HALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE, 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C., in aid of the COMMONWEAL PRINTING FUND. All members are particularly asked to take a Ticket, and to sell as many as possible among their friends. Tickets, 6d. each, can be had at the Chief Office, and of all Branch Secretaries.—T. W.

The COMMONWEAL has hitherto been carried on with considerable difficulty, and only by heavy personal sacrifices in time and money, which are seldom, perhaps, taken into account by those who only think of getting a "big pennyworth." For the information of all whom it may concern, we state that the COMMONWEAL is in no sense a commercial speculation. The editors and contributors receive no pay for their work on it, and whatever gains may be eventually made by its publication will be wholly devoted to purposes of Socialist propaganda. We therefore ask for pecuniary help from those who believe in our Cause, to tide us over the early days of the struggle.

The Treasurer of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C., will gladly receive Subscriptions from all friends willing to aid in carrying on our Paper.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## London Branches.

- Bloomsbury.**—Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W. Friday, August 6, at 8.30 p.m. Adam Taylor, "Things as they are, and Things as they should be." 13. George Bernard Shaw, "Socialism and Malthusianism." Music before and after the lectures.
- Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday August 8, at 7.30 p.m. B. Somerville, "Emigration and the Capitalists; a Bitter Experience." Wednesday 11, at 8.30 p.m. A Lecture.
- Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.
- Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every alternate Tuesday at 9, for the enrolment of members and other business.
- Hammersmith.**—Kelmecott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays, at 8 p.m.
- Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday, August 8, at 7.45 p.m. D. Nicoll, "The Benevolent Bourgeois." 15. H. Davis, "Socialism and the Worker."
- Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.
- Mile-end.**—East London United Radical Club, Mile-end Rd. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. August 10. H. A. Barker, "Socialist Morality."
- North London.**—Communications to R. A. Bckett, St. Mildred's House, Poultry, E.C.
- South London.**—Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 at 112 Hill Street, Peckham, S.E.

## Country Branches.

- Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.
- Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
- Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.
- Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. Saturday afternoon, 7th August, Propaganda Excursion to Coatbridge. Members to gather at Rooms at 4 p.m. Sunday 8th, at the Rooms, 84 John Street, at 7 p.m., lecture by J. Bruce Glasier: Subject, "The Ethics of Plunder."
- Hull.**—Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street, every Friday at 7.45 p.m. August 13, William Morris's lecture on "Misery and the Way Out" will be read.
- Leeds.**—No meeting-room at present. Out-door stations notified below.
- Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.
- Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Ashton New Road. Contributions of books, pictures, and money for furnishing the Reading and Club Room will be gratefully acknowledged by Raymond Unwin, sec., at above address.
- Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Monday at 8. Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m. August 9. T. Morley, "Socialism and Freethought."
- Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.
- Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 27 Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

## LONDON.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 7.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7	D. J. Nicoll	N. London.
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7	W. Chambers	Clerkenwell.
	Regent's Park	7	H. H. Sparling	N. London.
	Mile-end Waste	8	C. W. Mowbray	Mile-end.
	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales")	7	T. E. Wardle	Marylebone.
S. 8.	Croydon	11	H. Davis	Croydon.
	Marylebone Rd., Seymour Pl.	11.30	A. K. Donald	Marylebone.
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	J. Lane	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—opposite Walham Green Station	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	H. A. Barker	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	Wade & Westwood	Mile-end.
	Regent's Park	11.30	D. J. Nicoll	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	W. Chambers	Bloomsbury.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30	The Branch	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	W. Morris	Hackney.
	Clerkenwell Green	7	The Branch	Clerkenwell.
	Croydon	7	H. Davis	Croydon.
	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7.30	H. Charles	N. London.
Tu. 10.	Soho—Broad Street	8	C. W. Mowbray	Bloomsbury.
Th. 12.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	C. W. Mowbray	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	8.30	H. Davis	Mile-end.

## PROVINCES.

- Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.
- Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.
- Manchester.**—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.
- Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

**Notice to Workmen's Clubs and Institutes.**—The Lecturers for the Socialist League will visit any part of London free of charge. Special arrangements must be made for the provinces. Early application should be made to the Lecture Secretary, at the offices of the League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

## FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Our comrades and friends are asked to bestir themselves to secure freedom of speech in our public ways, in contradistinction to freedom of speech for certain classes and sects only. The spirit of Socialism is at war with class interests: officialism is giving its support to class interests only. For endeavouring to assert the right of free speech the Socialist League has been heavily fined; and the Council of the League hereby asks that all friends of freedom should support the League with subscriptions in aid of this righteous cause. The Treasurer of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., will gladly accept, and acknowledge the receipt of, Pence, Shillings, or Pounds from friends of the Right of Free Speech in Public Places.

## RECEIVED.

Previously announced, £3, 12s. 1½d. July 29, North London Branch, 5s. 2½d. July 30, "G." (donation), 10s. Total, £4, 7s. 4d.—P. W.

## WHERE TO GET THE "COMMONWEAL."

## LONDON.

- Old Ford Road—Roberts, 4; Caudle, 139
- Globe Road—Poole, 24; Caudle, 241; Brown, 253
- Mile End Road—174. Haines, 212; W. Cole, 84
- New St., Bedford St., wholesale agent; Hendry, 6 Jubilee Street
- Commercial Road—C. A. Schweitzer, 43; Viney, 115; Busby Brothers, 184; Long, 234; Briggs, 244
- Whitechapel Road—Kerbey, 118; Eades, 219; J. Farmer, 41; J. Brown, 18 Bakers Row
- Hackney Road—Miller, 15; Wood, 103; Smith, 182; C. Ell, 443; Hammond, Goldsmith Row; Auckland, 4 Bishops Road; Vale, 4 Bonner Road
- Mare St., Hackney—J. Yates, 4 West Street
- Bishopsgate—E. T. Pendrill, 26 Brushfield St.
- Fleet Street—Freethought Publishing Co., 63; Reeves, 185
- Strand—Pitt, 30 Newcastle St.
- Farringdon St.—Progressive Publishing Co., 28 Stonecutter St.
- High Holborn—Truelove, 256
- Long Acre—Hebard, 49 Endsley St.
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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 14, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S LEADER.

PARLIAMENT has met for a ceremonial, and done about as much as it would have done if it had met for the despatch of business—nothing, to wit. But besides that, the two parliamentary groups that represent anything like principle and at the same time have any power in Parliament, have also met, and each has done so much at least as to announce its policy in the present state of things. The Parnellites have met in Dublin, and the Jingo-Whigs in Devonshire House; and the conclusions come to by both parties are certainly encouraging to those who wish to see an end of all parties, since they point directly to the further disintegration and final impotence of parliamentary government.

The Parnellites had obviously a very simple course to take: they had merely to state that they had not changed their minds at the bidding of the English shopkeeper terrified into a special exhibition of spite. They have taken that course, and have announced "that no measure offering less legislative or executive control over Irish affairs than that contained in Mr. Gladstone's Bill can be accepted as a settlement of the Irish national question." They would have betrayed their trust if they had said less than this, and no one supposed that they would say less. But they go further, and hint in terms by no means obscure that the rents are not likely to be forthcoming, and point out that the first and simplest measure of pacification must be the suspension of evictions. There is no doubt that the whole of non-Orange Ireland will support them in the war which they have declared. It is to be hoped under the circumstances that the Irish will not by rash outbreaks give the Government the opportunity of renewing direct and flagrant coercion: that would simplify their position very much. If the Irish "fight cunning," the position of the Government will be a very intricate and difficult one, unless, as is possible, they make up their minds to dish the Gladstonians by bringing in a real Home Rule Bill.

That they might do, if it only depended on themselves and their declared Tory following, who would but curse and follow; but they have to reckon also with the Whig-Jingo group, who are not under their leadership, though they are allies to be trusted, in the Irish matter at least; and *they* cannot allow serious concessions to be made, as their doing so would really mean opening the door to Mr. Gladstone again, and it is quite clear from what took place at Devonshire House that they are determined not to do that.

It really affords curious matter for reflection on the stability of mere party names and the influence that they still have over the mechanical cohesion of a party long after that party has lost its principles, that some of the Liberal papers, notably the *Daily News*, affect to look on Lord Hartington's speech at Devonshire House as an indication of the healing of the breach in the so-called "Liberal Party"; whereas it was the plainest statement of the irreconcilability of the split,—a definite tender of help to the Tory party so long as the latter would do its duty in opposing Mr. Gladstone and Home Rule. The "Liberal Party" can only be united by the Gladstonites declaring definitely against Home Rule; and doubtless many of them are longing to do so. Mr. Alderman Cook, for instance, will probably not lack his reward, but will be returned for East Birmingham as a convert to the cause of Chamberlainism and no surrender. If Mr. Gladstone were to die, or if he were to give up the parliamentary game, as he is not likely to do; or if he were to argue himself out of his present position of the Friend of Ireland, as it is to be feared he may do—this kind of reunion of the Liberal party would certainly take place; and then the world would wake up and find itself Whig. Apart from the *people*, who have an inconvenient craving for food once or twice in the twenty-four hours, not easy to satisfy at present, there would be a glorious Whig world,

in which contention would be dead, or would only be represented by a feeble Radical spray beating against the firm rock of Whiggery.

For as between the solid political parties the matter stands thus: the Liberals, the Radicals even, though some of them, like Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain, had coquetted with the Irish party at one time or another, had no thought of granting Home Rule to Ireland; Mr. Gladstone became converted to the necessity of granting it; one may well wonder why; possibly he may have seen the necessity of providing a new battle-field for the old Liberal and Conservative faction-fight; or again, he may have wished to atone for the Soudan massacres by making peace with Ireland; or, strange as it may seem to a non-professional politician, the elections of 1885 may have made him see for the first time that the Irish were almost unanimous in claiming Home Rule. Anyhow, he was converted, and bade his party be converted also, and most of them obeyed, since they were overawed by his appeal to the generosity and justice of the *People*; an appeal to which the *People* would probably have responded if they had had votes or dared to use them. But "the Party," the Parliamentary hacks, wire-pullers, etc., were converted against their wills, and though doubtless they are sorry that they have been thrust out of power, they will not be sorry to come back to power by the help of the "Unionist Liberals" as Home Rulers so modified that the Irish will not know them as friends.

This, then, is the chance of Lord Hartington and his friend and follower Mr. Chamberlain, that they may "unite" the Liberal party by taking away all reason for its existence, or, may not one say, by "uniting" it to the Tory party. For let us be clear about one thing, that except for this revolutionary question of Home Rule and its consequences, which has so strangely become a question for "practical" politicians, there is nothing which can be debated in Parliament concerning which the recognised factions have any serious difference of opinion, or on which at least they can differ seriously as to action. The Irish Question once resolutely shelved, the peace of the kingdom of heaven would descend on St. Stephens, except for a few Radicals, whose grumblings no one would heed, and who, if they were not blind, would have to declare themselves either Whigs or Socialists.

Let us hope that those who declare themselves the latter will also have the wits to come out of the Constitutional Parliament, and join the *People*, who were never intended to have anything serious to do with that august body, nor ever will, till the day when they destroy it.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## ORGANISED LABOUR.

### The Duty of the Trades' Unions in relation to Socialism.

#### I.

FELLOW-WORKERS,—As a staunch Trades'-unionist for over twenty years, I desire to call your serious attention to the present alarming condition of the unceasing struggle between Capital and Labour. It is useless to cry "Peace, peace," when there is no peace. The hard disagreeable reality forces itself upon us and cannot be evaded, that never has the conflict been fiercer and never has the outlook been more gloomy than now. In the dark days that we have passed through already, there has always been a rift in the clouds to cheer us with the promise of brighter hours, and amidst the din and strife of previous contests the hope of victory brought comfort and encouragement. But the conditions of the warfare are changed. No further successes are possible by the old methods and with the weapons we have hitherto used. Indeed, the utmost care and watchfulness are needed even to retain the positions we have won. For this reason I urge the immediate summoning of a Council of War to deliberate upon the situation and to consider the advisability, nay the imperative necessity of a complete change of tactics in order that the standard of Labour may yet be borne aloft and planted on heights heretofore deemed impossible of access.

Until now we have to a very large extent been struggling aimlessly

to attain what is vaguely termed "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," without the very faintest attempt to logically define what the phrase really means. The consequence is a most unequal and disastrous contest, as far as the workers are concerned, between Capital on the one hand, seeking to obtain the greatest amount of work for the least possible payment of money, and Labour that struggles, or rather tries to struggle, to get the largest amount of pay for the smallest amount of work.

It is true, that other conditions being favourable, combinations amongst the workers to withhold their labour-power from the market have enabled them to secure somewhat higher prices than individual higgling would probably have done. The artificial scarcity thus occasioned would to a certain extent operate in the same way as in the case of corn, or cotton, or other product, held back for a rise, but with this important difference that human labour-power is a very perishable commodity. Owing to the unfortunate fact that a certain amount of food, clothing, etc., things monopolised by a class, is necessary to sustain the life of the worker, it is impossible that labour can be withheld from the market for any considerable length of time and in sufficient quantity to produce any considerable effect. Taking a broad and general survey of the question, it will be seen that the real advantage gained is of the most trifling character, a rise of wages at one period being only too frequently counterbalanced by a depression at another. Even in trades unions where there has been no going back, and where the highest nominal rate of wages obtains, it will be found, as I shall endeavour to show further on, that this results in the benefit of a section only of the members, and is gained, in part at least, by the sacrifice of their weaker comrades. In fact, after all, the workers are simply obliged to sell themselves ("free contract" is the orthodox phrase) to the employers pretty much on the terms that a needy shop-keeper is forced to dispose of his goods, that is at cost-price or a little over it. In other words, wages though constantly oscillating, are to the producers of all created wealth the very smallest share of their productions which will enable them to live and perpetuate their class, while the manipulators of their destinies revel in an excess of riches accumulated as result of the undue proportion of the current wealth creation which the hideously unjust social conditions allow them to appropriate. It must always be borne in mind, too, that any improvement which does occur in the pay and general condition of the workers is always vastly disproportionate to the actual increase in the "national" wealth and resources. Nowadays the average production of the average worker has been many times multiplied by newly-applied elementary forces made available by newly-invented and constantly-improved machinery.

How much longer are we going to stand stolidly and helplessly looking on, feebly protesting, or, worse still, accepting contentedly the scraps from the feast as it were that we have ourselves provided—watching the Capitalist seize upon every development of art and science for his own profit and advancement, regardless of our responsibility in shaping the destinies of ourselves, our families, and our class? It is time that we began seriously to consider for what we are banded together. What is our goal? Whither are we going? For what ought we to strive? The exigencies of the moment doubtless compel a large share of our attention and moreover we are necessarily driven by our daily needs under the present conditions of society, to act very largely on the defensive, to adopt, as it were, a "hand-to-mouth policy." But these petty cares must not be allowed to occupy all our time, or to prevent us from considering matters of greater importance. It is doubtless very advantageous to the enemy to keep us constantly engaged in scattered desultory fighting for the possession of some unimportant outlying positions. But remember that all the while we are doing this our forces are being gradually weakened, our exchequer is becoming exhausted in providing for the care of the wounded (*i.e.*, the sick and unemployed) and so is deferred and rendered more difficult the necessary concentration of attack upon the citadel of Capitalism.

Now, after all, as has been well said, "the end of war is peace." Then what are the terms of the peace which Labour can make with Capital? Is there anything short of absolute and unconditional surrender of the claim of the capitalistic classes to exploit the workers? I say emphatically, No. It is not a question of how much we shall be robbed, but whether we shall permit ourselves to be robbed at all. It may be very well to try and limit the amount of black-mail we are obliged to pay until we are able to resist the obligation altogether; but surely we can never concede as a *right* that which is really taken by *force*, however much it may be veiled under the form of *law*.

I cannot conceive of any sane man justifying the claim of a fellow-man, be he idler or organiser, not only to compel him to work for both, but also to take possession of three-fourths of the product of his labour. Yet this is practically the position of the whole of the monopolists to-day in relation to the workers, and it will continue so long as the wage-system lasts, despite the utmost efforts of the trades' unions. This is no mere empty assertion, but is a strictly logical deduction from the facts and figures given in the Reports issued by the various unions; indeed, it is the inevitable outcome of the development of the competitive system of production. These Reports show, I think conclusively that Trades'-unionism has reached its zenith. On its present basis it can do little in the way of ameliorating the lot of the toilers, whilst it is utterly incapable of solving the labour question. So far from there appearing the faintest prospect of any general advance in wages or any material improvement in the condition of the workers, the facts are that the most successful unions are only able to maintain their positions by enormous subsidies to their unemployed; and the stability of some of the strongest provident societies belonging to the people is threat-

ened by the extreme pressure upon their funds due to the chronic distress arising from large numbers of their members being continually out of work. Some of the larger unions, including the Amalgamated Engineers, undoubtedly the most powerful labour organisation of the kind in the world, have been compelled to draw largely on their reserve funds. Thus everything points to the conclusion that the trades' unions, so far from becoming more formidable opponents of capitalism, are really losing ground as a fighting body, and are becoming relatively weaker every year. This may appear to some a startling statement; but if they look into the matter they will find: (1) That the actual number of adult male workers engaged in several of the chief industries is becoming less and less in proportion to the population; and (2) that the increase in the membership of the unions is accompanied by a vastly greater increase in the ratio of unemployed. In my own union (London Society of Compositors), taking three periods of twelve years each from 1848, I find that the amount paid under the head of "Unemployed Allowances" has increased nearly in the ratio of the arithmetical progression—1, 2, 3—rather over than under. That is to say, that nowadays the Society has to spend on an average £3 on merely defensive operations, as against £1 from 1848 to 1859 and £2 from 1860 to 1871. Or to put the matter in another and more striking light, I find that during the earlier years of the Society the amount paid for unemployed averaged only about one-eighth of the total income (in one year, 1854, it reached the extraordinarily low proportion of one-thirtieth), whereas during the last ten years it has never fallen below one-third; in 1879 it amounted to two-thirds of the total income, and during the three succeeding years to more than one-half.

The significance of these figures is vastly increased by the fact that they relate to a Society which has been exceptionally prosperous; which has so far suffered less than most trades from the long-continued and severe depression; and which is peculiarly free from the disturbing influence of machinery, that has worked such havoc amongst the workers in other occupations. If, then, we take the position of the most successful unions to-day, we shall find that we have arrived at the high-water mark of Trades'-unionism; and I ask my fellow-unionists to try and realise what that means, and then ask themselves if they are content to rest and be thankful, and to accept their present condition as the goal of their ambition.

I by no means wish to disparage the value of Trades'-unionism. On the contrary, I claim that the spirit of solidarity evolved, the administrative capacity developed, and the general educational effect produced by the association of the workers for a common object, is of itself an unmixed blessing. Neither am I concerned to deny that the unions have to some slight extent improved the material condition of the workers, and have been a power of good in regulating trade customs and conduct. But what I most strongly insist on is, that their whole course of action results simply in bolstering up a thoroughly vicious state of society—that they are merely attempting to modify some of the evils that it produces, whilst leaving the source of those evils—the wage-system itself—untouched. It must not be forgotten, too, as I have already observed, that the advantages gained, short as they fall of any rational satisfying of the needs of the labourer, are only shared by a fortunate few. In the earlier years of trade combinations, whilst the commercial system was reaching its highest development, and when it was the proud boast of patriotic Britons that England was the workshop of the world, any successes gained by the unions affected pretty well the whole of the members. But as the years went on, with the constant increase and improvement of machinery, the mad competition in the production of cheap goods as the sole end and aim of civilisation spread to other lands, and thus produced the inevitable glut of the markets, with all the terrible consequences of the constantly recurring trade crises and enormous displacement of labour. Thus, notwithstanding the nine-hour movement and the passing of Factory Acts reducing the hours of labour, there is in every trade a large number constantly unemployed; and whilst of course it is true that the individuals who comprise this surplus-labour population are constantly changing, yet it will be found that there is in operation a law of selection which enables the employers to take their pick of the workers, and thus to a certain extent recoup themselves for the higher prices paid for labour. It is matter of common observation that men passed middle-age have increasing difficulty in getting employment; and the evidence of advancing age, such as the appearance of grey hairs or weakening of the sight, brings anxiety to many lest they may be called upon to make way for younger and more robust competitors. The slightly higher remuneration which a proportion of our number receive during their years of youth and vigour is therefore gained on condition of supporting the worn-out slaves of Capitalism, with the prospect before them of being displaced in their turn to swell the ranks of the unemployed.

Trades'-unionism affords absolutely no remedy for this. Even if every non-unionist were to join our ranks to-morrow, the result would simply be a further sifting of the workers, whereby the young, the strong, and the more competent would receive a shilling or two more per week, while the remainder would become chargeable on the "unemployed fund" of their respective societies.

T. BINNING.

(To be continued.)

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Only by making the ruling few uneasy, can the oppressed many obtain a particle of relief.—*Bentham*.

If a government cannot prevent revolt, it has no right to attempt to govern the revolvers; for it has not succeeded in attaining the only just end of government, namely, the comfort of the governed.—*Leigh Hunt*.

## SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE.

## I.—OXYGEN.

WERE it not for oxygen  
 You and I and other men  
 Could not live; bethink ye, then,  
 And praise the gods for oxygen.  
 Animals: the birds and kine,  
 The fish that swim, the grunting swine,  
 All live, but scientists opine—  
 They could not live sans oxygen.

Since oxygen sustaineth men  
 Of light and lore and mystic pen,  
 My blessings over and again,  
 My blessings upon oxygen.  
 Since singing birds and milchen kine,  
 And fish that swim, and grunting swine,  
 Are all of use to me and mine,  
 I do not grudge them oxygen.

But there are those that cumber earth,  
 Producing nought, and nothing worth,  
 Who feast without the fear of dearth,  
 And spoil the sweetest oxygen.  
 I say 'twere better they should die,  
 And so I'd limit their supply,  
 And this should be the reason why:—  
 They were not worth their oxygen.

T. MAGUIRE.

## "THE AXE IS LAID UNTO THE ROOT."

THERE are few worse signs of modern times than the habit of trying to patch up evil effects, instead of removing their causes. This habit runs through all departments of life. The doctor spends his skill trying to alleviate the sufferings brought on through systematic over eating and drinking by idle people. He prescribes pills and physic—a dose to be taken before each meal, and a pill after; and to what end is all this? Simply to make it easier to be a glutton and an idler. Not only is the time and skill utterly wasted, but it is absolutely harmful, as far as it succeeds, by blinding people to the true cause of all evil. A true doctor would go straight to the cause, and tell his patient to eat less and work more, and would refuse to waste time on him unless he did.

Acting in just the same blind way, our modern philanthropists build houses for "waifs and strays," or organise rescue societies for prostitutes, but never seek to remove the causes which are at work forcing children out to beg and girls out to sell themselves; and just so far as their efforts are successful do they delay any real attempt to remove the cause. They remove the most glaring part of the evil, and the rest passes unheeded, for society smells no smells which aren't forced up its nose.

If we examine all recent legislation for the alleviation of the condition of the poor, or the abolition of any evil, we shall find it based on exactly the same principle; and here it is the more infamous because it is used for the very purpose of postponing any attempt to get at the real cause, the removal of which would in most cases be inconvenient to the ruling classes. Take all the measures which have been passed to protect the workers from the oppression of their masters—Factory Acts, Employers' Liability, and others similar. What is the result of all this law-making and factory inspection? It has only taken away the most glaring tyrannies, and that by a complicated arrangement of inspection and reporting. I don't wish to underrate what has been accomplished by these measures. I know that many of the most cruel forms of oppression have been stamped out, and am thankful for it. Yet I say that in principle all these measures are wrong, and that they turn attention away from the real cause of all the evils; they lead the workers to look for constant fresh interferences with every little evil, until, if we go on, we shall soon have to have Government inspectors in every factory and workshop. But the worst part of this legislation is, as I said before, that it is passed, either consciously or unconsciously, for the definite purpose of turning attention away from the root-cause. Why is all this patching of our industrial system needed? Why do we need to pass laws to prevent employers killing, maiming, or robbing their men? Why cannot the men and masters arrange it between them? Because their interests are absolutely opposite; because it is the interest of the master to get as much work out of his man at as little cost to himself as possible, and it is the man's interest to get as much wages as possible for as little work. This is the root-cause of all the bother; and all legislation or all combination which does not help to remove this main cause is bad in principle and too often simply does harm by hiding the real cause.

I am afraid trades-unionism must come under the head of attempts which are bad in principle so long as their ultimate aim and hope is to make the two opposing interests meet on equal terms. In making the workers unite they have done good service; but in simply using that union to perpetuate a state of warfare between employers and employed they are on the wrong tack. For supposing it were possible for them to become as strong as the unions of the capitalists, there could be no final settlement of the labour question in that way: each party would

be afraid of the other, each maintaining a costly, and ever increasingly costly, organisation of war; they would always be trying to get advantage one of another, and any happy relations would be impossible. There is only one way to settle the labour question, and that is to remove the opposing interests and to put one common interest in place of them. Happiness can only result from a harmony of interests, not from warfare even between equal forces. The way to harmonise these opposing classes of employers and employed is to do away with the employers, the capitalists, and let all the means of production be held in common and used for the good of all.

"But you Socialists are so unpractical," some one will say; "what's the good talking about harmonising interests, and holding the means of production for common good?—that will take ages to come. Now we can get the Employers' Liability Act amended in the next Parliament, Leasehold Enfranchisement in the one following, and so go on gradually." Of all the unpractical people these are the most unpractical: they can't see that to remove the cause of an evil is the only way to cure it; they imagine that they are practical when tampering with effects, and point to those who are steadily working for the removal of the cause as idle dreamers, if not fools. The real practical man is the man who strikes at a cause and leaves the effects to follow. Another great root-cause which Socialists are working to abolish is production for profit. Here, again, the practical people have tried their hand with measures such as those to prevent adulteration, etc., with similar results to above. They cannot see that it is so much easier to go to the root of the matter than to be endlessly chopping at the branches, which grow out again somewhere else as fast as they cut them off. Let us look at one result of this production for profit, and see how it is attempted to get over it. I refer to the putting of bad material into work in order to gain the difference of price as extra profit. This is a most common practice, and any one wanting to get a large contract done has to guard against it as best he may. When a railway company want a large iron bridge making, they have to appoint an inspector, and have pieces, cut from every lot of plates or castings, tested to see if they are of right quality. This imposes a lot of useless and arbitrary regulations on the engineers who do the work, and it is very costly, but worst of all, it fails utterly to secure its purpose. After all these precautions the Tay bridge is blown down by a gust of wind! It is easy for all these restrictions to be shirked. I have known of bars to be tested made from a different quality of metal altogether from the casting which they were to represent. All this bad work and dishonest work can be cured by taking away its cause. Do away with production for profit, put production for use in its place, and there will be no more bad work or adulteration, for where would be the temptation? The workers, working in the common workshops for the good of all, would have every temptation to do their best and put the best material into their work. If they wanted a bridge they would build one that would stand, and would take good care it didn't want doing over again.

I might go on indefinitely citing cases where the real cause is shirked and some slight modification brought forward to hide it. A recent little agitation about the pit-brow women will serve to illustrate. Society is rather shocked to find women working like men at rough work, certainly not suitable for them, on the pit bank, and so seeks to get a law passed to stop it, which, if passed, would entail a great deal of misery on the women thrown out of work, and would lead us no nearer to the only thing worth doing, namely, the removal of the awful system which compels women to work at anything they can earn a crust by. Society thinks it quite fit for a woman to work herself to death in a garret making shirts for it to clothe itself with, so long as it is in a back slum out of sight; but for a woman to wear trousers like a man and haul coal about—it can't stand that!

We may prevent women doing this and the other, but there will be little improvement in the general lot of the women workers until the "dreamers" succeed in removing the cause of their oppression, until they so revolutionise Society as to make it possible for all to live comfortably by work suitable to them.

I use the word revolutionise, because nothing short of a revolution will do. We have got to a stage when mere reforms are useless, often worse. If you have a good system founded on rightness and harmony, it can be improved by reforms; but where the system is bad, where the base on which it is founded is selfishness and injustice, there is no place for reform, the basis must be changed entirely, and that is revolution.

I would impress this upon all Socialists who are tempted to run after various reforms as steps in the right direction: That any measure which does not strike at the root-cause is either useless or bad. And I would urge that by far the most practical thing to do is to show the causes, and accept nothing which does not remove them. Our work is to educate the people to see that mere reforms will not help them; and when we have once convinced them that only by their uniting and changing the whole system will it be possible for them to live happily, they will be able to do it without the help of the talkers at Westminster. When the workers have made up their minds to give up competition and production for profit, they will need no law to enable them to go and work for themselves, and no law will be able to stop them.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

The surest way to remove seditions is to take away the causes thereof.—*Bacon*.

As often as there is found to be too great a difference between the wishes of the people and the actual reality of things, in obedience to the laws of nature a revolution takes place; it may be dammed-up artificially by the organised powers for a while, but not for long.—*Max Nordau*.





“HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!”

*Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.*

*As all articles are signed, no special significance should be attached to them because of the position they may occupy in these pages. None, therefore, are to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.*

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Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.*

## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

**NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.**—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 11.*

ENGLAND	Toledo (O.)—Industrial News	ITALY
Norwich—Daylight	San Francisco (Cal.)—Truth	Brescia—Lo Sperimentale
Bristol Mercury	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	SPAIN
Republican	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Barcelona—Acracia
Justice	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Leicester Co-operative Record	Washington (D. C.)—National View	AUSTRIA
Club and Institute Journal	Newfoundland (Pa.)—La Torpille	Brunn—Volksfreund
Herald of Health	Portland (Oregon)—Alarm	HOLLAND
Southport Visitor	Paterson (N. J.) Labor Standard	Recht voor Allen
Anti-Sweater	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	HUNGARY
	Knights of Labor	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
UNITED STATES	FRANCE	NORWAY
New York—Volkszeitung	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Social-Democraten
Der Sozialist	Le Revolte	INDIA
Freiheit	La Revue Litteraire	Madras—People's Friend
Spread the Light	Guise—Le Devoir	Allahabad—People's Budget
Truthseeker	BELGIUM	Bombay—Times of India
Labor Lyceum	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair	
Boston—Woman's Journal		
Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer		

RECEIVED.—“Moderation”—“The Amsterdam Riots”—“Revolution”—“Piece  
Work.”

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

The impudence of the propertied class finds utterance after every Bank Holiday. A batch of letters appears in the newspapers complaining of the inconvenience that snobs are put to, because of the first-class railway carriages being filled with lads and lassies of the working class. The working-class folks are fools enough to allow the snobs to have the monopoly of the best carriages for 359 days of the year, and yet a plaintive wail is sent up because they have sometimes to share them the remaining six. These impudent letters will not fail to make the people understand the greed and selfishness of their masters. Another complaint of the letters is that the work-people are ill-mannered. Perhaps they are: so are their employers; but manners is but one of the many things the people are robbed of.

The North Metropolitan Tramway Company have made a net profit of £38,574 during the past half-year. This is, in a very true sense of the word, blood-money. A shareholder, Mr. Guesdon, stated the working hours of the men to be sixteen a-day. The chairman said it was only thirteen and a half. The men, it appears, are hanging about the cars for the two and a half hours referred to by the chairman, so that for all practical purposes the statement stands good that the working hours are sixteen. Such overwork means that the men have no time of any kind for recreation, and that ultimately they are sent to their graves before their normal time. The way the company conducts its business shows that nothing but profit is its object. The public convenience is not considered. On the line from Euston to "Nag's Head" they increase their fares on Sundays: no extra pay is given to the men or extra food to the horses. On the line from Archway, Highgate, to King's Cross, no transfer tickets are issued, which means that the public has to pay two fares on Sundays. These are but small samples of how they take mean advantages. Does any one seriously believe that a corporation that slowly murders its employés and that perpetrates such petty meannesses on the public should be

allowed to continue in such a course? It is time that the tramways were run in the interest of all.

Our oponents tell us that Socialism is impossible. I would ask them to meditate on the revolts that are taking place in every part of the world, and ask them if things can remain much longer as they are. From France, Belgium, Holland, United States, and Italy comes the same news of the people's rebellion against the tyranny of their oppressors. The monopolists have been having a quiet time of it for a good many years past, but now they are beginning to shake in their shoes. We urge on the workers to join the Socialist party; not to produce riots, but a revolution. We want to put an end to the monopolists; the rioters merely change them. Riots probably do more harm than good to the cause of the people. Only the revolution that will abolish capitalists and landlords, and put an organised people in their place, will make a change good for all.

It is stated that every three years there is created in this country limited liability stock to the amount of the national debt. Usury is of course paid upon this immense sum, so one hardly need wonder how it is that in spite of the enormous annual increase of wealth in this country the workers remain poor. The increase goes into the coffers of the usurers.

A. D.

On Wednesday appeared an abstract of the report of the Commission on the Depression in Trade, which, however, was repudiated the next day. In fact the report according to the account given was so grotesque, that it did look as if it might have been drawn up by a Socialist joker ; yet it is by no means so sure that it did not contain the gist of the genuine report somewhat denuded of its raiment of verbiage. After all there would be nothing wonderful in the Commissioners being at the bottom of the joke, as such people take great care never to study economy except from the point of view of the most worn-out bourgeois theories ; ignorance is an essential of their position as Commissioners. Also as they obviously can *do* nothing they may think it matters little what they *say*. Yet for one item I wonder what this solemn farce costs the country ?

It has been suggested that the Liberal members shall revenge themselves on Lord Randolph Churchill for his truculent address to the electors of Paddington, by rising and leaving the house in a body as soon as he begins to speak for the first time. This is not a bad idea, but such protests might be organised in a more complete manner, each one, for instance, of these protesting members might be brought back in turn, and a similar protest made against him for *his* special delinquency, ratting, fighting shy, lying, or what not; which would make a lively time of it in the house. Perhaps the very best organisation would result in each member so protesting against himself, walking out of the house and not coming back again. There would be many dry eyes at these departures.—W. M.

**SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.**

## CHAPTER IX.—THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND.

In our last two chapters we had to deal with a revolution which was as rich in dramatic interest, and as obviously so, as any period in the history of the world. We have now to note a series of events the well-spring of which was Great Britain. This series is not usually connected by modern historians so as to be dignified by the name of a Revolution ; but it is one nevertheless, and is at least as important in its bearing on the life of the modern world as that more startling and, on the surface, more terrible one in France.

In the last chapter wherein the condition of England was dealt with, we left it a prosperous country, in the ordinary sense of the word, under the rule of an orderly constitutionalism. There was no need here for the violent destruction of aristocratic privilege; it was of itself melting into money-privilege, and all was getting ready for the completest and securest system of the plunder of labour which the world had yet seen.

England was free in the bourgeois sense; that is, there were but a few checks, the survivals of earlier periods, to interfere with the exaction of the tribute which labour has to pay to property to be allowed to live. In a word, on the one hand exploitation was veiled: and on the other, the owners of property had no longer any duties to perform in return for the above-said tribute. Nevertheless, all this had to go on on a small scale for a while. Population had not increased largely since the beginning of the seventeenth century; agriculture was flourishing; one-thirtieth of the grain raised was exported from England; the working-classes were not hard pressed, and could not yet be bought and sold in masses. There were no large manufacturing towns, and no need for them; the presence of the material to be worked up, rather than the means for working it mechanically—fuel, to wit—gave a manufacturing character to this or that country-side. It was, for example, the sheep-pastures of the Yorkshire hill-sides, and not the existence of coal beneath them, which made the neighbourhood of the northern Bradford a weaving country. Its namesake on the Wiltshire Avon was in those days at least as important a centre of the clothing industry. The broadcloth of the Gloucestershire valleys, Devonshire and Hampshire kersies, Whitney blankets and Chipping Norton tweeds, meant sweet grass and long wool, with a little water-power to turn the fulling-mills, and not coal, to which material to be worked up was to be brought from the four quarters of the globe. The apparent con-

dition of labour in those days seems almost idyllic, compared with what it now is; but it must be remembered that then as now the worker was in the hands of the monopolist of land and raw material; nor was it likely that the latter should have held his special privilege for two hundred years without applying some system by which it could be made the most of. Between the period of the decay of the craft-gilds and this latter half of the eighteenth century there had grown up a system of labour which could not have been applied to the mediæval workmen; for they worked for themselves and not for a master or exploiter, and thus were masters of their material and their tools and their time. This system is that of the Division of Labour; under it the unit of labour is not an individual man, but a group, every member of which is helpless by himself, but trained by constant practice to the repetition of a small part of the work, acquires great precision and speed in its performance. In short, each man is not so much a machine as a part of a machine. As, for example, it takes five men to make a glass-bottle: it is the group of these five men that makes the bottle, not any one of them. It is clear that under this system the individual workman is entirely at the mercy of his master the capitalist in his capacity of superintendent of labour: in order not to be crushed by him, he must combine to oppose his own interests to those of his employer. It was by this system, then, that the demands of the growing world-market were supplied down to the end of the eighteenth century. The great political economist, Adam Smith, whose book was first published in 1771, marks the beginning of the transition between this system and that of the great machine industries; but his work implies throughout the Division of Labour system.

But that system was now to melt into the new one: the workman, from being a machine, was to become the auxiliary of a machine. The invention of the spinning-jenny by Hargreaves in 1760 is the first symptom of the beginning of this Industrial Revolution. From thence to the invention of steam as a motive-force, and thence again to our own days, the stream of invention has been continuous. The discovery that iron could be made with pit-coal removed the seat of the iron manufacture from the wooded countries of the south and west, where the old iron-works, called "bloomeries," used to be carried on, to the northern and midland coal districts, and all manufacture of any importance flowed to the seat of fuel; so that South Lancashire, for instance, was changed from a country of moorland and pasture, with a few market towns and the ancient manufacturing city of Manchester, into a district where the "villages," still so called, but with populations of fifteen or twenty thousand souls, are pretty much contiguous, and the country has all but disappeared. Of course a great part of this is the work of the years that have followed on the invention of railways; but even in the earlier period of this industrial revolution the change was tremendous and sudden and the sufferings of the working classes very great, as no attempt was made to alleviate the distress that was sure to be caused by the change from the use of human hands to machinery. Nor indeed could it have been made in a country governed by bourgeois constitutionalism until measures were actually forced on the government. In 1811 the prevailing distress was betokened by the first outbreak of the Luddites. These were organised bands of men who went about breaking up the machinery which was the immediate cause of their want of employment and consequent starvation. The locality where these riots were most frequent was the northern midland counties, where the newly-invented stocking-frames were specially obnoxious to them. The Luddites became the type of bodies of rioters who by a half-blind instinct throughout this period threw themselves against the advancing battalions of industrial revolution. In 1816, the year which followed the peace with France, the cessation of all the war industries threw more people still out of employment, and in addition the harvest was a specially bad one. As a consequence, this hunger insurrection was especially violent in that year. The riots were put down with corresponding violence, and the rioters punished with the utmost harshness. But as times mended somewhat this insurrection, which was, as we have said, a mere matter of hunger, and was founded on no principle, died out, although for a time riots having for their object destruction of property, especially of the plant and stock of manufacturers, went on through the whole of the first half of the century. The "Plug Riots,"<sup>1</sup> in the middle of the Chartist agitation, may be taken for an example of these.

It was a necessary consequence of the introduction of elaborate machinery that women and children should be largely employed in factories to diminish the number of adult males. This resource for the development of the profits of the new system was used by the manufacturers with the utmost recklessness, till at last it became clear to the bourgeois government that the scandal created by its abuse would put an end to its use altogether, unless something were done to palliate its immediate evils; and accordingly a series of Factory Acts were passed, in the teeth of the most strenuous and unscrupulous resistance on the part of the capitalists, who grudged the immediate loss which resulted in the hampering of the "roaring trade" they were driving, even though it were for the ultimate benefit of their class. The first of these Acts which was really intended to work was passed in 1830, and they were consolidated finally in 1867. It should be understood that these Acts were not intended to benefit the great mass of adult workers, but were rather concessions to the outcry of the philanthropists at the condition of the women and especially the children so employed.

Meanwhile, in spite of all the suffering caused by the Industrial Re-

volution, it was impossible for the capitalists to engross the whole of the profits gained by it, or at least to go on piling them up in an ever-increasing ratio. The class struggle took another form, besides that of mere hunger riots and forcible repression, that of the Trade Unions. Although the primary intention of these was the foundation of benefit societies, as with the first guilds of the early Middle Ages, like them also they had soon to take in hand matters dealing with the regulation of labour. The first struggles of the trades' unions with capital took place while they were still illegal; but the repeal of the law against the combination of workmen in 1824 set them free in that respect, and they soon began to be a power in the country. Aided by the rising tide of commercial prosperity, which made the capitalists more willing to yield up some part of their enormous profits rather than carry on the struggle à l'outrance, they prevailed in many trade contests, and succeeding in raising the standard of livelihood for skilled workmen, though of course by no means in proportion to the huge increase in the sum of the national income. Further than this it was and is impossible for them to go so long as they recognise the capitalists as a necessary part of the organisation of labour. It was not at first understood by the capitalist class that they did so recognise them, and consequently in the period of their early successes the trades' unions were considered mere revolutionists, and were treated to that kind of virulent and cowardly abuse and insult, which the shopkeeper in terror for his shop always has at his tongues end.

The abolition of the corn-laws in 1847 and the consequent cheapening of necessary food for the workers, the discovery of gold in California and Australia, the prodigious increase in the luxury and expenditure of the upper and middle classes, all the action and reaction of the commercial impulse created by the great machine industries, gave an appearance of general prosperity to the country, in which, as we have said, the skilled workmen did partake to a certain extent; and the views of middle-class optimists as to the continuance of bourgeois progress, and the gradual absorption of all the worthy part of the working-classes into its ranks seemed confirmed till within the last few years; all the more as the practical triumph of the Liberal party had ceased to make "politics" a burning question. Nevertheless, as a sign that the underground lava had not ceased flowing, it was noticed that ever since the ripening of the great industries, in periods of about ten years came recurring depressions of trade; these were accounted for in various ingenious ways, but otherwise did not trouble the capitalist mind, which got to consider this also, because of its regular recurrence, as a sign of the stability of the present system, and merely looked upon it as a thing to be taken into the general average and insured against in the usual manner. But within the last few years this latest eternal bourgeois providence has failed us. The nations whom we assumed would never do anything but provide us with raw materials, have become our rivals in manufacture and our competitors in the world-market, while owing to the fact that America has enormous stretches of easily tilled virgin soil, which does not need manure, and that the climate of India makes it easy to support life there, those two countries supply us with such large amounts of grain, and at so cheap a rate, that raising it in England has become unprofitable; so that the farmers are poor, and the landlords cannot get the same rents for agricultural land as formerly. The exports have fallen off; towns where six years ago trade was flourishing and wages high, are now encumbered with a population which they cannot find employment for; and though from time to time there are rumours of improvement in trade, nothing comes of them, and people are obliged to await some stroke of magic which shall bring us back our old prosperity "of leaps and bounds."

The fact is that the commerce of the great industries has entered insensibly into its second stage, and mere cut-throat competition between the different nations has taken the place of the benevolent commercial despotism of the only nation which was thoroughly prepared to take advantage of the Industrial Revolution—Great Britain, to wit.

This second stage is doubtless preparing the final one which will end with the death of the whole bourgeois commercial system. Meanwhile, what is the real social product of the Industrial Revolution? We answer the final triumph of the middle-classes, materially, intellectually, and morally. As the result of the great political revolution in France was the abolition of aristocratic privilege, and the domination in the world of politics of the bourgeoisie, which hitherto had had little to do with it, so the English Industrial Revolution may be said to have created a new commercial middle-class hitherto unknown to the world. This class on the one hand consolidated all the groups of the middle class of the preceding epoch, such as country squires large and small, big farmers, merchants, manufacturers, shopkeepers, and professional men; and made them so conscious of their solidarity, that the ordinary refined and thinking man of to-day cannot really see any other class at all, but only outside his own class certain heterogeneous groups to be used as instruments for the further advancement of that class. On the other hand, it has attained such complete domination that the upper classes are merely adjuncts to it and servants of it. In fact, these also are now of the bourgeois class, as they are all engaged in commerce in one way or other: e.g., the higher nobility are all either house-agents or coal-factors, and would be of no importance without their "businesses." Moreover, striving ever to extend itself downwards as well as upwards, the middle-class has absorbed so much in that direction, especially within the last thirty years, that it has now nothing left below it except the mere propertyless proletariat. These last are wholly dependent upon it, utterly powerless before it until the break up of the system which has created it, the signs of whose beginning

<sup>1</sup> This meant destruction of boilers in factories, the rioters pulling out the plugs to ensure their bursting.

we have just noted, shall *force* them into a revolt against it. In the course of that revolt this great middle-class will in its turn be absorbed into the proletariat, which will form a new Society in which classes will have ceased to exist. This is the next Revolution, as inevitable, as inexorable, as the rising of to-morrow's sun.

E. BELFORD BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued).

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE EMIGRATION OF CAPITALISTS.

SIR,—Reading your article upon the exodus of Marshall and Co., of Leeds, to America, has caused me to indite this letter to you. Of course, as a capitalist, I hold your journal and the party it represents in utter detestation, but as I am now in a splenetic mood, in consequence of being cut out in business by an opposition firm, I will favour you with my views upon the absurd conduct and speech of those capitalists who, because of your paltry agitation, talk of taking themselves and capital out of the country.

Looking as an Imperial Federationist over the British Empire, to which Burma has by Divine interposition been added, I see a vast and as yet undeveloped field for the enterprise and business capacity of the British capitalist. Already the mild Hindoo has succumbed to "superior methods of production," and instead of letting his children waste their time in play, as they were wont before the advent of British civilisation, they are now engaged in useful work in cotton mills, working nearly the same hours as in Lancashire before the detested Factory Acts, the repeal of which I as a member of the Liberty and Property Defence League, hope soon to see accomplished. Being heathens, moreover, they work on Sundays, and although, as a Christian, I must lament that they are foredoomed to eternal torments, yet the commercial advantages of the extra labour performed are simply enormous. Shaftesbury seriously menaced the stability of our commerce when he interfered in the matter. Happily he is removed to a better sphere, and prevented from introducing more harmful restrictions on free labour.

But to return to Marshall and Co. Now, next to the plastic, unresisting Hindoo, or the West Indian coolies and the patient rent-rendering Egyptian fellaheen, I place for docility the average British workman, and why a firm with all these to choose from as raw material should voluntarily emigrate to a country infested with strikers, Socialists, and boycotters, passes my comprehension. You, sir, could never have thoroughly studied the character of the English workman, or you would not now be engaged in your audacious but happily hopeless endeavour to stir up disunion between the workmen and their benevolent masters. When I contemplate the spectacle presented by the British workman, both past and present, I am lost in astonishment and admiration. Working 70, 80, and 100 hours per week, he has produced those colossal accumulations of wealth which have permitted us under heavenly guidance to extend the blessings of English commerce abroad. When the unregenerate foreigner has refused us repayment of our money lent in trusting faith, or the rude barbarian has refused alike the blessings of our teaching and our wares, then has the British son of toil serving as soldier, marine, or sailor, bled and died for the enforcement of just obligations and the glory of this great Empire. In return he asks for little, satisfied with his scars and stumps he returns to a grateful country, from which he only asks a pittance sufficient for his humble wants. Can you Socialists show so sublime a spectacle? We owe him much, for while denouncing the bloodthirsty projects of rebels, he has not hesitated to shed his blood and theirs in defence of his master's possessions. America might have carried out the fell promises of her Declaration of Independence but for his indomitable pluck, assisted by the skilful scalping knife of the simple Indian. France might also have never enjoyed the blessings of the Napoleonic régime, had he not thrown himself into the breach against the levelling Atheistic Republic, and if the faithful creature has in the exuberance of his loyalty violated military etiquette, and killed and spoiled on his own account, he has bared his back to the lash, and bowed obediently to his pastors and masters.

To-day he adds Burma and Egypt to his laurels, and pays uncomplaining the hundreds of millions incurred in the prosecution of England's civilising mission. Eminent in war, assiduous in labour, yet contented with his humble lot, and satisfied if he can but partake of his lowly pot of beer, or still better, the mildly aperient temperance drinks now offered him at a slight, far too slight, profit, by religious and benevolent friends. He replies to the illusory theories of mad agitators with a simple blow of his sturdy manly hand, or crushes them with the weight of inborn common sense. If your pests point enviously to the emporium, as evidence of inequality in distribution, he shows you triumphantly his chandler's shop to prove that he shares in the wealth of the country. If, again, you endeavour to stir up disloyalty and class-hatred, by alluding to large estates and incomes, he probes your wicked design at once by saying in truth "Wouldn't you like to get a slice yerself?" He discerns quickly that it is only the lazy and drunken who fail to get on, and they are paying you, sir, and your set to upset royalty, aristocracy, and all decent hardworking people. Even adversity does not change or sour him, and when through adversity, due to an inscrutable Providence, he has to seek the shelter of the workhouse, he cheers his labour at the stone heap or oakum shed, or his frugal meal of skilly, with reflections of the glory and greatness of the British Empire and the share he has had in building it up, and only hopes that the Prince of Wales and the Colonial exhibitors will make haste and federate it, and keep those damned foreigners out!

I repeat, sir, that you have not considered your position when you recklessly throw down the gauntlet to all that is stable and respectable in English life. Is there poverty, does it not stimulate scientific investigation, and lead to the searching out by social reformers, not rabid Socialists, of the hidden nutritive qualities of nettles, horsebeans, and cabbage leaves, as "rational alimentation for the working-class?" And where vegetarianism is not insisted upon, are not cookery classes instructing the young how to make the most of offal, tails, entrails, and bones, thus cheapening the prime joints for the superior classes, an unmixed good to all? While you are wickedly seeking to dis sever the holy family tie, we are building *creches* or nurseries, so that mothers may be engaged in industry without their babies; and if I have seemed to slight English working-women in my unbounded

admiration for the sterling qualities of their sons, husbands, and brothers, let me now make amends. You form your Branches and get a few malcontent men in a district, but I subscribe to the soup-kitchen, mission-hall, and mothers' meetings, and beat you into fits. The men may talk a lot of puling stuff about surplus value and social justice, but the honest woman has not married Socialism, she has married the man and *his wages*, and she knows that these stupid committee meetings are held against God, and the Queen, and the master; and as the master finds the wages she sticks to the master, and in fighting for the fulfilment of her contract she helps the master to his, and is consequently a grand preservative force. With true womanly instinct, which, by the way, is always genteel, she cannot, and rightly so, be brought to believe that a parcel of Toms, Jacks, and Harrys know more about what ought to be than those who are legally and lawfully set in authority over them; and as to poverty, does she not know from the mission hall that it is God's ordained will. Like the boy at Rugby, "I laugh, I dew," when I think of your stupid attempts to overturn Society. While she steadfastly opposes that kind of opposition to lawful authority, which ends in violence and bloodshed, she gives up with alacrity husband, brother, and son to fight and die for the honour of their Queen and country, and bestows her smiles upon the uniforms of her country's brave defenders. Bah! if you are searching for a *Théroigne de Mericourt* here you had better give it up, you will find, however, plenty of *Charlotte Corday's*!

And now, sir, in conclusion, whilst you and your set are prating about your glorious ideal, my class are gradually but surely arriving at theirs. I see in the future an army of apostles issuing from the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association, and kindred Christian institutions, men replete with scriptural texts and the principles of correct book-keeping; demure, disciplined, and self-contained, they will carry the word of the Lord into unknown lands, and also the advertisements of their employers. They will reconcile the truth of Christianity with a well-balanced ledger, thus uniting commerce and religion. They will clothe the naked *when they pay for it*. The unused labour-power of the idle savage, now running like the force of Niagara to waste, will be used; he will be taught not only to labour but to pray. Of course, he will also be taught to pay, and thus add to the glory of his master's name. The solitudes of Nature will resound to the clang of the factory and the mission-room bell, for many of which I have secured a contract from a brother in the Lord. London will extend despite the noisy nonsense about open spaces, until she reaches the provincial towns, thus instead of stupid wild flowers and unprofitable fields growing what we can import cheaper, there will be one vast assemblage of rent-producing workshops and houses, interspersed here and there with places of worship wherein the honest worker can return thanks for the Divine dispensation which has permitted the enterprising capitalist to shape the world, or at all events England, after his own image.—I am, yours disrespectfully,

A CAREWORN ANXIOUS CAPITALIST.

### ANOTHER SOCIALIST PROSECUTION.

ON August 6 Thomas E. Wardle and J. Allman appeared at Marylebone Police Court at two o'clock to answer to summonses taken out against them for causing an obstruction on 24th ult. by addressing 200 Socialists and others at the corner of Walterton and Fernhead roads. They found the magistrate had gone to lunch and had to lounge about the court-house lobby until "his wushup" had been fed. At last the defendants' names were called. The magistrate, Mr. Cooke, wished to put both defendants up together, but consented, on a protest from Wardle, to hear the cases separately. There were four witnesses for the prosecution—two policemen, X 382 and XR 16, a draper (Agate), and a queer-looking little chemist (Linney). Their tale was that a great obstruction had been caused by the crowd which assembled to hear the defendant Wardle, although both foot-passengers and vehicles were able to pass by. The little chemist said the noise of the speaker's voice was unbearable. In cross-examination XR 16 was asked to define an "open space." The constable looked in blank amazement at the defendant, and after a few seconds a sergeant of police in the court, by a nod, prompted XR 16 to say that he could not do so. I was under the impression that prompting witnesses was not permitted, but from what I observed at Marylebone I see the police are at liberty to do so. The queer little chemist Linney swore he heard Wardle speak on 31st ult. Wardle, however, proved that he did not speak at the place on that date. The complaint of Agate the draper that the meetings were a public nuisance, was grounded on his statement that they interfered with his trade. I am unable to see how, even if his trade were interfered with, that that could be a public nuisance. It might be a public benefit, because what he did not sell some other draper would; and it is as likely as not that the other drapers would give the public better bargains than he does. Wardle wished to put a question to the chemist as to the area of the space. This is clearly the most important part of the case, because if the space is 16,000 square feet, as stated by the defendant, 200 persons could not block it up. The magistrate would not allow the question to be put. It seems to me the lunch must have somewhat affected that magistrate's mind, else such a pertinent question would not have been alleged to have nothing to do with the case. Several witnesses appeared for the defence, and showed that there was no obstruction whatever, and that owing to the great area of the space from 7,000 to 8,000 persons would be required to fill up the roadway alone. Mr. Cooke then adjourned the case, for "the public convenience"—which meant one of two things: either the lunch had been insufficient, and the magistrate was anxious to dine, or he thought he would wait and see the judgment on Mainwaring at the Middlesex Sessions; but how the public could be inconvenienced on either of these grounds I for one am at a loss to know. A. K. DONALD.

Now as a matter of fact, the existing distinction between a commonplace Conservative and a commonplace Liberal, is one of name and name only. I defy you to name any important measure of home or foreign policy on which there is any substantial difference of opinion between the parties represented by Lord Salisbury and Lord Hartington. I defy you to name any grave reform likely to be proposed by the Radicals which the Whigs are not as much opposed to in principle as the Conservatives. All important reforms consistent with the preservation of our existing Constitution have practically been accomplished. All future reform must be of a revolutionary character, and involve an attack on some one of our fundamental institutions. Any such attack would be deprecated alike by Whigs and Conservatives. The time is fast coming, if it has not come already, when the two parties in the State will consist of the defenders and the assailants of our Constitution.—E. Dicey, C.B., *Nineteenth Century*, 1886, p. 303.



## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES.

## Manchester Carpenters and Joiners.

A correspondent, who signs himself a "Working Joiner Socialist and Trades' Unionist," sends word that a movement is on foot to reorganise the joiners in the city and suburbs. The following extracts from "Gleaner's" weekly letter in the *Illustrated Carpenter and Builder*, will show that there is much need for vigorous and united action:

"Much dissatisfaction is expressed by many trade unionist joiners at the action of a large number of joiners, unionist and non-unionist, who for years have undertaken work, 'piecework,' for jerry builders and property gamblers, and then employed youths at low rates of wages to execute the labour required, thereby assisting the 'pirates' of the trade to erect unsightly and hideous structures which it is to be hoped the rising generation of 'art-workers' will raze to the ground. The conditions under which operative joiners are employed by the large firms here, is a fair example of the results of non-organisation. On outside jobs, where, say, over a hundred men are employed, one foreman takes charge of the works, and under him are placed four or five 'josses,' whose duty is to closely watch the men at work. In some instances a 'joss' is placed in a room, and from starting time to 'knocking off' time, never leaves the room, or in any way ceases to drive the men at work. The employers evidently think that by adopting this system of 'slave driving (minus the whip),' they are getting a larger quantity of work done. It is questionable as to both quantity and quality. . . . In Manchester we have no 'walking time,' 'grinding time,' nor extra pay for overtime."

## Starving Yorkshire Miners.

For some time past the miners of certain populous districts in Yorkshire have been unable to procure wages amounting to more than six or seven shillings weekly per man. A great many more are utterly without work, and things south of Featherstone are at the lowest ebb they have ever been. The people are literally starving to death, soup-kitchens and subscription-lists notwithstanding. It is all taken as a matter of course, though. The fine weather is to blame mainly;—so people say, "because there is not so much coal wanted in summer-time as in winter." And so the men who hazard life and limb—that is, when they are permitted the favour—to give opulent England a cheery fireside together with an industrial greatness which has become her latter-day boast, and all for a dog's subsistence, are left quietly to starve. But the worst of it is they do quietly starve. Needless to say these miners are not slaves. They are free Englishmen, *with votes*.—T. M.

DUBLIN.—Our ideas seem to be spreading satisfactorily. During my visit I found that there were many people who would openly join us and work for Socialism as soon as Home Rule had become an established fact, meanwhile, they, rightly or wrongly, regard the latter as of paramount importance. The Branch members are an intelligent body of men, earnest, and fully alive to the importance of strenuous propaganda. They are making themselves felt, and are sure to reap an abundant harvest when the all-absorbing question of national independence has been settled.—S.

IPSWICH.—Our comrade Reynolds, lately of Norwich, has been doing good work in Ipswich. With the assistance of some of the Norwich members, he has managed to hold several meetings of the unemployed, and also some purely Socialist open-air meetings. The people come in goodly numbers, listen attentively, and seem favourably disposed. Our comrade intends to hold a meeting every Sunday morning at 11. On Sunday last there were about 200 present, who seemed very well impressed, and purchased literature pretty freely. There are good hopes of a strong Branch here.—H. B.

SOUTHPORT.—Our Southport friends are conducting an animated correspondence in the local press upon Socialism. Every one who can possibly do this, should follow their example—and send us the papers.—S.

## AMERICA.

BOSTON, July 28.—The special boycott committee on Ehret's beer reported that beer to be injurious to working people. The whole city is covered by the committee, who have gone systematically to work and obtained the names of all who sell the beer. The Germans are taking hold of the boycott and about forty in a body left a boarding-house where the obnoxious beverage was used. Just about this time many unions and other bodies of working-men are holding picnics, and the committee is inducing most of them to let this beer alone.—*John Swinton's Paper*.

CHICAGO.—The "Ku Klux Klan," of infamous notoriety, reappears as the "Conservators League of America," and was duly organised on Friday July 9, at the Sherman House Hotel. It is composed of three lawyers, one doctor, two electricians, three manufacturers, and one merchant. They start out to paralyse the labour-movement, but will hardly find the workmen so susceptible of bull-dozing as their predecessors did the niggers in days bygone.—S.

LONDON, ONT.—The International Molders' Union of London, Ont., have passed a series of resolutions setting forth the belief that the time has come for a union and solid compact between all national and international unions to stand by and give financial support to each other in all efforts for material advancement. This is a virtual indorsement of the fundamental principles of the Knights of Labour.—*Industrial News*.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—The locked-out bricklayers and masons of Providence have banded together in groups and the public are giving them a liberal number of jobs, to the envy of the boss builders who are boycotting union men. A Building Trades League has been projected by Carpenters Union 94 and is in course of formation.—(*Cleveland*) *Carpenter*.

## FRANCE.

AMPLEPUIE.—It is now six weeks that the weavers of Amplepui have been on strike, and there is no sign yet of their yielding.

LYONS.—The carpenters and joiners at Perrin's workshop at Lyons have been on strike since July 19th, in consequence of a reduction of wages.

MARSEILLES.—A meeting of the harbour labourers took place here on August 1st, with a view to organise a strike in the dock-yards of a contractor named Bruno-Huc, whose wages and conditions they consider unacceptable. After a good deal of discussion the strike was unanimously voted, and a committee was afterwards formed, whose business it should be to organise a general protest against the monopoly of the docks, and to bring about the union of various societies of labourers with a view to a general strike in the future.

Roche and Duc-Quercy are enjoying a change of air, having been transferred from the prison of Montpellier to that of Clairvaux.

The French papers say that M. Sarrien, Minister for the Home Department, in consequence of the revelations of the abuses in the prisons of the Seine, is going to inspect the asylums and penitentiaries himself, that he may with his own eyes ascertain the truth of the denunciations. Yet it would almost seem that M. Sarrien had in reality no very anxious wish to learn the true state of these places, or he would strictly conceal his intention, and descend upon the officials and guardians as a pleasant surprise. Instead of which it is allowed to become known, giving them ample time to pay him the compliment of *preparing* for his visit. The dignity of no man—be he M. le Président himself—can remove from that Ministerial Visit its solemnly farcical aspect.—M. M.

## ITALY.

FLORENCE.—We have news of a strike of 1500 workers at a tobacco factory in this city. It is the usual complaint of the leaves being too dry. They demand an augmentation of 3 centimes for every 100 cigars. The Prefect has appealed for Ministerial intervention.

PADUA.—The Socialists arrested on a charge of "conspiracy" have appeared before the Court of Assize here, and have all been acquitted. They left the Court amid the applause of all assembled to watch the proceedings. Several friends of the Cause have taken advantage of the occasion to preach Socialist principles energetically. During the trial several Anarchist papers and pamphlets have been read *in extenso*. This, together with the straightforward declarations of principles made by our friends, has no doubt made a good deal of propaganda. Nay, that is almost the sole kind of propaganda possible in the present condition of "free" Italy. We must, however, add that more than one of our comrades just acquitted by the jury of Padua have had their health severely impaired by the long detention.

Strikes in Italy are always *à l'ordre du jour*. At this moment they number six or seven—viz., that of the cigar-makers (women) at Florence, that of the cabmen at Leghorn, that of the bakers at Milan, etc. The last-named strikers only ask for *one day of rest in the month*.

Cipriani, whose previous election was invalidated by the Chamber, has been returned again both at Forti and Ravenna. There has also lately been another protest-election, although not of a Socialist—a journalist imprisoned at Rome having been returned by a constituency of the same town. The constitutional press cries out against the "scandal" of these elections, taken in avowed opposition to the judicial sentences; but it is clear that bourgeois-justice has already severely taxed the patience and forbearance of the Italian people. S. M.

## GERMANY.

## Bebel, Vollmer, and Others Condemned to Prison.

In spite of the muzzle law against the Socialists in Germany, every month increases the adherents of Socialism. So rapid have been the strides, that Bismarck has made another effort to strike terror into the hearts of the people. Nine Socialists: Auer, Bebel, Frohme, Viereck, Vollmer, Ulrich, Dietz, Heinzel, and Müller, were condemned at Freiburg last week to terms of imprisonment, the first six to nine months, and the other three to six months. The grounds of the sentence were that the accused formed part of a secret society for spreading Socialism, and endeavouring to break certain laws of the country. This is not the first attempt on the part of Bismarck to get up a prosecution, but the previous ones failed. The public prosecutor acted like a Spanish inquisitor. He endeavoured to get the accused to admit that they would like to see the *Sozial Demokrat* have a wider circulation than it has now. As if the likes and dislikes of a man should be evidence against him. Bebel said he would like its circulation to be half a million. That there was any secret society was denied. How, then, is the *Sozial Demokrat* carried on and distributed throughout Germany, in spite of the law? asked the prosecution. It is due to private individuals who act on their own initiative. For the eighteen years previous to the muzzle law, the Socialists had a splendid organization, and now, owing to that training, they are able to act in harmony without having any external organisation or any Executive Committee. Every German Socialist considers it his duty to contribute what he can towards the journal, which is now one of the most effective means for spreading Socialism, and this he does without any compulsion. Bismarck wanted a conviction, and as the law is a mere government machine for protecting the monopolies of the privileged classes, and in no ways concerned with the administration of justice, these men who have tried to advance the Cause of Humanity have been sent to prison.—D.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

## BRANCH REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday evening, August 4th, W. Blundell addressed a good audience on "Starvation, Physical and Mental," in the course of which he advocated educational and political action, disregarding all attempts of Parliamentary reforms or palliatives; a brisk discussion followed.—On Saturday evening, August 7th, in Hyde Park, Donald, Wardle, and other comrades held a large and successful meeting.—On Sunday evening, August 8th, at Clerkenwell Green, Blundell drew a good audience together by singing, and then B. Somerville addressed them on "Emigration and the Capitalists," and pointed out many fallacies not generally known; no opposition. T. Wardle spoke of the inconsistencies of the police prosecution, and the meeting closed with another song, the people staying although it was raining very fast. Defence Fund, 2s. 1d.—W. B. CROYDON.—Last Sunday morning, G. Burcham addressed a highly interested body of workers at our outdoor station, Cross Roads, Canterbury Road. Some

feeble opposition was offered by a Christian stumpist (who, however, declined to debate on the plea that he was not very well), and by a passer-by in a tall hat, both of whom our comrade dealt with, greatly to the amusement and satisfaction of the bystanders.—In the evening, comrade Burcham lectured at the Royal County House on "Socialism, what is it?" to a good audience, who frequently applauded his remarks. New member enrolled at the close of meeting and good collection.—A. T., assist. sec.

**HACKNEY.**—We held our usual meeting in Well Street, at 11.30 last Sunday morning, which was addressed by Lane and Flockton, to a fair audience.—At 3.30, in Victoria Park, W. Morris addressed a good audience for a hour and a quarter; Lane, Mowbray, and Davis also spoke. At the end of comrade Morris's address, we had some opposition from a Christian, who is well known in the Park. We sold a quire and a half of *Commonweal*.—J. F., sec.

**MARYLEBONE.**—On Saturday evening, B. Somerville, of the London Patriotic Club, addressed our meeting in the Harrow Road. He commenced by saying that he had come there as a Radical to protest against the interference of the police with the Freedom of Speech, and he delivered a good address on "Emigration and the Capitalists." After he had spoken, comrade Blundell sang "The Starving Poor of Old England," the chorus of which was taken up with enthusiasm by the audience, who desired him to sing again, and after he had got through two verses of "The March of the Workers," the police requested him to get down, which he did; Somerville immediately got on to the platform again and spoke, and the police then took his name and address. The meeting was also addressed by comrades Allman and Wardle.—On Sunday morning we held a meeting at the corner of Seymour Place, which was addressed by comrade Allman. We have decided to take up another position in the district next Sunday morning.—In the afternoon our meeting in Hyde Park was opened by a song by comrade Blundell, which drew a large crowd, and the audience took up the chorus. The meeting was addressed by comrades Wardle and Donald, after which we had "The March of the Workers." Collections for the Defence Fund: Harrow Road, 1s. 6½d.; Hyde Park, 7s. 9d.—H. G. A., sec.

**NORTH LONDON.**—The usual meeting was held on Saturday evening at Ossulton Street, and a fair-sized audience listened attentively to speeches by comrades Nicoll, Charles, and Henderson. Some opposition was offered by a Tory working-man, the answers to whom seemed to satisfy the audience.—On Sunday, a very large meeting in Regent's Park was addressed by Nicoll and Henderson, and a rather lively discussion ensued between the latter and a prosperous-looking capitalist, who advocated thrift, and told the audience that though he was now in receipt of £800 to £1000 per annum, he started life at the age of 18 with 4s. a-week, from which he saved 1s. 6d. ! The audience was completely in sympathy with our view. Sale of *Commonweal* good; 2s. 9d. collected for Defence Fund.—F. H., sec.

**BRADFORD.**—On Sunday, August 8th, we held our first open-air meeting here at the corner of Godwin Street and Sunbridge Road, and comrades Minty, Maguire, and Mitchel delivered short addresses to an attentive audience. No opposition was offered. We sold a small quantity of literature.—In the evening we held a meeting of members and friends at our usual meeting-place, Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road, where we decided upon to continue the outdoor propaganda in Bradford and district.—C. H.

**DUBLIN.**—Our comrade Sparling visited this Branch from Sunday morning, August 1, to the following Wednesday night. Several informal meetings of the Branch members were held, and one regular meeting. Owing to the exceptional circumstances in which it is placed, the Branch had become somewhat disorganised, but with Sparling's assistance the difficulties have been surmounted, and there is every prospect of renewed and vigorous existence. The Branch is now taking steps toward the formation of a club, so that it may have a fixed meeting-place and known address.—K.

**GLASGOW.**—A most successful meeting was held by the Branch at Coatbridge, on Saturday evening. We took up a position at the Cross, and in a few minutes a large audience assembled around us. Comrades Glasier, Warrington, Downie, and Rae delivered addresses, which were eagerly listened to and frequently applauded. Towards the close of our meeting (which lasted two hours), one of the audience—a miner—asked permission to speak, and gave admirable testimony to our doctrine. When going away another listener, H. Peevor, insisted that names should be taken and a Branch of the League formed at once. A good many names were immediately handed in, and comrade Peevor was entrusted with the work of organising the Branch. Over 11s. worth of literature was sold, including four dozen *Commonweals*.—In the Rooms, 84, John Street, comrade McLaren delivered an address on "State Organisation of Labour," comrade Glasier being unavoidably prevented from giving his lecture as announced; a good discussion followed. Altogether, the prospects of good work being done here are much brighter since Morris's visit.—J. B. G.

**HULL.**—On the 6th inst., J. L. Mahon lectured on "How Socialism may be Realised," criticising adversely Parliamentary tactics, palliatives, "stepping-stones" (so-called) to Socialism, etc., and impressing on his hearers that the duty of Socialists at present is simply to propagate their ideas and make Socialists. We must spread intelligent ideas on economic matters, and get the workers to understand their social rights. Education is the great thing needed, the rest will be achieved by the evolution of Society.—T.

**MANCHESTER.**—Three open-air meetings were held on Sunday in Openshaw and Gorton districts. At Grey Mare corner in the morning, some discussion was caused by a man who advocated thrift as the basis of any movement for the elevation of the workers. The question of thrift is to be fully discussed next Sunday. We could do much more work in this district had we more speakers. The club and reading-room is open every evening from six to ten, except Sundays. Gifts of books, pictures, etc., will be gladly acknowledged by the secretary.—R. U.

(Late Reports unavoidably left over owing to extreme pressure upon space.)

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

- Bloomsbury.**—Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W. Friday, August 13, at 8.30 p.m. George Bernard Shaw, "Socialism and Malthusianism." Music before and after the lecture.
- Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday August 15, at 7.30 p.m. R. A. Beckett, "Equality." Wednesday 18, at 8.30 p.m. T. E. Wardle, "The Fallacies of Society."
- Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Aug. 15, at 7 p.m. T. E. Wardle, "The Fallacies of Society."
- Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every alternate Tuesday at 9, for the enrolment of members and other business.
- Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays, at 8 p.m. August 15. A. K. Donald, "Methods of Propaganda." Half-yearly general meeting of members, Aug. 22, at 6 p.m.
- Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday August 15, at 7.45 p.m. H. Davis, "Socialism and the Worker." 22. C. W. Mowbray, "The Position of Woman under Socialism and Her Position To-day."
- Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.
- Mile-end.**—East London United Radical Club, Mile-end Rd. Tuesdays at 8 p.m.
- North London.**—32 Camden Road. Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m.
- South London.**—Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 at 112 Hill Street, Peckham, S.E.

### Country Branches.

- Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.
- Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
- Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.
- Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. Saturday afternoon, 14th August, Propaganda Excursion to Baillieston. Members meet in Rooms at 4 p.m.—On Sunday 15th, at 7 p.m., in the Rooms, 84 John Street, George M'Lean, Cambuslang, will lecture on "The French Communists of 1870."
- Hull.**—Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street. Friday Aug. 20, at 8.45 p.m. E. Teesdale, "The Evolution of Property."
- Leeds.**—No meeting-room at present. Out-door stations notified below.
- Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.
- Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening.—On Sunday August 22 Edward Carpenter will lecture in the Mechanics' Institute, Pottery Lane, at 7 p.m.: subject, "Justice before Charity."
- Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Monday at 8. Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.
- Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.
- Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Next Meeting on Thursday September 2, at 9 p.m.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

LONDON.					
Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.	
Sat. 14.	Euston Road—Ossulton St. ...	7	Wardle & Chambers	N. London.	
	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales")	7	Henderson	Mile-end.	
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch).....	7	H. H. Sparling	Clerkenwell.	
	Regent's Park .....	7	Nicoll and Beckett	N. London.	
	Mile-end Waste .....	8	Lane and Mowbray	Marylebone.	
S. 15.	Croydon .....	11	T. E. Wardle	Croydon.	
	Marylebone—corner of Salis-	11.30	H. Charles	Marylebone.	
	bury St. and Church St.				
	Hackney—Well Street .....	11.30	H. Davis	Hackney.	
	Hammersmith—Beadon Rd. ....	11.30	Tochatti	Hammersmith.	
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street.....	11.30	Lane and Barker	Hoxton.	
	Mile-end Waste .....	11.30	H. Graham	Mile-end.	
	Regent's Park .....	11.30	W. Chambers	N. London.	
	St. Pancras Arches.....	11.30	D. J. Nicoll	Bloomsbury.	
	Walham Green—opposite	11.30	H. H. Sparling	Hammersmith.	
Tu. 17.	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30	The Branch	Marylebone.	
	Victoria Park .....	3.30	Graham and Wade	Hackney.	
	Clerkenwell Green .....	7	The Branch	Clerkenwell.	
	Euston Road—Ossulton St. ....	7.30	The Branch	N. London.	
	Th. 19.—Soho—Broad Street .....	8	T. E. Wardle	Bloomsbury.	
Th. 19.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street....	8	H. A. Barker	Hoxton.	
	Mile-end Waste .....	8.30	C. W. Mowbray	Mile-end.	

### PROVINCES.

- Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.
- Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.
- Manchester.**—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.
- Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

## A SMOKING CONCERT

(IN AID OF THE "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND)

WILL BE GIVEN AT

FARRINGDON HALL, 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.,

TO-NIGHT (Saturday August 14th) AT 8 O'CLOCK.

### PROGRAMME.

#### PART I.

Pianoforte Solo,	MARY GOSTLING.
Song,	ANDREAS SCHEU.
Flute Solo,	
Recitation,	H. H. SPARLING.
Song,	W. BLUNDELL.
Recitation,	MR. PURSLOW.
Song,	MISS THORNDYKE.
(Albert and St. James's Halls and Covent Garden.)	
Violin Solo,	MR. TRIPPS.
Recitation,	E. SNELLING.

#### PART II.

Pianoforte Duet,	MISS THORNDYKE and ANNIE TAYLOR.
Song,	W. BLUNDELL.
Recitation,	MR. PURSLOW.
Song,	MISS THORNDYKE.
Violin Solo,	MR. TRIPPS.
Song,	ANDREAS SCHEU.
Recitation,	H. H. SPARLING.

#### FARCE.

Mrs. SNELLING, Messrs. SHORTER and SNELLING.

**COMMUNISTIC WORKING MEN'S CLUB, 49 TOTTENHAM STREET, TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, W.**—On Sunday, August 15, a Grand Entertainment, consisting of Theatre, Concert, and Ball, will take place, in aid of the Press Fund of the Russian Socialist Group, 40 Berner Street, London, E., commencing at 8 p.m. Programmes, 6d. each, can be obtained in all the International Socialist Clubs.

### THE

## PRACTICAL SOCIALIST.

AN EXPONENT OF EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM; BUT DISCUSSION OF ALL ASPECTS INVITED.

EDITED BY THOMAS BOLAS.

MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

W. REEVES, 185 FLEET STREET.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 32.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 21, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## THE ABOLITION OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN THE STREETS.

THE trial of the Socialists which ended on Friday 13th was not so well reported by most of the newspapers as some ordinary petty larceny case would have been; the *Pall Mall Gazette*, for instance, which was so hot about the Dod Street affair last year, not even noticing it till the last of the three days. Nevertheless, it is a matter of importance to the public generally, and not to Socialists only; for both the counsel for the prosecution and the judge laid it down as a matter beyond doubt that no persons can meet in any part of the public highway, however little the traffic over the meeting-place may be, however little the inconvenience caused by the meeting may be, without committing that terrible crime, "Obstruction." And the penalty for committing this crime is a fine which only a well-to-do person can pay; that is to say, for this crime a well-to-do man has to pay a fine, and a workman is sent to prison, there to be treated exactly as a felon is treated. Now apart from the preposterous exaggeration of a slight offence, and the punishing it as severely as if it were a crime, let all persons who are interested in making any cause popular by bringing it home to people who are too poor, too busy, or too shy to enter a hall,—let all such, I say, mark that they cannot any longer hold meetings in any public place except the parks (at present they are open to all) without rendering themselves liable to the above-stated penalty.

In giving his evidence on Thursday 12th Sir Charles Warren was very particular in asserting that it was obstructions and not meetings that his police interfered with, and he declined to accept the word "meeting" from the counsel who was eliciting his evidence; but now it is clear that all meetings are obstructions when held in a public place, and it is Sir Charles's duty to see that they are at once dispersed. And this not in London only, in one town or another, but throughout the length and breadth of the British Islands. Furthermore, it is not only the police who have it in their power to prevent any one obnoxious to the Government opening their mouths to speak in the open air, but it seems by last week's trial that any person can take out a summons against the persons so offending. Thus a political, religious, or temperance meeting is at the mercy of the first cantankerous person, neighbour or otherwise, or of a political or ecclesiastical enemy. In other words, it is a mere phrase without truth to say that freedom of speech exists in this country.

Last year when this very thing seemed to be threatened by the action of the police at Dod Street, the whole of the public who were not openly mere reactionists were prepared to help in sustaining the right of free speech; whereas now, when the affair has entered into a far more important and threatening stage, they seem to be apathetic. The probable reason for this is that Mr. Saunders foolishly let out what the real reason was for the police persecution, whereas the present attack has been made with a cunning which reflects much credit on the police and authorities as pupils in the school of Castlereagh. The dry official answers of Sir Charles Warren in the witness-box the other day left little to be wished for from this point of view.

But indeed the question for the non-Socialist bodies who may wish to address their fellow-citizens in the open air is not now, as it was last year, whether they will allow the Socialists to be crushed without helping them, but whether they will allow themselves to be crushed. They must understand that it is not a matter of the relative suitability of the corner of Bell Street as compared with other meeting places. Once more, all meeting in any public place except those specially set apart for it (if there be any such) is contrary to the law.

All who are on the side of progress may be well assured that if they do not take up the matter now the mere reactionists, who are the common enemies of us all, will look on with a grin of pleasure, possibly

not unmingled with surprise, while the other progressive bodies stand by to see the Socialists persecuted. This is, in fact, their revenge for Dod Street, or rather, their counter-stroke in the war for the free expression of opinion.

To speak plainly, we Socialists are not such fools that we do not understand the matter. Sir Charles Warren was put into Colonel Henderson's place after the Trafalgar Square riots that he might make a stroke on us by driving our propaganda out of the streets. The authorities probably would have no great wish to suppress the religious meetings, or those of Radicals or Secularists even; but if it must be done in order to get rid of us—well, it must; "and let's hope," would be their thought, "that they won't notice it or care about it much."

It only remains to be said that if they do not notice it, so much the worse for them, and to repeat that such petty persecution will not get rid of the discontent of the poor, nor of the only remedy for it—SOCIALISM.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## PROSECUTED FOR OPINION.

Trial of Members of the Socialist League and of the Social Democratic Federation for alleged Obstruction of the Queen's Highway in Marylebone.

### VINDICTIVE SENTENCE.

On Wednesday August 7, at the Middlesex Sessions, Samuel Mainwaring and J. E. Williams surrendered to their bail upon the charge of obstructing the Queen's highway at Bell Street, Edgware Road, on Sundays July 11th and 18th, forenoon and evening. Mr. Mead in opening the case for the prosecution, made use of the allegation which has now almost been rendered thread-bare by constant usage, that the inhabitants of Bell Street had been seriously inconvenienced for many months past by Socialist meetings. In the course of his speech, he laid great stress on the alleged fact that the police had throughout treated all meetings—religious, political and Socialist—with equal impartiality. He repudiated the accusation of any unfairness towards the Socialists, he quoted the street law which lays down that any person loitering in a street causes an obstruction, proceeding thence to explain that merely technical obstruction had to be judged in accordance with common sense, and it was only when it became a nuisance that it was interfered with. This assertion should be noted and account taken of the ease and rapidity with which it was afterwards repudiated. He proceeded to call witnesses, the first being police-inspector Bassett, who gave particulars of the meeting on the 11th of July.

Cross-examined by Mr. Thompson, counsel for Williams, he admitted that Bell Street was used as a market-place, and that he had not removed the stalls as being obstructive. I must here remark that as Mr. Thompson was questioning him concerning a Free Speech hand-bill distributed on the 11th ult., the judge (Mr. Edlin) interposed and with dignified severity pointed out that it would do the defendants no good to read that "blasphemous and seditious language." (!) On Mainwaring asking Bassett whether there were not a great number of plain-clothes detectives present on the morning of the 11th, he made the astounding assertion that it "was a little joke of some of the bystanders to stand there and be mistaken for detectives." The next witness, Superintendent Draper, admitted that religious and temperance meetings had been held thereabouts for the last ten years without police interference; had not heard complaints of the Church Army's meetings in Berkeley Street, which is a more important thoroughfare than Bell Street.

Mr. Thompson asked him if he had general orders to interfere with other meetings not Socialist, but the Judge interposed, and said that whether the police interfered with other meetings had nothing to do with their action on the dates in question. Next we have in the witness-box the publican Hillyer, who is slightly interesting as a full-blown specimen of the type of sporting publican with a short temper, which shows itself even in these sacred precincts. A round-robin is here produced, the gentleman's customers, only one-third of whom, he admits, reside in the street. During the examination of the next witness, Mr. Thompson tried to show that the meetings in question were of a special nature, and urged that special circumstances may over-ride technicalities of the law, but the judge ruled that only the "technical obstruction" could be considered. The witness Humphreys, who is said, on what seem to be good grounds, to be in the pay of the police, gave a touching picture of himself; a frank and public-spirited British subject, unsuspectingly walking out with his wife to take the air, and losing her amid the mob assembled. To Mainwaring's rather searching question, "Is it true that you are in the pay of the police?" he naturally answered in the negative, and added that he only wrote to the Commissioner of Police complaining of the meetings, because he thought it was a shame that people should be disturbed. This kind solicitude for his fellow-citizens (he does not reside in the immediate neighbourhood of Bell Street himself) did not touch the Socialist heart of Mainwaring, for he gave the witness to understand in



somewhat direct language that he found it difficult to believe he spoke the truth; or that he could do so without personal inconvenience. This little outburst on his part cost both defendants some outward show of dignity; instead of being accommodated with seats below Williams's counsel, "like gentlemen," the judge signified that they would have to take their place in the dock on the following day.—Inspector Shepherd, to the charge on the indictment, added the apparently impromptu charge of the evening meeting on the 18th being disorderly. He had to admit that he had seen other than Socialist meetings there, that they had not been interfered with, and that he had not summoned any others.—Inspector Gillis stretched the time of Mainwaring's speaking on the morning of the 18th to ten or twelve minutes, though it was already proved to have been an inappreciable time.

The case for the defence was then opened, H. H. Champion deposing that on receipt of a letter from Sir Charles Warren to the Paddington Branch of the S.D.F., he went to Scotland Yard, and had an interview with Colonel Pearson on the subject of keeping order at the meetings in Bell Street.—William Morris, on being called, said that he was the speaker on the morning of the 18th, the result of the meeting being that he was fined 1s. The magistrate did not exact any promise from him not to repeat the offence. Mainwaring: "Did you see a religious meeting lower down?" [Counsel for the Prosecution objecting, the judge said, "There may or may not have been undue forbearance shown towards other meetings, but this particular case must be kept to."] Mainwaring only got up to dismiss the meeting; had he done more, should have interposed. The judge detained Morris to satisfy his mind as to the difference between the Socialist League and the Social Democratic Federation (which last name stuck in his throat like Macbeth's "Amen," every time he laboured through the numerous syllables). He had to be informed that Morris was not of a superior grade in the Society, and that he could only have used friendly remonstrance with Mainwaring, had it been necessary to prevent him from speaking.—H. M. Hyndman's evidence was not allowed, as irrelevant.

Sir Charles Warren said that with a letter of the S.D.F. on the 13th, he also received bills containing matter contrary to the spirit of the letter; he took no action in consequence. During the evidence of this witness the judge was distinctly seen to prompt Mr. Mead, who, indeed, might be called "the junior counsel" for the prosecution, the judge himself acting as senior counsel. In mentioning in his letter "open spaces," Sir Charles said he had Hyde Park in his mind. The task of discriminating between different kinds of obstruction was left to the discretion of the police. Sir Charles made a great point of his not interfering with "meetings," but only with "obstructions."

Charles Faulkner was in Bell Street on the morning of the 18th, heard no complaints from passers-by, and saw no obstruction. On being questioned by Mainwaring as to the length of time he spoke, the judge interposed, and courteously and blandly explained to the defendant that it was useless proceeding in this direction, as defendant was fully as responsible as Morris for the meeting, being present and taking part in the same, although not speaking. To which the defendant asked his lordship why Faulkner was not standing in the dock beside him as equally responsible. Several other witnesses were called to prove no obstruction. Arnold said he was constantly present at the meetings, and had never heard complaints—until the police appeared on the scene. There was little vehicular traffic at the Edgware Road end of Bell Street. It was not more difficult to pass through the meeting than through the street market lower down, which was undisturbed. Mr. Mead objected to this statement as irrelevant. The Judge pointed out that "long-established comparative obstruction elsewhere cannot affect this issue. The stalls might have existed for so long that they have constituted a custom, and it is well known that in such cases the police are most unwilling to interfere;" (for example, the costermongers of Hammer-smith and elsewhere, where police forbearance was "conspicuous by its absence"). Arnold was of opinion that the meetings were larger on these two Sundays because the people in the neighbourhood resented the interference with the right of public speech. Among several other witnesses, a milkman named Andrews asserted that he had no difficulty in passing with his cart on the 11th. A carman gave evidence that his cart passed at the trot through the same meeting. Donald said he had often spoken in Bell Street, and there was little traffic there, especially on Sundays. Wardle gave evidence to the same effect, and the case for the defence was closed.

The trial dragged its weary length into the third day, when Williams's counsel addressed the jury somewhat at length, saying that it was an important case, and the first that had been brought before a common jury to decide upon; if they found his client guilty on an indictment so literally construed, it would be possible to find all English subjects guilty of like offences. At that rate the Lord Mayor's Show was illegal, or a crowd assembled before any street show. He proceeded to point out that it was no wilful, though technical obstruction. Did the letter to Sir Charles Warren look like law-breaking, defiance? The judge here interposed, contradicting himself wofully, for while earlier in the trial he said that custom and commonsense had modified the exact letter of the Act, yet now he would not allow Mr. Thompson to show that being willing to meet the convenience of the inhabitants, the defendants were not acting wilfully. The "Senior Counsel for the Prosecution" said there was no evidence on those points before the jury. Mr. Thompson remarked that he was precluded from showing the conciliatory intention of his client, a counter-memorial signed by thirty inhabitants of the neighbourhood not being allowed in evidence.

In addressing the jury, Mainwaring denied that all meetings were treated with equal impartiality, instancing a gentleman in Berkeley Street, who demanded of a policeman to take out a summons against a religious meeting there, and on the policeman, asking if it gave him annoyance, saying "No; but all should be treated alike." At the Grove, Stratford, the Socialists were interfered with, and Societies of other denominations left alone, as also at a place of meeting in Harrow Road, which measures 150ft. by 100ft., and at which religious and temperance meetings are held. They were asked why did they not preach their doctrines within halls? Well, they were hunted out of halls everywhere, and were obliged to take to the streets to gain a hearing. Socialist meetings in Hyde Park, he said, were always packed with police in uniform, and plain clothes too, while other meetings were unnoticed. The police were, in short, taking upon them the censorship of opinion. Mainwaring finished with an eloquent, simply-worded statement, of his position and opinions. He said: "I am defending my own case, and, as you can see, gentlemen of the jury, am no lawyer. Neither are you lawyers, but I am sure men of commonsense, and this is a case which must be judged by the light of commonsense. If I were told, 'he went on, 'not to speak in the streets in the future, I do not see how I could keep silent. I am bound to speak out my thoughts. I began a hard life at an early age to help my family, but though belonging to a class, very few of whose

members are not familiar with prison life at one time or other, I myself, I am glad to say, have kept out of that. I have wandered here and there all through the country, across the sea to the United States and back, in search of a scant livelihood, and I feel that I should be wrong indeed if, thinking that there was a possibility in the future of my children avoiding the like hardships, I kept silent and did not do everything in my power to strengthen that possibility."

The counsel for the prosecution, on rising, said that he felt unable to imitate the eloquence of his learned friend and the defendant Mainwaring; but really he was too modest, and I marvel that the jury were not much moved when he said that the law might be a bad one, but it would be an evil day when juries were supposed to re-frame the laws, and solemnly called upon them to divide their responsibility. He noted that anybody could take out a summons if the highway were obstructed. As to the reference to Lord Mayor's Show, etc., why did they not take out a summons against it if they wished? (Why, indeed?) The witnesses for the defence had done what was called "watering down" the case, practically saying there was some obstruction, but not much. Was it possible for respectable police constables to perjure themselves? (Oh, virtuous indignation at the mere suggestion thereof in a court of justice!) A gross charge of unfairness was made by the defence, but if anything there had been a blameable laxity on the part of the police. If they objected to "police" interference they could appeal to a higher tribunal—they could send a memorial to Parliament, and obtain a hearing of the whole country. (How broad and dignified this sounds!) It is curious to note, by the by, that in the course of their speeches both the counsel for the prosecution and the counsel for the defence used the expression, "The police are the servants of the public, not their masters." Is it possible that the learned counsel do not listen to each other's eloquence?

In summing up the learned judge began by stating that by the Common Law the highways are for the public to use in all ease and security, and that any act rendering them less commodious than they otherwise would be is an act of obstruction. (Therefore Sir Charles's nice distinction between a *meeting* and an *obstruction* cannot be of any importance.) His very eloquent and lengthy charge to the jury was in point of fact a piece of sophistical advocacy on the part of the Crown. He even hinted to the jury that they might consider whether the defendants had not been guilty of inciting to violence, and indeed treated the whole affair as a crime of the greatest magnitude, although Mr. Mead had in his speech admitted that it was more like a civil case than a criminal case. All this to an innocent non-legal mind appears to be a most extraordinary proceeding on the part of a judge. In referring to Sir Charles Warren's evidence he spoke of that gentleman with a sort of hushed awe and admiration, as if fencing, not to say prejudice, were impossible, coming from so holy a quarter. The gentlemen of the jury were to bear in mind that the sole issue was that of obstruction. He dwelt on the Socialists having got hold of this word, which he said was a *legal* word!!

The jury retired for deliberation (and lunch too, I hope), and on their return returned a verdict of "Guilty." The judge made no distinction between the case of Williams and that of Mainwaring, although Mainwaring's was a first offence. The sentence (incorrectly stated by some of the papers) was a fine of £20 apiece; each prisoner to be bound over in his own recognisances and one surety for £50 to keep the peace for twelve months, or, in default of finding surety, two months' imprisonment.

The prisoners were then enlarged on bail till Tuesday 17th, when they appeared before the Court again; Mainwaring asked for an extension of time to pay his fine in, and the judge gave him till Thursday 26th. Williams in default, was committed to prison for two months.

So ended what was really a State prosecution of the Socialists for the crime of expressing their opinions in the open air.

MAY MORRIS.

## THE GREAT TRIAL IN CHICAGO.

THE so-called trial of the eight Anarchists charged with the murder of police-officer Dregan, and the wounding some of them fatally, of sixty-seven other policemen at the Haymarket on May 4th, was begun in Chicago on June 21st, before Judge Joseph E. Gory. Twenty-one days were consumed in selecting a jury, and 979 citizens were examined before the panel was complete.

The opening speech by States Attorney Grinnell, was made on July 15th. His remarks on that occasion gave ample evidence of the vindictiveness with which he conducted the case. Not satisfied with an attempt, by playing upon their fears, to prejudice the jury against the defendants, he attacked the latter with epithets and choice Billingsgate. I subjoin portions of his speech. He said: "Gentlemen, for the first time in the history of our country are people on trial for their lives for endeavouring to make anarchy rule. . . I hope that while the youngest of you lives, your memory shall recall this as the only such attempt. Another will or will not take place as this case is determined. . . The testimony in this case will show that Spies, Parsons, Schwab, and Nube are the biggest cowards I have ever seen in my life. . . The foundation of the whole matter was the nest of snakes in the Arbeiter Zeitung office on Fifth Avenue."

The next day (Friday, July 16th) the first witnesses for the State were examined, and an average of five persons have daily testified since then. The prosecution expect to finish by July 31st, and the defence will probably consume two weeks longer in presenting their testimony.

The trial is the absorbing topic of interest in Chicago, and, indeed, throughout the whole United States. The Court-room is crowded day after day, and the judge is usually surrounded by well-dressed members of the bourgeois class of both sexes; while many lady sympathisers of the prisoners lend their presence to inspire the devoted men with confidence and renewed courage. Long and detailed accounts of the trial appear each day in all the Chicago papers, which reports, however, convey to the outsider but a faint idea of the real progress of the great trial. Besides the regular reports, two or three editorials a day are printed in each paper, all, of course, teeming with the vilest abuse of the men on trial, and putting the worst possible construction upon the evidence presented in Court.

This neglect of the press to print the testimony favourable to the defendant's (a good deal of which is brought out in the skilful cross-examinations by attorneys for the defence) is a theme of general discussion, and to such an extent has the injustice been carried, as to provoke the indignation of a large number of people. A great mass meeting was held in Chicago, on Monday night (the 26th inst.), to protest against this wrong, at which several speeches were made denouncing the unfairness of the capitalistic newspapers, and resolutions of censure were passed. These resolutions will be published far and wide, and cannot fail to have a good effect. Indeed,

this is already seen in the modified tone of the Chicago papers, as well as in the increased impartiality of their reports; though, with characteristic malignity, they still continue their manifestations of joy at the seeming completeness of the evidence against the defendants. Such startling headlines as "Fielden Tirade," "The Reds meant Murder," "Lingg, Dynamite Fiend," and "Murder and Pillage," are not calculated to impress the unthinking press-ridden public with sentiments of pity for the accused, or justice to our Cause.

The papers compliment Mr. Grinnell and his assistants upon the way they have managed the case, and declare they have produced testimony "which must result in the hanging of at least five out of the eight men on trial." The nature of this testimony will come out when the defence take the case in hand. That a good deal of it is false can be easily shown. Statements have been made under oath which I myself know to be untrue.

There is no doubt that there is a deliberate plan to swear away the lives of these devoted men. This suspicion became a certainty when one Gilmore yesterday testified that he stood in the alley and saw Spies light the fuse attached to the bomb, and Schnaubelt (who is still missing) throw it. In the cross-examination, Gilmore swore to the personal appearance of each man in the alley, even describing minutely details of dress and colour. Now, when it is remembered that at that time it was quite dark in the alley, and impossible to distinguish colours, the value of this fellow's evidence is easily understood. Yet this statement had to be made by some one in order to connect the defendants directly with the bomb-throwing. The State has evidently now completed its case, and further testimony offered by them will probably be of a corroborative nature. Without this last link the chain was very incomplete indeed, but now the newspapers exultingly declare that nothing can save at least seven of the prisoners. We shall see.

Previous to this last proof of the revengeful spirit of the authorities the prosecution had actually no case at all. It is true that witnesses (all police officers however) had sworn that Mr. Fielden, immediately after the explosion of the bomb, had used a pistol upon the police, and it may be difficult for the defence to break this testimony, though personally I am satisfied there is not a word of truth in it. I have known Mr. Fielden several years. I know him to be the very soul of gentleness. He has repeatedly said to me and to others that he never in his life carried a revolver, and that he would not. His wife, also, declares that he never carried arms. Besides it can easily be proved that he did not even know of the existence of the Haymarket meeting until sent for to speak. The case against Spies has also looked dark from the first; and the testimony of this man Gilmore, who swore he saw him light the fuse attached to the bomb, while Fischer was standing near, is sure to convict these two comrades unless materially shaken by the defence.

Apart from this, however, the State has proved nothing except that Socialists in Chicago were actively preparing for the social revolution, that a few of the boldest and most enthusiastic had manufactured and stored explosives, that some of them were armed with rifles and revolvers, and a very few wished to inaugurate the revolution on or about the first of May. That is all that can be made out of the testimony of the three informers Waller, Seliger, and Lehmann; that is all that can be adduced from the evidence of the police officers who ransacked the offices of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* and *Alarm*, and discovered dynamite in various out-of-the-way places; and that is all that can be proven from the testimony of those who heard the speeches of Messrs. Parsons, Fielden, Spies, and Schwab.

On the 26th the prosecution produced further "sensational" testimony by placing upon the stand one Jansen, a Pinkerton detective. This man had for the past year and a half been a member of the American Group in Chicago. The capitalistic papers pretended that his testimony was most damaging. Says the *Tribune*: "The testimony was the hardest against the two prisoners named [Parsons and Fielden] that has yet been submitted, and was so conclusive that even the fiendish-looking Fielden hung his head in silent submission, with great drops of perspiration on his brow." He had attended the agitation meetings of the group, which were always public, and had taken notes of some of the speeches, etc. He had also been to two meetings of the "armed section," and had drilled with them on one occasion. He had, however, seen no arms nor had he heard anything that the general public were debarred from hearing. It may surprise him before the trial is ended to learn that his true character was well known to several members of the group, and that he was watched very closely as long as he continued to be a member of the organisation.

On the 28th a man named Thompson swore he heard a conversation in English between Spies and Schwab, in which the words "police" and "pistols" frequently occurred. In the cross-examination, Mr. Foster, one of the attorneys for the defence, brought out the startling intelligence that this conversation was heard a full minute and a half after the witness had passed the two defendants on the street,—long enough, as Mr. Foster practically illustrated, for them to get several hundred feet from the listener. This bit of testimony showed either that the witness was an unconscionable liar or had a pair of remarkable ears. Mr. Schwab speaks but little English, and never speaks in any but his native tongue to Spies, so this fellow's testimony is not worth much. Since his examination on Tuesday the attorneys for the defence have taken steps to impeach his testimony, and seem confident they can have it set aside.

Notwithstanding their close confinement and the intense heat, our devoted comrades are looking and feeling well. Their spirits cannot be broken. Never have I seen or conversed with a braver lot of men. They thoroughly understand and appreciate the situation, and should the worst happen they will not flinch. Though fully aware that the general public and the authorities are thirsting for their blood, that even the judge before whom they are being tried is prejudiced against them and their cause, and that the trial is in many ways a mere farce—a form to satisfy the people,—they are cheerful, even appreciative of the humorous. Socialism is to them indeed the jest and earnest of their lives.

WM. HOLMES.

The monopoly press is giving the mechanics who are forced into idleness, the valuable information that harvest hands are wanted on the great wheat ranches of the North-west. This information is wound up with a sneering inquiry why any one is idle except a loafer. These monopolistic ranches give employment to ten men each the year round, and require about 200 thirty days in harvest. The starving mechanics and sewing women who seek in vain for employment should take the advice of the monopoly press, pack their grips and start for the North-west. This is about as sensible a solution as these fat-paunched agents of monopoly ever give to the labour problem.—*Industrial News*.

## REVOLUTION.

(By FERDINAND FREILIGRATH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

AND though ye bind your noble prey in thongs and fetters hard and fast,  
And though ye lead her out to die beneath the fortress-wall at last,  
And though she lie beneath the sod, whose fair green grass at dawning red  
The peasant-girl with roses decks,—I tell ye all, she is not dead!

And though ye rob her forehead high of all its locks of floating hair,  
And choose the murderer and the thief your dungeon-den with her to share;  
Though she has donned your prison dress, and ta'en the food your gaoler gave,  
And though she now your oakum picks,—I tell ye, she is not your slave!

And though ye hunt her from her home, and drive her out to distant lands,  
And though she seeks a stranger's hearth, and mutely by its ashes stands,  
And though she bathes by unknown streams feet sore with stones and  
splinters sharp,  
She ne'er will deign on foreign trees to hang on high her sacred harp.

Ah no—she sets it at her side, and proudly strikes a strain of hope;  
She laughs her exiled state to scorn, as she has laughed to scorn the rope;  
She chants a song whereat ye all spring to your feet in evil cheer,  
That sets your hearts—your coward hearts—your traitor hearts—a-throb  
with fear.

No strain is hers of grief and tears, nor e'en regret for those that died;  
Far less a song of keen contempt for that hypocrisy of pride,  
Your Beggars' Opera, in whose scenes ye well know how to prance and prate,  
How smirched soe'er your purple be, how rotten all your robes of state.

Nay, what she sings by foreign streams is not the shame of folk forlorn;  
'Tis song that triumphs o'er defeat, and hails the future's mighty morn.  
Bright dawns her day: she speaks but that her fierce prophetic eyes can see,  
Of days to come, as erst your God: "I was, I am, and aye shall be!"

"Yea, yet shall be, and once again before my People I shall go,  
Shall plant my foot upon your necks, and lay your thrones and kingdoms  
low;  
Shall free the slave, and right the wrong, with sword unsheathed and flag  
unfurled,  
And strong with outstretched arm of might cry Freedom's birth to all the  
world.

"Ye see me in the poor man's hut, ye see me in the dungeon den,  
Or wandering on the thorny path of exile among unkind men;  
Ye fools! a dwelling-place is mine wherein the tyrant hath no part,  
A kingdom in the brave man's brow, a home in every noble heart.

"In hearts that know not how to bend, that cannot cringe, and dare not lie,  
That beat in sacred sympathy with all that suffer and that die,  
In every hut where workers toil, and men for freedom strive and strain,  
There, there I hold eternal right with undisputed sway to reign.

"Day dawns apace; yet once again before my People I shall go,  
Shall plant my foot upon your necks, and lay your crowns and kingdoms  
low.

'Tis no mere threat; the words ye hear are writ by Fate with iron hand—  
This sultry noon!—Yet while I sing, free breezes cool this foreign land."

## THE CONTRAST.

"Where pamper'd idlers count their gold in bags,  
Whilst half-starved labour toils and sweats in rags."

### THE RICH

Live in splendid houses, in unbounded  
luxury, dissipation and extrava-  
gance.

Keep horses, carriages, hounds, etc.  
Have all the places and pensions,  
etc.

Are proud, insolent, unfeeling, and  
debauched.

May get drunk, game, frequent  
brothels, and do as they like with  
impunity.

Have no occasion for character.

Are armed with pistols, swords, air-  
guns, and Eton bludgeons.

Have all the hares, partridges, and  
other game throughout the king-  
dom, at their own disposal.

Are called honourable gentlemen and  
noble lords.

Are persons of rank and quality.

Are named but not numbered.

Enjoy everything.

Are in robes.

Are represented.

Do not work at all.

Have many friends.

Are people of fashion.

### THE POOR.

Live in miserable hovels, in want of  
coals, and every comfort; and are  
forced to work night and day,  
merely not to starve.

Can not keep even themselves.  
Bear all the tithes and taxes, which  
ultimately fall upon the labourers  
of the land.

Are broken-hearted and hopeless.

Are sent to Bridewell for taking a  
pint of ale at a beer-house after  
their day's labour.

Depend entirely on character.

Must not carry even a bread and  
cheese knife.

Arefined, imprisoned and transported  
if they kill a hare, even though  
their families are starving.

Are called discontented, seditious  
rascals and idle vagabonds.

Are rank and file.

Are numbered but not named.

Enjoy nothing.

Are in rags.

Are misrepresented.

Do all the work.

Have none.

Are the swinish multitude.

—From *The Man*, a people's paper, Jan. 1834.

"Every man is a king in this country" we are told on the Fourth of July. What a spectacle!—barefooted kings with patched pants, begging for a chance to labour from greedy speculators, and sucking down wisdom from the lips of the ward striker and bummer! Ye gods! what hard times us kings have, who are discharged if we look crooked at a ward bummer!—*Industrial News*.





means to prevent such folk having a preponderating influence in the commonwealth. The intellectual proletariat, when it begins to understand the Social Revolution, will be on its side. This is clear from the formation of Socialist societies in connection with several of our universities.

If any more argument was required to show that judges' summing up to the jury should be abolished, one might be found from the procedure of Mr. Edlin, Q.C. (the judge, by the way, in the Mrs. Jeffries' house-of-ill-fame case). In the case of the Queen v. Mainwaring and Williams, for obstruction, tried at Middlesex sessions last week, a letter was read from Sir Charles Warren saying that Socialist meetings would not be interfered with provided they caused no obstruction. Sir Charles undoubtedly meant by the word "obstruction" the causing of some real tangible difficulty for the public using any thoroughfare. Judge Edlin praised this letter and alleged that it showed great consideration on the part of the police towards Socialists. It was shown by police evidence, and that of more respectable people, that except on one occasion no practical difficulty was caused to passers up and down the street in question, and this meeting was on all sides admitted to have been an exceptional meeting. The old judge, in summing up, in spite of his recognising what Sir C. Warren implied in his letter, that the obstruction required to be a real one before he would take any notice of it, told the jury they had no other course but to find both defendants guilty, as the mere presence of a person standing in a road, causing it to be less passable than it otherwise would be, was obstruction, and it did not enter into the question at all whether any one really wanted to pass through the road. On this view of what the judge alleged to be the law, Sir C. Warren's letter was an invitation to Socialists to break the law, on a promise that they would not be interfered with for so doing. Yet the judge praised the letter. If judges are to be allowed to brow-beat the juries and to tell them they have only one course—to bring in a verdict of guilty—trial by jury becomes a mere farce, which it was at Middlesex Sessions last week. D.

"THE COST OF CRIMINAL TRIALS.—James Stewart, of Belfast, was charged at Heywood on Thursday with stealing a pound of meat. Alderman Isherwood hoped that the law, which required them to commit a prisoner to the sessions to be tried at a cost of some £20 to the country for so small an offence, would soon be altered, and that magistrates might deal with similar cases. After consulting, the magistrates decided to commit the prisoner to jail for a month, and to break through the existing rule."—*Freeman's Journal*, August 14.

Stewart—poor devil!—is doubtless an Orangeman who would be patted on the back by his ecclesiastical superiors for shooting down a "Papist," and who would be encouraged to toast "the pious, glorious, and immortal memory." But when he attempts to save himself from starvation, the law, harsh as it is, is strained against him. The Belfast Dogberry, Isherwood, deserves well of his class.—O'G.

## ORGANISED LABOUR.

### The Duty of the Trades' Unions in relation to Socialism.

#### II.

Now the lot of the worker, even under the most favourable circumstances of full employment at what are termed "high wages," is not a very enviable one; what, then, must it be to our unfortunate comrades who have to drag out a weary existence of precarious toil and anxious idleness?

An agitation for an Eight Hours' Working Day is mooted as a remedy. It is thought by this means that the unemployed will be absorbed, and that the increased demand for commodities will bring about good times and higher wages. But the reasoning is fallacious. In the first place, the amount of exploitation may be as great in eight hours as in nine. A large employer and commercial philosopher, Mr. C. W. Allen, of the Allen Tobacco Company, Chicago, more astute than most of his class, has, from much observation and experience, reached the following conclusion: "The daily capacity of a man for work is an ascertained quantity. Hours worked in excess of eight are a mere waste of physical energy. Men working eight hours a-day gain in capacity for hourly production to such an extent over those whose hours are longer that their day's work becomes nearly an equivalent for the longer day of their fellow-workmen. For this reason we have adopted the eight-hour day without any diminution of pay; and after two months' trial, we are satisfied that we were right in our estimate."

Certain trades, especially those having little to fear from the competition of machinery, may be able to obtain a reduction of hours without a reduction of pay, but the practical result would be an intensification of labour, which might to a certain extent be beneficial to the employes by adding to their leisure, but otherwise would have little or no effect upon the general question. In the case of most trades, however, it would be found very difficult and, in fact, under present conditions, absolutely impossible to get the hours reduced without the pay being also reduced, which, of course, would be of no advantage to the workers as a whole, though it would benefit those who might be enabled to get work thereby. It is exceedingly doubtful whether, after all, the ranks of the unemployed would be materially thinned even if such lessening of the hours were general. It will not do to calculate as some of the short-sighted over-sanguine advocates of the eight-hour movement are apt to do, that the demand for labour will increase in exact proportion

to the number of hours reduced. There are very few industries where the employes are fully occupied during the present nominal working-hours; the effect of a reduction of one hour per day in the first place and in most cases would result therefore simply in concentrating and equalising the work of those already employed, whilst the temptation to work overtime which is so difficult to deal with at present, would certainly be increased. The probabilities are that those who expect such a clearance of the labour-market as would enable them to obtain a speedy rise of wages would find themselves mistaken. In any case they would have to fight for it, for the employers would certainly resist; there would be a difficult and costly struggle, and even if the workers succeeded, their victory would be brief and barren.

It is an established economic fact that an increase in the cost of production is the greatest stimulus to invention. Where labour is cheap, it is sometimes preferable to machinery, especially when the machinery is high-priced. The machine needs the investment of large capital. Human labour-power is not fixed nor is it constant capital, the first cost is nothing, which is important to the "poor" capitalist, who can thus pay a small sum for the proceeds, after the labour has been performed. The effect, therefore, of raising the cost of production is to drive out the small employer, to cause more machinery to be used, with as a necessary consequence a repetition of the same miserable weary round of feverish activity, reaction, discharge of workers, lowering of wages, strikes, etc.

Of course, it is obvious that the workers as a whole can only benefit by obtaining a larger absolute share of the total wealth produced. It is absurd to suppose, as the advocacy of a mere reduction of hours as a settlement of the labour question, seems to imply, that the less there is produced the more there will be to divide. It is true that the fewer hours worked under the capitalist system the less surplus-value is created, and that the workers are thus enabled to retain a larger relative proportion of the products of their labour. But this very fact is surely convincing proof of the horribly unjust state of society. Is it not monstrous that the very industry of the people should prove their destruction? That the greater the amount of wealth created the more abject and hopeless should become the condition of vast numbers of our fellowmen? What a satire upon our boasted civilisation that plenty should bring misery to many, and that people should actually starve because of the very abundance? Yet to-day it would really advantage great numbers of the most useful members of the community if after working hard to produce various commodities, they should immediately destroy the product of their labour, in order that they might still continue to be employed in replacing the wealth so destroyed, and thereby avoid being cast out into the streets to become tramps and paupers.

A very little consideration will show that Trades-unionism is utterly powerless to raise wages all round. Those unions who get a rise of wages benefit only so long as their position is exceptional. Directly there is a general advance of wages, there is a corresponding rise in the prices of the necessities of life—food, clothing and shelter—which eventually reduces matters pretty much to the condition they were in before the advance was gained. In fact, the inevitable tendency of all efforts to improve the condition of the workers on the ordinary trades' union lines is simply to bring about an equalisation of wages—an averaging between the highest and lowest price paid for labour, not only in any one country, but over the whole of Europe and America, and in fact wherever the accursed rule of capital extends. Thus any advance which the workers gain in one country is immediately counteracted by the importation of cheap labour, or the transference of capital to places where the workers can be more easily plundered. Nothing less, therefore, than an international combination of the workers to bring about a simultaneous and universal strike, can accomplish even such a comparatively paltry palliative as the eight hour working-day.

But even supposing (for the sake of the argument) that it were possible for such terms to be made with the monopolists by the trades' unions as would entirely satisfy them. What then? They cannot if they would, and they ought not to, if they could, separate their interests from the rest of the workers. There are large classes of the community whose condition daily grows more and more intolerable. These will soon demand in no uncertain terms to have a voice in any settlement that is to be made. What of the thousands of small traders who are being daily crushed out by the large firms—the small employers vainly endeavouring to compete with the big capitalists? beside the hosts of workers of all kinds who are entirely outside the scope of trades-union effort? By every consideration of humanity, and even of expediency, trades' unionists are bound to take the position of these classes into account. An organisation that does not work for all productive interests cannot expect them to look out for its interests; and if the unions are to look out for their own members only, without regard to the well-being of others outside their ranks, they are simply acting like the monopolist who believes that every one else was born for his use and convenience.

Besides, the classes to which I have referred as being outside the pale of Trades-unionism are being continually largely recruited from the ranks of the artisans and mechanics; for it must be borne in mind that the demand for handicraftsmen, owing to the causes already referred to—increased use of improved machinery, etc., etc.—does not keep pace with the population. Notwithstanding the fact, therefore, that the sons of trades-unionists drive the fathers wholesale into the ranks of the unemployed, the vacancies are still insufficient to supply all the youths in need of employment; and every parent at least knows that the difficulty of finding any occupation for them promising a decent livelihood becomes greater and greater every day.

Trades-unionists, then, cannot be indifferent to these things. Their

welfare and that of their families is involved in the general well-being of the people; but even supposing that, looking merely to their own selfish interests, and by ignoring every other consideration, it were possible for them to gain any substantial benefit by assisting the bourgeoisie to maintain the present corrupt society, with its frightful social inequality and widespread misery and degradation, they would deserve the execration of Humanity if they consented to do so. Such a course of action, however, would be totally at variance with the spirit and traditions of the trades' union movement, and I for one have no fear of such an unholy alliance. I have a profound conviction that the trades' unions are destined to play an important part in the Social Revolution, when once they perceive how incompatible is the present economic basis of society with the happiness of the people.

T. BINNING.

(To be concluded.)

## WOMAN'S WORK.

THE Annual Congress of the British Medical Association was opened at Brighton on the 10th. We are told that the chief text of Dr. Moore's address was the higher education of women, considered in the light of Mr. Herbert Spencer's dictum—that the first requisite of good living was to be a good animal, and that to be a nation of good animals was a first condition of national prosperity. Whilst disclaiming any prejudice against women entering the medical profession, he argued that the strain of competitive struggles against the admittedly superior strength of men proved the ruinous unwisdom of encouraging the competition of women with men in severe brain-work, and that the higher education of women disposed them against matrimony and unfitted them for the duties of motherhood. "The over-training of women," he adds, "would do more to deteriorate the race than all the triumphs of Girton to improve it—in short, women were intended to be not men but the mothers of men." If the doctor means that women should not have *outside* work along with the thought and care of home duties, which are quite enough under our present condition of society to drive any woman mad, he is quite right; but can he tell us how it can be prevented, any more than can be prevented the competition of the lower classes of women against their fathers, husbands, and brothers in our present warfare for existence? It is all a matter of bread-and-butter from beginning to end!

Dr. Moore would make us believe, if we did not know better, that women only suffered in health by "over-training," but what about the hundreds of men who lose their health over the very same studies? The strain is not in study, but in the useless over-work which is the curse of our competitive system, whether in study or commerce. When will our would-be philanthropist see this? His anxiety about women is somewhat amusing, as his sympathies are entirely devoted to women who (according to him) injure their health by all this higher education. He quite overlooks the constant strain of toil and hard work that the women of the lower ranks of life have to submit to; why is he not as anxious about these women who are also "thereby unfitted for the duties of motherhood," which he so much deplores? "Over-training of women deteriorates the race; in fact, women are intended to be not men, but the mothers' of men." One would imagine from this he thought that those women who toil at making shirts at 1d. each, or stitch their finger-ends off in back slums at dressmaking, or stand about in shops for twelve hours a day, are not supposed to be "mothers of men," and are not to be considered at all in the woman question. Professional men are evidently wider awake than the so-called working-classes; they see that the employment (not education) of women will injure them in the present scramble for existence; they do not know how to alter it, so put a philanthropic gloss over it, by assuming profound concern for the health of (*studious*) women. The cloven foot is too palpable. When will people see that the only remedy for these evils is to change the system of society under which we groan.

SARAH S. GOSTLING.

"THE SPOILS TO THE VICTORS."—The following is, according to *Truth*, the apportionment of the spoils of office to peers and to peers' sons:—Lord Salisbury, £5000 per annum; Lord Halsbury, £10,000; Lord Ashbourne, £8000; Lord Cranbrook, £2000; Lord Idlesleigh, £5000; the Hon. E. Stanhope, £5000; Lord Randolph Churchill, £5000; Lord George Hamilton, £5000; Lord John Manners, £2000; Sir R. Cross (with a peerage), £5000; the Hon. F. Stanley, £5000; Lord Londonderry, £20,000; Lord Dunraven, £2000; the Hon. W. Brodrick, £1200; the Hon. H. Northcote, £1200; Lord Charles Beresford, £1200; Lord Lathom, £2000; Duke of Portland, £2500; Lord Mount Edgumbe, £2000; Lord Arthur Hill, £1000; Lord Lewisham, £1000; Lord Folkestone, £1000; Lord Onslow, £700; Lord Limerick, £1000; Lord Henniker, £700; Lord Hopetoun, £700; Lord Elphinstone, £700; Lord de Ros, £700; Earl Waldegrave, £700; Lord Beauchamp, £1000; Lord Harris, £2000; Hon. S. Herbert, £1200; Lord Coventry, £1700; Lord Barrington, £1200; Lord Kintore, £1000. Total, £110,000 to peers and sons of peers. Besides this, the Duchess of Buccleuch receives £500 as Mistress of the Robes, and eight peeresses £500 each as Ladies of the Bedchamber. These salaries, says Mr. Labouchere, would give £50 per annum to 2722 persons who are not peers or sons of peers.—*Pall Mall Gazette*, August 11, 1886.

Work is withheld from women in theory, only to be more harshly and clumsily inflicted in practice.—*Value of Life*.

The form of association, if mankind continues to improve, that must be expected in the end to predominate, is not that which can exist between a capitalist as chief, and work people without a voice in the management, but the association of the labourers themselves, on terms of equality, collectively owning the capital with which they carry on their operations, and working under managers elected or removable by themselves.—*John Stuart Mill*.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### EVILS OF PIECEWORK.

SIR,—I am not yet optimistic as to the speedy realisation of Socialistic aims and ideals; nevertheless, every instinct within me revolts against the brutal and brutalising régime of our present-day Individualism. To those self-interested prophets who urge that the carrying out of Collectivist theories will land us in a condition akin to primitive barbarism and slavery, I have to reply that "barbarism and slavery" are more closely allied to so-called civilisation than superficial and superfine persons care to admit.

All the resources of civilisation that are intrinsically valuable, are more likely to be persistent when the capitalist, gambler-like, can no longer use white slaves as dice in his money-grubbing diversions. There is neither beauty nor utility in the "gentlemanly" chimney-pot hat to exalt it above all hats; on the contrary, the wearer of one is consciously or unconsciously invested with the insignia of a *slave-master*. For it is beyond all doubt that the extravagant adornment of one person is a logical corollary to another person's raggedness, and the elaborately dressed lady is no doubt well aware that so far from increasing the general well-being of the community by her lavish expenditure, she really does nothing more than assume a superiority over her poorer sisters, which is fictitious indeed, but neither poetical or beautiful.

There is sadness in the thought that fresh from the bath no one could tell the patrician from the "pleb", unless, indeed, it were to judge wrongly owing to the colour washing out of the former. But, if I pursue this idea further, I shall grow tearfully pathetic, and, furthermore, brevity should be insisted upon where a neophyte to your gospel essays public utterance.

I believe, sir, that the greatest enemy of Socialism, or one of the greatest, is the selfish or blindly-contented apathy of the lamb-like Briton who is in employment. That being assumed, it devolves upon us to arouse those who would rather be door-keepers in the house of a lord than dwell in the tents of Righteousness. The particular phase of the Labour question I should like for a moment to touch upon is suggested by the increasing rage for *piece-work*. And here I must say that while in a sense Jack is as good as his master, he is not so wise. In the great legalised fraud called Competition, the working-man must not continue to engage, for Capital, like Prometheus intensified, will all the more hungrily gnaw at his vitals if thus encouraged to do so. I will not be so sweeping as to condemn all round the employer who introduces piece-work, for in some instances it may be the most equitable arrangement between wage-earner and employer. But speaking generally, the man who offers piecework is virtually enticing powerful fools to ruin their own *physique*, and at the same time make it increasingly difficult for persons of lesser physical strength to earn a bare existence. The primary object in offering piece-work is, of course, to produce work at the lowest possible cost, and while the deluded worker fancies his employer a philanthropist, that gentleman is as surely feeding on blood as the horse-leech. It is high time for the worker to perceive that if by almost superhuman exertion he earns something more than his day-working fellows, the master will soon secure the benefits by cutting down the price. I know men who are performing twice as much work for about ninepence an hour as other men would do for a penny per hour less. A consummation brought about by the ill-advised attempt to earn tenpence. Where the work is of an exhausting nature it will be readily imagined how much benefit the labourer gets by competing with his comrades, or by struggling for high wages in return for unskilled labour (I use the word "unskilled" in a comparative sense), for the capitalist will assuredly be the only person to gain anything by the mad contest. Having said thus much I leave the subject, and remain faithfully yours,

W. C. S.

### LITERARY NOTICES.

The *Republican*, it is now announced, will henceforth appear under the style and title of the *Radical*, as "many people associate Republicanism with violent revolution, and refuse to heed the voice of its preachers; while a very large number of Radicals regard it as an academic subject of comparatively little importance"! We are sorry to see our bright little contemporary taking this retrograde step, the more especially that the times are becoming more and more frankly revolutionary year by year, although we are glad to note the confession that Radicals are beginning to see that no mere governmental change will be of benefit.—S.

The translation of Lissagary's History of the Commune of Paris, by Eleanor Marx-Aveling, is now to be had. This book is too important to be passed over with a short notice, and it will be duly reviewed in the *Commonweal*. Meanwhile it must be said of it that it is the only book which can lay claim to be considered a history of that great event, and should be read by all students of history as well as by all Socialists.—M.

'The Woman Question,' by Edward and Eleanor Marx-Aveling. This pamphlet is to a great extent a résumé of the book 'On Woman,' by August Bebel, the German Socialist Member of Parliament, who has just been condemned to imprisonment on account of his Socialistic views. The writers forcibly show how the woman question is to a very great extent an economical one, and that it can only be solved by the social revolution. To those who have not looked at the question from a Socialist point of view, this little pamphlet will be very useful. The writers' views on chastity have been severely commented upon by a contemporary. Asceticism, however, has had its day; and I am sure that all sensible persons, whether Socialists or individualists, will indorse the Avelings' views on this point.—D.

'Socialism, False and True,' by George Blaiklock. To attempt to enumerate all the delusions and absurdities in this "exposure" would take up too much room, as it would mean printing the pamphlet entire. For Mr. Blaiklock's sake we will point out one very patent absurdity—*i.e.*, the advocating the possibility of having your pie and eating it. He believes in making land and railways common property, but he proposes to buy out the landlords and shareholders. This, he thinks, would be a benefit. What it means is an enormous number of bondholders having usury on their bonds, instead of landlords having to collect their rents. The ground on which Mr. Blaiklock advocates this procedure is that the landlords have a right to the land and that the railway shareholders made the railways, both of which positions are denied by Socialists. If he continues his studies he will find that "true Socialism" has nothing to do with the kind of compensation he speaks of. We want to compensate the right parties, and they are not the men who have bed us.—D.

## FRANCE.

At the Assize Court of the Seine, Louise Michel, Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, and Susini, were tried on the 12th of August for revolutionary speeches made at a meeting at the Château d'Eau, speeches it was alleged, inciting to murder and violence. A verdict of Guilty was found in all four cases, Louise Michel being condemned to four months' imprisonment and a fine of £4, Guesde and Lafargue to six months' and a fine of £4, Susini to four months' and the like fine. Judgment by default was given in the cases of the three last, as Louise Michel was the only one who thought fit to appear in Court to take her trial. A Bonapartist journalist, Mariotte, was charged at the same time for seditious articles against the Republic, and was acquitted and immediately set at liberty. On being asked whether she had anything to say, Louise Michel took the opportunity of congratulating the jury on their verdict on M. Mariotte, and thus upholding the liberty of the Press; she declared that Socialists were not enemies of the Republic, as it was attempted to prove in coupling in the same hearing the Bonapartist who attacked it with the Socialists who defended it. There was only one witness for the prosecution, a commissary of police who had wandered into the hall of the Château d'Eau on the occasion of the meeting in question—in his sleep apparently, for his evidence was, to put it mildly, lame and incomplete. So much so, indeed, that the defendant, with a kind consideration somewhat out of place in a Court of Justice, several times came to his assistance and prompted him with a word, to the intense gratification of the public. Decidedly people get more passing amusement out of justice as it is administered in France, than they do out of that commodity with all its pompous machinery in England!

ARMENTIERES.—Deschildres, a Socialist who fired off a pistol at Cassagnac's meeting, which ended in such a scene of disorder, has been sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

VIERZON (CHER).—The workers at the "Compagnie Française," manufacturers of agricultural plant at Vierzon, are on strike in consequence of persistent reduction of wages. The Committee of Strikers called a meeting last week to explain their grievances, at which the mayor of the town and several officials who are in sympathy with them, were present.

There has been a rather stormy manifestation of disfavour against those traffickers in human flesh in Paris, the *bureaux de placements* (agencies for situations). A crowd of waiters out of place "waited" at the doors of a certain agency, where they were soon joined by a large crowd, which, as the doors very naturally remained closed against the tardy-aroused indignation of the exploited, amused themselves by hooting at the agents, and finally betook themselves through the streets singing the Marseillaise. The police behaved with their customary brutality and arrogance. A League was formed lately, issuing a manifesto on the subject, to which was added a petition to the Chamber requesting the suppression of the *bureaux de placement*.

PORQUEROLLES.—Everything possible has been done to hush up the affair of the agricultural colony of Porquerolles, and if we were foolish enough to believe the bourgeois journals, all the blame rests on a dozen "incorrigibles" among the children, who are to be indicted at the Assize Court. M. and Mme. Roussen were guardian angels of children! Instruments of torture? Pure invention! The press, however, can say what it will, but those who know what "agricultural colonies" in general are, and what children are when well treated, cannot be made to believe that the revolt was without cause.—*Le Rerolli*.

There is another bagnio of the same description, the glass-works of Bailleul, near Clairvaux. M. M.

### The Adjourned Case of T. E. Wardle and J. Allman at Marylebone Police Court.

This case which was adjourned by Mr. Cooke for "the public convenience" to August 14th, came before Mr. De Rutzen for re-hearing. The evidence given showed that an obstruction in the legal sense of the word had occurred; but that in its common-sense meaning no obstruction had taken place. Wardle pointed out that the space at the corner of Fernhead Road came within the meaning of the words "an open space" in Sir Charles Warren's letter. A witness stated that it was on the advice of Mr. Cooke and Sir Charles Warren that he looked about in Marylebone for a more suitable place than Bell Street, and he thought he had found one at Fernhead Road, and that there was every desire on the part of the Socialist League to prevent the public being inconvenienced by their meetings. Mr. De Rutzen in passing sentence, remarked in reply to defendants, that the police would in future take care to clear the streets of all bodies irrespective of their opinions, and that obstruction in its legal sense would be prosecuted, irrespective of the fact that no public inconvenience had been caused. Whether or not this will be carried out we shall see. He said that any Socialists causing obstruction in future would be prosecuted at Common Law, and not under the Highways Act. The defendants were fined 2s. 6d. each and 2s. expenses.

A. D.

### A PROPAGANDIST EXCURSION.

"Fresh fields and pastures new."

I wish to inform our comrades through the medium of our paper that some members and friends of the Socialist League have decided to have a propagandist excursion, partly for pleasure, but principally to advertise the *Commonweal* and introduce Socialist literature into some of the towns within forty miles or so, of starving, slavish, smoky London. We intend starting one Saturday, and returning about the following Tuesday (or whenever the majority may decide) and as we are not capitalists we shall have to walk most of the way. The route is not yet decided upon, so that any suggestions from comrades as to the best direction to take to do the most good will be thankfully received by J. Slodden, care of the Secretary, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., and should be sent at once, as we wish it to take place in about a fortnight, as the wet weather will soon be coming on. We hope that some speakers will take part, and any comrades willing to join in such an excursion, and willing to rough it a little, combining business with pleasure, should communicate at once as above. Members of the Hackney, Hoxton, and Mile End Branches will take part.

T. R. C.

P. S.—Since writing the above, four speakers and about a dozen other comrades have promised to take part; it has been decided to start on Saturday week, August 28th. A comrade will bring his tricycle to assist to carry literature. A meeting to arrange details will be held on Monday next, at 8.30 p.m., in the Office (not the hall) 13 Farringdon Road. All comrades interested are invited to attend.—T. R. C.

Forget nationality; think only of Humanity; princes and kings only have diverse interests; the people of all countries are friends.—*Victor Hugo*.

In every disputation, let us hope more from the lucid moments of Reason, than from the weight of Authority.—*Cicero*.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Croydon, Hackney, Merton, to May 31. Clerkenwell, Dublin, Mile-end, North London, Norwich, to June 30. Bloomsbury, Bradford, Hammersmith, to July 31. Leeds, Manchester, to August 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Marylebone, Oxford, to September 30. Branches not mentioned here have not paid to date, and some are months in arrears. This laxity on the part of Branches is one of the greatest hindrances to the propaganda of the League.—P. W.

A Concert was held at Farringdon Hall last Saturday in aid of the *Commonweal* Printing Fund, which was a general success. The Hall was full, and programmes and papers sold well.—THOS. E. WARDLE.

### BRANCH REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, August 13, at Arlington Hall, W., George Bernard Shaw lectured to a good audience upon "Socialism and Malthusianism." T. E. Wardle has resigned the office of secretary to the Branch, and W. A. Chambers was elected in his stead, to whom all communications should be addressed at 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.—W. A. C.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, August 11, A. K. Donald addressed a good audience on "Methods of Propaganda;" several good points were raised, and a brisk discussion followed; sale of paper good, and 1s. 8d. collected for Propaganda Fund.—On Friday evening, at the "Peacock" Debating Room, A. K. Donald opened a debate on "Socialism, will it benefit the English Worker?" to a good audience; the debate stands adjourned till Friday, August 20th, at 9 p.m., when it is hoped members and friends will turn up.—On Saturday afternoon, the usual open-air meeting was held in Hyde Park, when Wardle and others addressed a large crowd.—On Sunday, August 15, Henderson, Nicoll, Somerville, and Blundell held a good meeting on Clerkenwell Green, and at the close 2s. 8½d. was collected for the Defence Fund.—W. B.

HACKNEY.—On Sunday, August 15, we held our usual meeting in Well Street, at 11.30 a.m., which was addressed by Westwood and Davis. While Davis was speaking, we had continual interruption from a local publican, who showed himself also a sinner by the violence of his language, but the sympathy of the audience was very strongly against him.—At 3.30 in Victoria Park, Allman and Flockton spoke to a good audience; fair sale of *Commonweal*.—J. F., sec.

HOXTON.—On Thursday evening, Barker and Pope addressed a good meeting at our outdoor station.—On Sunday morning, at same place, Lane, Barker, and others carried through a most successful meeting; 4s. collected for Defence Fund.—In the evening the usual outdoor meeting was addressed by Mowbray and Allman. The indoor was lectured to by Davis on "Socialism and the Worker;" good audience; sale of literature fair.—H. A. B., sec.

MARYLEBONE.—On Sunday afternoon, comrades Chambers and Donald addressed a large meeting in Hyde Park, and at the close 6s. 7d. was collected for the Defence Fund.—H. G. A., sec.

MILE-END.—On Tuesday, comrade Barker addressed a meeting here on "Socialist Morality." He explained the aims of Socialists, and submitted them to the consideration of the audience as to their morality; he showed that Socialism was, after all, only an exposition of the people's rights, and he felt confident that the result of our propaganda would be the establishment of the New Society.—On Thursday, we held our usual meeting on the Waste, which was a rather larger one than usual, and was addressed by comrades Mowbray and Davis; the meeting was entirely sympathetic.—H. DAVIS.

NORTH LONDON.—The usual Branch meeting was held at Camden Road on Friday, and on Sunday morning, the weekly open-air meeting in Regent's Park was opened by comrade Blundell with a song, and a very large and attentive audience listened to comrades Cantwell, Arnold, and Chambers. Sale of *Commonweals* was good, and 17s. 9d. was collected for the Defence Fund.—F. H.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday afternoon, the Branch held an open-air meeting at Coatbridge. Owing to their being no suitable place for speaking, and to the smallness of the population, our meeting was not so successful as we anticipated. The small audience, however, that we managed to gather around us, listened to us eagerly, and appeared to be quite in sympathy with our teaching; we sold 4s. worth of literature.—On Sunday evening, in our Rooms, 84, John Street, comrade McLean lectured to a good audience on "The Communal Struggle of 1870," and vigorously defended the Communists from the calumnies of the capitalist press and bourgeois historians. A good discussion followed.—Comrade Robertson held an open-air meeting at the Green in the evening also, and pushed the sale of *Commonweal*.—J. B. G.

HULL.—On Friday, 13th inst., Wm. Morris's lecture on "Misery and the Way Out" was read, after which a good discussion took place. There was a very fair audience present, and we could have sold a good number of *Commonweals* if they had reached us in time for the meeting. This is the most encouraging meeting we have yet had, and there can be no doubt that our earnest and straightforward propaganda is making a good impression.—On Sunday we had a business meeting, at which the work for the next month was laid out, and our plans in connection with the Trades' Congress, which is to be held here in September, were arranged. Our meetings in future will be held on Tuesday evenings.—E. T.

LEEDS.—We held our usual meeting on Sunday morning last at Hunslet Moor. Comrades Corkwell and Maguire spoke to a very attentive audience. After the addresses one of the audience spoke a few words, telling those present that if they wished to have their conditions altered they must not wait for anybody to do it for them but do it themselves. We were unable to hold any meeting in the evening, the weather not being favourable.—F. C., sec.

MANCHESTER.—On Sunday morning, Unwin spoke on "Thrift" at Grey Mare corner, but the friend who opposed us last Sunday did not turn up to finish the discussion, so we had it all our own way. The opposition of a religious individual was well dealt with by comrade Cadle.—In the afternoon a good meeting was held in Gorton Brook, the crowd was gathered for us by a Salvation Army band. Much interest was shown in Socialism; and several questions were asked and objections urged, poor human nature, as usual, coming in for its share of abuse. No meeting was held in the evening owing to rain, but a few comrades met and practised Socialist songs in the club-room.—R. U.

NORWICH.—In consequence of some of our members leaving the city, we have not been able lately to hold outdoor meetings, but on Thursday, August 5th, taking advantage of a visit of our comrade Cantwell, of the North London Branch, we held a meeting at 7.30 p.m. on St. Mary's Plain, when Cantwell, Slaughter, and Morley explained the principles of Socialism to a very attentive body of men and women of this rather poor part of the city.—On Sunday, at eleven o'clock, we held another successful meeting; a few questions were asked in a very friendly manner, which we were glad to answer. At one o'clock, twelve of our members left the city in a wagonette, and dined under the trees in a beautiful wood about five miles out. After dinner we held a meeting, composed mainly of agricultural labourers, on the Green at St. Faith's, which was a great success, Cantwell, Mills, and Slaughter being the speakers, and Morley in the "chair."—We had a good gathering at our club rooms on Monday, August 9th, when our comrade Iberson gave us a lecture on "Socialism and Christianity."





# THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

MICHAEL SCHWAB, Samuel Fielden, Albert Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, and Louis Lingg have been condemned to death, and Oscar Neebe (probably more unfortunate than the others) to imprisonment for fifteen years. If they had anything to do with throwing the bomb, Society will not attempt to justify itself for slaying these men, but will consider that it has done well. But, as was said in these columns when the news of the conflict first came, whatever had taken place before the meeting, at that meeting itself it was a matter of battle, and the men were defending their lives as all soldiers must; and truly revolutionary soldiers do always fight with a rope round their necks. For the rest no thoughtful and honest man, whether he be Socialist or not, who has ever considered the nature of a "White Terror," the shopkeeper in terror for his shop, will doubt that it was impossible that these men should have a fair trial. We do not need the evidence of Wm. Holmes's very interesting and useful letters as given in our last and present issues, to show us that victims were needed, and would be found whatever the evidence might be. To American respectability all Socialists are Anarchists, and all Anarchists are bomb-throwers to be so treated whenever the opportunity shall occur.

The following paragraph is sufficiently significant of what is going on in America in this matter: "It is understood that the Chicago authorities contemplate the immediate arrest of all persons even indirectly connected with the May riot on the charge of conspiracy." "Indirectly connected" may stretch widely enough to include any one who has said a word against the system of robbery on which "Society" rests in America, as elsewhere; or who, if it must be so, and when the assent of the real Society, the Society of the producers, becomes general, is prepared to use what force may be necessary; though he may lament isolated outbreaks like the Chicago affair; for such outbreaks irritate "Society" without shaking it, and are aimless as long as the mass of the workers have not learned to understand their true position.

Some of the correspondents of the bourgeois papers state the verdict and sentence against the Anarchists was received with cheers. It is to be hoped for the credit of human nature that this is a journalist's lie, founded on the bitterness of capitalistic society against those who have attacked it openly. It would be difficult to find words to express one's disgust at the baseness of people who live at ease on the labour of others, exulting over the condemnation of their fellow-men to an ignominious death.

"A fair trial" quotha! Well, I mean a *legally* fair trial. After having been an ear-and-eye witness of our own small experience in trials (a comedy, or rather farce, as set beside the Chicago tragedy), I must conclude that under the law of a Society founded on robbery sustained by violence, as ours is, a fair trial is impossible. The maxim, apparently uncontradicted, that the event which is being judged must be isolated as to both time and place from all surrounding circumstances makes the whole thing absurd. So acting, you set out from the first with the determination of not getting at the real facts of the case. All you *can* know about it on such terms are certain formal facts, illumined perhaps by a word or two which has dropped from an eager witness before the judge has had time to stop him; and which the judge takes care to tell the jury they must not consider as evidence, as though they could possibly help doing so when they have once heard it.

Take for example our own case, The Queen v. Williams and Mainwaring. In the minds of all people who have interested themselves in the street-corner preaching the chief point was and is whether the police had made an unfair difference between the Socialists and the religious and other bodies. If it could be shown that they had been doing so, then, apart from the duties which the "Religion of Socialism" imposes on us as Socialists, in the eyes of all ordinary persons of any good will the defendants would have been public-spirited persons resisting the injurious misapplication of a very stretchable law. If on the contrary it could have been shown (as it couldn't) that the police had made no difference between the Socialists and other bodies, then to the general public the defendants were acting as rebels against a law presumably made for ensuring the convenience of the whole public, and the case would have been on quite a different footing. But any evidence that tended towards showing the facts on this point was

rigidly excluded by the judge; and we have to appeal from a so-called "court of justice" to the press or other extra-judicial means of publicity.

Parliament has met again to give the Ministry an opportunity of declaring their policy, and to transact a little "business." The "policy" is just what might have been expected—an attempt to live by doing nothing. Lord Randolph Churchill put down his foot on any concession being made in the eviction war, as he was bound to do. "Her Majesty's troops" are to act as they have acted, as bum-bailiffs—an occupation entirely suitable to them, but somewhat expensive to the tax-payers at home; who, however, deserve a great deal more than they will get for their behaviour in the late elections. Meantime the evictions now going on in Galway are a sufficient commentary on the speech of this champion of the landlords and Tory Democracy.

However, the little game now being played in Bulgaria, news of which is lately to hand, will no doubt afford the Ministry a welcome opportunity for a diversion from the home matters which press upon them, since they will be able to get up another Russian scare, not without some foundation. This will be easy to them, but it will not be easy to carry on a war with a great European power, if they should drift into that. Doubtless this consideration does not trouble them.

"A good deal is heard about gambling on the Stock Exchange, but there is reason to believe that the amount of gambling which goes on under the guise of legitimate trade is often more wild and excessive still. The public do not follow so closely the dealings in produce, iron, etc., as in securities, and therefore, on the principle *omne ignotum pro mirabile*, ordinary observers are apt to believe that dealings in Mark Lane, Mincing Lane, and the Baltic, are of a superior tone and morality to those which go on in the Stock Exchange. The following incident, however, rather disturbs this complaisant view of the state of British trade. In the Baltic this afternoon it was stated that wheat and linseed for shipment from Calcutta in April to June next year have been already sold; and as these articles are hardly yet even sown—if, indeed, either buyer or seller concerns himself in the least about their existence, present or future—the operation may be stigmatised as gambling of the most shameless description."—*Daily News*, August 21.

No comment is needed on the above.

"POLICE AND OPEN-AIR PREACHING.—Dear Sir,—The police have been trying to put down our Saturday evening open-air services, and have now given notice of their intention to summon us. We conduct the services on our own property, fronting the main thoroughfare in the parish. The prosecution is to be under some old statute which they say they have discovered. Amongst your many readers there may be legal gentlemen skilled in this question, who would be only too glad to help us in our struggle to preach the gospel of Christ, as our Master did, in the open air. The question is an important one, for if the police were successful it would give them a decision which might prove a dangerous precedent in all future evangelistic effort.—Yours truly, Wm. Adamson, vicar. The Vicarage, Old Ford, E."

The above letter, addressed to the *Christian*, shows that the police are trying to put a good face on their difficulty by attacking other bodies besides the Socialists; and they will doubtless try to convince the public that they have always done so. Comrades should all the more make careful notes as to such meetings and the amount of complaisance with which they are treated by the police.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## CAPITALISTIC ADVANTAGES OF VEGETARIANISM.

THE vegetarian capitalists have just issued their circular, setting forth the advantages to be derived, both morally and monetarily, from a vegetarian diet. The circular opens with the following explanation:

"The four primary essentials of healthy bodily existence are Light, Air, Water, and Food. The first three of these we enjoy without any effort on our part" [The devil we can!]; "but the fourth cannot be obtained without labour. The effort required, however, to derive our food direct from the soil is light and pleasant, and, the best of all, bodily exercise. Three hours a day devoted to the preparation of the soil and the cultivation of its products, is amply sufficient to provide any one with abundance of nourishing diet. So perverted, however, has human existence become, that most people are toiling from early morn till dark in one unceasing, worrying struggle to obtain for themselves and families the necessaries of life. Millions of them are dragging out a miserable existence, scarcely able to procure sufficient food to keep body and soul together."

Socialists are often sneered at when they affirm that three hours' work per day would be ample to supply all that a man needs to keep him in vigorous health; therefore, I am thankful to the vegetarian capitalist for his help in this direction. After the above paragraph,

they give several quotations. The first, extracted from a report on "Diet in Prisons," and next, an extract from the *Manchester Weekly Times*, all showing, or rather pretending to show, the superior nutritive qualities of oatmeal, peas, and beans, etc., etc. Then follows some "Practical Illustrations," from which it appears that "in 1840 some experiments were instituted in Glasgow Prison on the diet of a selected number of inmates." This fare consisted of: "For breakfast each had eight ounces of oatmeal made into porridge, with a pint of butter milk; for dinner, three pounds of boiled potatoes with salt; for supper, five ounces of oatmeal porridge, with half-pint of butter milk. At the end of two months they were all in good health; each person had gained four pounds weight, and they liked the diet, the cost of which, including cooking, was *twopence three-farthings per day*." (The vegetarian capitalists charge sixpence for a dinner of three courses.) On the above diet they gained two pounds of flesh in the two months. "Twelve others were fed on the same allowance of porridge and milk for breakfast and supper as the first ten, but for dinner they had soup containing two pounds of potatoes to each, and a quarter of a pound of meat. At the end of two months they had lost in weight one and a quarter pounds each, and they all disliked the diet; the expense of each daily was threepence seven-eighths." They take the above from (where do you think, reader?) a 'Book of Scottish Anecdotes.' Then we get the following:

"*Experiment at the Boys' Home, Southwark.*—As was previously our custom, the boys are allowed to have porridge, cocoa, and bread *ad libitum* at these meals. For dinner they have haricot beans, baked potatoes, and jam turnover; pease-pudding, baked Spanish onions, and a lump of dates; lentil soup and tapioca pudding; or savoury pie and bread-pudding, with figs, apples, etc., occasionally.

"The night before our first month's trial began we weighed the boys on an accurate machine in their shirts, and we must confess we somewhat anxiously awaited the result at the end of the month, when they were weighed again. Out of the 150 boys in the Home only two had lost weight (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. in each case) and in one instance—a crippled youth—this could easily be accounted for. All the others had put on flesh even up to the amount of 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. in the month. This was very satisfactory, but not less so has been the very noticeable fact that a kind of after-dinner *ennui*, observable formerly on certain days, is now replaced by a healthy spontaneity every afternoon, both in work and study.

"This change has been introduced without the least friction, because all the boys know that we would not sanction a dietary unless we believed it was adapted for nourishment and contentment. Many of them, of course, retain their British confidence in the strength-imparting power of beef-steak, and good-humouredly twit us in their own funny way, but they are being surely convinced *propria persona* that one can be hearty and strong without animal food.

"The economical aspect of the matter is most important for one like myself, upon whom, under God, 250 boys are depending for all they need in life. We can give our elder lads in this branch—many of them big fellows of 15 and 16, wolfishly hungry after recent hardships on the streets—a nutritious and palatable dinner (as much as ever they care to have) at a cost of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per head."—J. W. C. FEGAN, from *The Rescue* (March, 1885), Organ of the Boys' Home, Southwark, London.

This is the latest capitalist dodge with which to gull the workers into lowering their already scanty standard of living. We are told we can save something if we become systematic vegetarians. Of course, while a few individuals take the advantage of a cheaper diet they may save a little, *if they are very economical*. But if the workers as a body were to do so, the "iron law" of wages would intervene, and then, alas! the old tale. They would find out that they had only made larger profits for the capitalist, and would only get as wages sufficient to enable the most skilled to buy vegetables; for the workers, as a body, what small portion of meat they are able to obtain now, would be a thing of the past.

Let the workers ignore these philanthropic twelve and fifteen per cent. capitalists, in the assurance that "he who would be free himself must strike the blow," and that it will not be struck by the very being whose interests are diametrically opposed to those for whom the blow must be given.

H. DAVIS.

FEASTING THE EXPLOITERS IN DUBLIN.—Our Colonial visitors have had a "high old time of it" here lately. Railways, that never gave poor school children's excursions better terms than return tickets at single fares, and then crammed them into the worst of third-class carriages, have placed saloon carriages and special trains *free* at the disposal of opulent Parsee, Buddhist, and Christian. Tramway companies gave special cars free who never gave a trip to a children's school. Special steamers, free hotels, "banqueting and junketing," and excursions, by exploiters to exploiters, have been the rule of the day. When will half-starved workers who supply all and get nothing open their eyes?—J. E. M'C.

The great millionaire and monopolist of South America (says the *Woman's Journal*, Boston,) is a woman, Madame Isadora Cousino. She owns vast tracts of land and the richest coal-mines in Chili, besides smelting-works, brick-kilns, and agricultural plantations of every description. She owns the whole of the town of Lota, and nearly all Coronel (seven or eight thousand inhabitants), and pays from 100,000 dols. to 120,000 dols. a month in wages in these two towns—most of which, however, comes back into her pocket through supply stores, where she sells food and clothing to her own people. In one of her plantations, a superintendent's time is occupied "in teaching the natives on the place how to operate labour-saving machinery." (How eagerly folk learn to sew their own shrouds!) Farming in Chili is feudal in nature, each estate having its retainers, who are given houses, etc., and are paid for their labour, and who are subject to their landlord in time of war. Madame has no taste for art, and no love of dress; horse-racing and diamonds are her amusements. She is, of course, an acute woman of business, and it is scarcely necessary to say that of all the beautiful places in her domains, she prefers as a pleasant abode the mining town of Lota, as dirty and smoky as any of its counterparts in Pennsylvania.—M. M.

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER X.—POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN ENGLAND.

DURING the French Revolution, especially during its earlier stages there was a corresponding movement in England. It made some noise at the time, but was merely an intellectual matter, led by a few aristocrats—e.g., the Earl of Stanhope—and had no sympathy with the life of the people; it was rather a piece of aristocratic Bohemianism, a tendency to which has been seen in various times, even our own. For the rest, there certainly was in England a feeling, outside this unreal republicanism—a feeling of which Priestly the Unitarian may be looked on as a representative; this feeling was of the nature of that felt by respectable and thoughtful Radicals of later days, and was distinctly bourgeois, as the other was aristocratic.

The French Revolution naturally brought about a great reaction, not only in absolutist countries, but also in England, the country of Constitutionalism; and this reaction was much furthered and confirmed by the fall of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons in France. We may take as representative names of this reaction the Austrian Prince Metternich on the Continent and Lord Castlereagh in England. The stupid and ferocious repression of the governments acting under this influence, as well as the limitless corruption by which they were supported, were met in England by a corresponding progressive agitation, which was the beginning of Radicalism. Burdett and Cartwright are representatives of the earlier days of this agitation, and later on Hunt, Carlile, Lovett, and others. William Cobbett must also be mentioned as belonging to this period—a man of great literary capacity of a kind, and with flashes of insight as to social matters far before his time, but clouded by violent irrational prejudices and prodigious egotism; withal a peasant rather than a bourgeois—a powerful disruptive agent, but incapable of association with others. This period of Radical agitation was marked by a piece of violent repression in the shape of the so-called Peterloo Massacre, where an unarmed crowd at a strictly political meeting was charged and cut down by the yeomanry, and eleven people killed outright.<sup>1</sup>

This agitation, which was partly middle-class and partly popular, was succeeded by the Chartist movement, which was almost exclusively supported by the people, though some of the leaders—as Feargus O'Connor and Ernest Jones—belonged to the middle-class. Chartism, on the face of it, was as much a political movement as the earlier Radical one; its programme was wholly directed towards parliamentary reform; but as we have said, it was a popular movement, and its first motive power was the special temporary suffering of the people, due, as we said in our last chapter, to the disturbance of labour caused by the growth of the machine industry; and the electoral and parliamentary reforms of its programme were put forward because it was supposed that if they were carried they would affect the material condition of the people directly: at the same time, however, there is no doubt that the pressure of hunger and misery gave rise to other hopes besides the above-mentioned delusion as to reform, and ideas of Socialism were current among the Chartists though they were not openly put forward on their programme. Accordingly the class-instinct of the bourgeoisie saw the social danger that lurked under the apparently political claims of the charter, and so far from its receiving any of the middle-class sympathy which had been accorded to the Radical agitation, Chartism was looked upon as *the enemy*, and the bourgeois progressive movement was sedulously held aloof from it. It is worthy of note that Chartism was mainly a growth of the midland and northern counties—that is, of the great manufacturing districts—and that it never really flourished in London. In Birmingham the movement had the greatest force, and serious riots took place there while a Chartist conference was sitting in the town. The movement gave birth to a good deal of popular literature; and it must be remembered that the press was very strictly controlled by the Government. No paper was allowed to be issued without a stamp, the expense of which prevented the issue of cheap papers; and one of the incidents of the struggle was the determined opposition to this law kept up by some courageous agitators, who published unstamped papers in the teeth of the certain imprisonment that awaited them.

The Chartist movement went on vigorously enough till the insufficiency both of its aims and of knowledge as to how to carry them out found out the weak places in it. The immediate external cause of its wreck was the unfortunate schism that arose between the supporters of moral force and physical force in the body itself. The fantastic folly of supposing that there can be any "moral force" in matters political which does not rest on the resolution of a party to attain their end by the use of what "physical force they may have, if it should become necessary to use it, does not call for much comment here; although some thoughtless persons may even at present *think* that they believe such a "moral force" exists. On the other hand, it is clear to us now that a Chartist revolt had no chance of success at that time, and but for self-deception would have been clear to both leaders and rank and file of the party then.

It may here be mentioned that the trump-card which the Chartists were always thinking of playing was the organisation of an universal strike, under the picturesque title of the Holy Month. In considering

<sup>1</sup> The readers of *Commonweal* will find an article on this subject in the first number (Feb. 1885), by our comrade E. T. Craig, who was in Manchester at the time, though not an eye-witness. It is interesting to note that the scene of the massacre, St. Peter's Fields, is now a mass of streets in the very centre of the city of Manchester.



the enormous difficulties, or rather impossibilities, of this enterprise, we should remember that its supporters understood that the beginnings of it would be at once repressed forcibly, and that it would lead directly to civil war.

The truth is that there were two distinct groups in the party, one of which went about as far as our ultra-Radicals of the present day; and another which was at heart Socialist, only deficient in knowledge, and consequently without definite principles on which to base action; and these two groups pretty much corresponded to the division between the supporters of moral and physical force.

From 1842, when the schism came to a head, Chartism began to die out. Its decay, however, was far more due to the change that was coming over the economical state of affairs than even to its incomplete development of principle and ill-considered tactics. Things were settling down from the dislocation caused by the rise of the great industries. The workers shared in the added wealth brought about by enormous expansion of trade, although in an absurdly small proportion to the share of the middle-classes; but those classes tended ever to become more numerous and more contented. The trades' unions began to be powerful, and improved the prospects of the skilled workmen. So-called co-operation began to flourish: it was really an improved form of joint-stockery, which could be engaged in by the workmen, but was and is fondly thought by some to be if not a shoeing-horn to Socialism at least a substitute for it; indeed Chartism itself at this time became involved in a kind of half co-operative half peasant-proprietorship land scheme, which of course proved utterly abortive.

As this improvement in the condition of the working-classes weakened that part of the life of Chartism which depended on mere hunger desperation, so the growing political power in the middle-classes and the weakening of the mere Tory reaction swallowed up the political part of its life.

Chartism, therefore, flickered out in the years that followed 1842, but its last act was the celebrated abortive threat at revolt which took place in April 1848. And it must be said that there was something appropriate in such a last act. For this demonstration was distinctly caused by sympathy with the attacks on absolutism then taking place on the Continent, and Chartism was always on one side of it a part of the movement which was going on all over Europe, and was directed against the reaction which followed on the French Revolution, and which was represented by the "Holy Alliance" of the absolutist sovereigns against both bourgeoisie and the people.

On the fall of Chartism, the Liberal Party, a nondescript and flaccid creation of bourgeois supremacy, a party without principles or definition, but a thoroughly adequate expression of English middle-class hypocrisy, cowardice, and short-sightedness, engrossed the whole of the political progressive movement in England, and dragged the working-classes along with it, blind as they were to their own interests and the solidarity of labour. This party has shown little or no sympathy for the progressive movement on the Continent, unless when they deemed it connected with their anti-Catholic prejudice. It saw no danger in the Caesarism which took the place of the corrupt sham Constitutionalism of Louis Philippe as the head of the police and stock-jobbing régime, which dominated France in the interests of the bourgeoisie, and hailed Louis Napoleon with delight as the champion of law and order.

Any one, even a thoughtful person, might have been excused for thinking in the years that followed on 1848 that the party of the people was at last extinguished in England, and that the class-struggle had died out and given place to the peaceable rule of the middle-classes, scarcely disturbed by occasional bickerings carried on in a lawful manner between the two parties to that false free-contract, which is the lying foundation on which Commercial Society rests. But, as we shall show in a future chapter, under all this, Socialism was making great strides and developing a new and scientific phase, which at last resulted in the establishment of the International Association, whose aim was to unite the workers of the world in an organisation which should consciously oppose itself to the domination of middle-class capitalism. The International was inaugurated in England in 1864, at a meeting held in St. Martin's Hall, London, and at which Professor Beesly took the chair. It made considerable progress among the Trades' Unions, and made a great impression (beyond indeed what its genuine strength warranted) on the arbitrary Governments of Europe. It culminated in the Socialistic influence it had, in the Commune of Paris, of which we shall treat in a separate chapter. The International did not long out-live the Commune, and once more for several years all proletarian influence was dormant in England, except for what activity was possible among the foreign refugees living there, with whom some few of the English working-men had relations. From this connection sprang, however, a new movement, which we must barely mention, though it cannot yet be considered a matter of history. In 1881, an attempt was made to federate the various Radical Clubs into a body, with a programme which, though for the most part merely Radical, had an infusion of Socialism in it, and which took the name of the Democratic Federation. The Radical Clubs, however, that had joined soon seceded, mostly from disagreement with the revolutionary attitude taken by the Federation on the Irish question. In 1883, the programme became more definitely Socialistic, and the next year the title was changed to that of the Social Democratic Federation; but in the last days of 1884 differences of opinion which had been developing for some time, chiefly centering on the questions of Parliamentary Opportunism and Nationalism, ended in a secession which founded the Socialist League as a definite Revolutionary Socialist body early in 1885.

At the present time the Socialist bodies, though relatively small, tend to attract various elements to them; the discontent of the workmen with an outlook of ever increasing gloom; that also of the Ultra-Radicals unable to make any real impression on the dense mass of mingled Conservatism and Whiggery, which really governs the country. The aspirations of thoughtful people who have studied the works of the great Socialist thinkers; the permeation of Socialist feeling from its centres on the Continent; and lastly and chiefly the steady march of events towards a new state of Society, which is making itself felt even amongst those who are unconscious of the advance of Socialism, or hostile to it—all these causes combining together, are forcing even England, the stronghold of middle-class domination, to pay attention to the subject, and will certainly before long form a new and powerful Party of the People, whose outlook will be far more hopeful than that of any of those we have told of; since its aim will no longer be partial or one-sided, but will be the realisation of a new Society with new politics, ethics, and economics, in short, the transformation of civilisation into Socialism.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued).

## CORRESPONDENCE.

MARSHALL & CO.

If a man hits me in the dark with a loaded bludgeon, he is scarcely justified in saying that it is not a personal attack, because he only strikes at me as a type of a class which he considers objectionable, and all whose members he may equally wish to attack.

Yet this is, morally, what your correspondents J. L. M. and T. M. have done in your issue of July 10. Their weapon is their pen, and it is loaded, though they may not know it, with falsehood.

They have put together a statement respecting the firm of Marshall & Co. in which (with the exception of one paragraph, the fourth, treating of a very small matter) every figure is erroneous, some to a ludicrous extent, and nearly every so-called "fact" about the firm is false.

The last paragraph of your correspondents' is a purely personal one. In these days it would be idle for any man who expresses an opinion on public affairs to complain of newspaper criticisms, or even to feel aggrieved by mis-statements of his views, actions, or intentions. Nor is it likely that even the kindly wishes of J. L. M. and T. M. will induce my brother to expatriate himself.

JOHN MARSHALL, Leeds.

[We shall be glad to print a statement from Mr. Marshall of the way in which the firm *did* deal with their work-people. This would be the best way of confuting our correspondents' statement.—EDITORS.]

## RIOTS AND REVOLUTION.

IN one of the last numbers of your paper one of your writers condemns riots as means of propagating our ideas and as a waymark for the coming Revolution. Likewise in the meeting on Friday in Arlington Hall one of your speakers spoke in the same sense, without giving any other reason than this, that the riots will not bring the revolution, which is as illogical as if any one would refuse to build his house with bricks or stones because one brick or one stone is not sufficient. It is a matter of historical fact that riots or other acts of force have been the precursors of all great social or political changes, and—what is of greater importance—that such acts and only such acts are what indicate to the people the way they have to go. If you condemn riots, who can say when the revolution will come that people shall take part in, or what is the mark or sign to distinguish between these two things? And what is revolution if not a series of revolts against the tyranny, which leads to one riot which is more important, and brings the cause to final victory? The bomb at Chicago has robbed us of eight of our best comrades, but has advanced us ten years nearer to the Revolution. You are right to say that one riot does not bring the Revolution, but it is your duty to make them oftener.

RUSSIAN ANARCHIST.

## A DISGRACEFUL OUTRAGE AT A PUBLIC MEETING.

SIR,—Whilst standing amongst a large and orderly crowd which was being addressed by Socialist speakers on Sunday evening last at Clerkenwell Green, I was struck heavily on the upper part of the cheek by a thick piece of glass. The blow came with such force that for half a minute I was so stunned as to be conscious only of the sound it made, and became aware that I was hit only by feeling a dull pain, and by finding blood on the hand which I had raised in dazed fashion to my cheek. Had the missile struck me a half an inch higher up my eye would have been cut out; as it is I am glad to say that a slight shock and the loss of a little blood sums up the injury done.

Now, sir, I wish not to occupy your space with further reference to my own inconvenience, but to proceed to the most important consideration arising out of this matter, viz., that from the force with which the missile was thrown, and from the fact that it appeared to have been aimed at the speakers, near whom I stood, it is extremely probable that it was an attack on the Socialists themselves, made, probably, by some cowardly scoundrel in the employ of still more cowardly paymasters who fear the Socialists, cowardice, sir, being nearly always cruel and brutal. Putting aside the question of Socialism entirely, I must indignantly protest against such a contemptible and criminal assault on the right of citizens meeting together to discuss political questions—a right that, as that able historian, John Richard Green, has emphatically pointed out, dates among Anglo-Saxons back to the days of their primitive civilisation in their German homeland. In other words, the act I speak of is an attack on free speech. But a word of warning in the ears of the skulking hirelings who are the instruments of such attacks (I use the plural because word has since reached me of another such outrage), if they be once caught throwing stones at any English crowd earnestly bent on listening to a public speaker—be he Socialist, Liberal, or Conservative—it will go extremely hard with them. The real honest English temper is apt to rise fiercely against this method of tampering with public debate.

AN INDEPENDENT RADICAL.



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance should be attached to them because of the position they may occupy in these pages. None, therefore, are to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s.; six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

W. R. (Halifax).—Would you mind communicating with the Manager at this address?

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 25.

ENGLAND		
Justice	Boston—Woman's Journal	Paris—Cris du Peuple (daily)
Southport Visiter	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	Le Socialiste
Freethinker	Little Socialist	La Revue Littéraire
Bristol Mercury	Toledo (O.)—Industrial News	BELGIUM
Norwich—Daylight	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair
Leicester—Countryman	San Francisco (Cal.)—Truth	SPAIN
Club and Institute Journal	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Madrid—El Socialista
INDIA	Washington (D. C.)—National View	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Madras—People's Friend	Portland (Oreg.) Avant-Courier	Barcelona—La Justicia Humana
Allahabad—People's Budget	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	HOLLAND
Bombay—Times of India	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Recht voor Allen
CANADA	Herald	HUNGARY
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Tribune	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
UNITED STATES	Times	NORWAY
New York—Volkszeitung	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Social-Democraten
Der Sozialist	FRANCE	SWITZERLAND
Freiheit	Guiso—Le Devoir	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Truthseeker		

RECEIVED.—"Moderation"—"The Government and Ireland"—"Advertisement"—"Crime under Socialism."

### MISANTHROPY TO THE RESCUE!

A PAPER read by Mr. Wordsworth Donnisthorpe at the Fabian Conference has been printed in the *Anarchist*. It excited much interest at the time when it was read, and aroused no little indignation in the minds of some of the Socialists that heard it; but printed, it does not seem a very remarkable piece, being simply an example of the ordinary pessimistic paradoxical exercises which are a disease of the period, and whose aim would seem to be the destruction of the meaning of language. Thus Mr. Donnisthorpe declares himself an evolutionist, but his evolution simply runs round the circle; and in fact what he really means is the ordinary assertion that no condition of things but the present one is really natural and enduring; or, to put it in another way, that slavery is a necessity and that the latest development is the best, as it is the most veiled and therefore the safest for the slaveholder. This is indeed the due conclusion for the secretary of the Liberty and Property Defence League to arrive at; but it is a little curious that some people should have been ensnared by his not very ingenious fallacies, and supposed that he was covertly supporting some advanced doctrine or other. To these I commend his concluding sentences: "The best system that I could bethink myself of if my opinion were asked would be the system of private property. To every man the fruits of his labour. If this view was adopted a state of things would arise exactly like what we have now," etc. "To every man the fruits of his labour." Might one make bold to ask Mr. Donnisthorpe what are the fruits of the labour of a duke, a shareholder, or a lawyer? The worst enemy of the non-producing classes would scarcely grudge them the fruits of their labour—nothing, to wit. If Mr. Donnisthorpe is not misreported, this sentence is a curious one to come from a man who affects such exactness of thought.

But indeed all these abstractions of Mr. Donnisthorpe's are but Politics in the Moon. In spite of his dyspeptic pessimism, human beings will always take interest in one another, and will have some

sort of common aspirations; even, what doubtless will be a frightful word to Mr. Donnisthorpe, some religion, some bond of responsibility to each other. It is impossible for no other relations between men to exist long save those between the bester and the bested, the slave and the slaveholder; society will arise and grow in spite of all calculations founded on a one-sided view of men's struggles for self-preservation: nay, it exists now outside the world held together by those arbitrary rules which are sustained for the upholding of private property, and which Mr. Donnisthorpe really means when he speaks of liberty; and indeed it is just that rudimentary and as yet vague society of well-wishers, into which people are attracted by the interest in each other as human beings, which holds the world together until it shall be forced into a completer society by the march of economical events. It is true, as Mr. Donnisthorpe says, that the working-classes are degraded, though whether they are more degraded than their degraders is another matter; but it is not because they produce that they are degraded, but because they are kept poor by arbitrary rules in favour of property. But poor as they are, they now have before them the prospect of getting poorer, while at the same time they are growing less ignorant; or say the luxury of keeping masters to employ them is getting so expensive that it threatens to ruin both master and man, and that while the masters have no way of escape, the men have a simple one—to wit, the getting rid of their masters. This they are beginning to learn, and when they get more perfect with their lesson, and come to understand that they can produce without the help of the lookers-on who pocket so large a part of their product, in spite of all abstractions, and in spite also of misanthropical prophecies they will insist on having "the fruits of their labour." Nay, they will be forced to take steps to having them from the breakdown of that very slave-system of which Mr. Donnisthorpe is such a sedulous supporter. That slave-system is at best preparing widespread commercial ruin, and thereby is performing the last action that it is capable of; it is expending the last force that it has in giving force to the new order of things; it is putrid, but still useful—as dung.

Let us, then, take to heart some of Mr. Donnisthorpe's taunts, and use them for what they are worth. He tells us in a great many words, considering the simplicity of the statement, that if the workers can take over the artificially protected property of the useless classes they have a right to do so, and sarcastically cheers them on in the attempt. It is our business to accept the challenge; and we may at least thank him for not hypocritically deprecating the use of force as a wickedness and immorality in the ordinary fashion of the day. But though the day of change will come at last, surely it will come the quicker if we take to heart those taunts aforesaid. True it is that it is the surroundings of the workers acting on exactly the same material as that of the useless classes which has produced their degradation; but it is possible for men who have once had a religion implanted in them to make that surrounding overcome the others—at least for the practical purposes of revolution. It has been seen over and over how a religion, a principle—whatever you may chose to call it—will transform poltroons into heroes, by forcing men to make the best of their better qualities and making the excess of what they have got in them that is good supply the defects of their lacking qualities. So I think we may, in spite of Mr. Donnisthorpe, each one of us, make ourselves good enough for revolutionists, though in this generation we may fall short of perfection. Yet I admit that it is a difficult thing to do, for it means giving a sense of responsibility in greater or less degree to a great many people; so once more let us take warning by the enemy, and remember that the Religion of Socialism which our manifesto speaks of does call upon us to be better than other people, since we owe ourselves to the SOCIETY which we have accepted as the hope of the future. WILLIAM MORRIS.

### A BENEFIT CONCERT

WILL BE HELD AT

FARRINGTON HALL, 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.,

ON

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18th, AT 8 O'CLOCK,

For the purpose of raising Funds to pay the Fine (£20) imposed on SAMUEL MAINWARING at the Middlesex Sessions.

Admission by Programme only. . . Sixpence Each.

Which can be obtained from WM. BLUNDELL, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.; H. G. ARNOLD, 6, Little Carlisle Street, W.; E. POPE, 6, York Street, Church Street, Bethnal Green, E.; and T. E. WARDLE, 9, Charlotte Street, Bedford Square.

NOTE.—As some of the country Branches have written asking why Mainwaring did not go to prison like Williams, we take the opportunity of stating exactly what the sentence was, viz., That each of the two men should find two securities of £50 each to keep the peace for twelve months, and in addition pay a fine of £20 with no alternative; the two months' being the penalty in the case of not finding the securities, and as Mainwaring is a householder the Crown could sell his goods to levy the £20. The League has no intention of allowing young policemen to buy Mainwaring's furniture at their own prices, so we have determined to pay the fine. THOMAS E. WARDLE, pro Concert Committee.

SALLENT (Catalonia).—Seven factories here have stopped work or diminished the hours of work.

BARCELONA.—A large part of the employés at the bottle factory have struck, the remainder following suit.

CASTELLON.—The Printers' Society have declared a strike at the Armengot establishment, and seem firm and determined to hold out.

## ORGANISED LABOUR.

### The Duty of the Trades' Unions in relation to Socialism.

#### III.

I therefore urge it upon the unions as their highest duty to humanity that they should without delay come to some understanding with the advocates of Socialism. As a Socialist myself it has always appeared to me that Socialism is but the expression of the ideal of Trades'-unionism. The Socialist aims at the emancipation of Labour, the equality and fraternity of the peoples, and the overthrow of class-domination. This being the very antithesis of the present condition of society, implies the destruction of the existing wage-slavery, by which a privileged class is enabled to live in luxury and idleness upon the labour of others.

The present society is social war. It is a system based on inequality of rights and duties, upheld and maintained by force, in order that a few men may be enabled to exploit their fellow-men,—in short, that the Classes may profit by the misery and degradation of the Masses. As a cure for the strife and wretchedness which increases and spreads wherever the baleful influence of capitalism extends, the Socialist advocates the establishment of Co-operative Commonwealths, or communes, which should own and control all the raw material, instruments of labour, and means of transit. The object of such communes would naturally be, not the wholesale production of shoddy goods and Brummagem ware, but the general diffusion of happiness and contentment. Every member of such communities, in return for moderate and congenial labour performed under the most wholesome conditions and with the best appliances obtainable, would be insured the means for enjoying a rational life with due satisfaction of his or her needs, material, moral, and intellectual. Surely there is nothing in such proposals but what should command the assent and approval of every honest man and woman, to whatever class of society they belong; and least of all should those who live by the sale of their labour oppose them.

Whether this necessary and inevitable social change shall be brought about gradually and safely, and with comparative ease and tranquillity, or shall be delayed till a violent and irresistible wave of popular fury overwhelms the present accursed system, depends largely—I might almost say entirely—on the attitude of the trades' unions. Their action henceforth ought to be solely directed to preparing the way for the new social order; in organising and federating nationally and internationally, with the distinct intention of constituting themselves the nucleus of the Socialist Commonwealth. That this is their true function will be at once apparent if we analyse the present society and briefly examine the elements of which it is composed. We find that there is only a small minority of the population engaged in really useful and necessary work, by far the larger proportion being either idle or uselessly employed. For example, there are all those who minister to the laziness and luxury of the rich; the shopkeepers and assistants, the travellers, clerks, etc.; the hawkers, and itinerants of all kinds; the swarms of officials, lawyers, soldiers, priests, policemen, pawnbrokers, publicans, peers, princes, paupers, etc., etc.—not to mention prostitutes, pickpockets, and the criminal classes generally. All these classes are doomed to disappear with the corrupt society which makes their existence possible. But the unions contain within themselves all the elements essential for the constitution of a rational society; they are therefore pointed out as the natural pioneers of the New Era. By the discipline of their organisation and the solidarity which comes of association and collective action, trades'-unionists have been fitting themselves for the fraternal communal life which Socialists hope and believe is to follow the present fratricidal régime; while the administrative capacity developed by the conduct of the unions will be of enormous value in organising and assimilating the heterogeneous host of non-producers to which I have referred above.

I call upon the unions frankly to recognise their mission, and to make common cause with all those whose fundamental principle is that the brotherhood of labour should be the basis of society. The emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem. Labour is of no country. The interests of the workers are everywhere identical. Whatever political party be in power, whether the form of government be republican, constitutional-monarchical, or absolutist,—everywhere the workers have to contend with the same evils. The cause of all social misery is the economical subjection of the labourer to the monopoliser of the means of labour, whereby the masses of the people are compelled to sell themselves by a kind of Dutch auction to the capitalist classes in order to obtain the wherewithal to maintain a bare existence. There is absolutely no hope for the workers but in the utter abolition of wage-slavery and the reconstruction of society on a labour basis. Everything that has been put forward as a panacea and for the purpose of keeping the people in a fools' paradise has been tried and failed, and left them in even a worse condition than they were before. Surely they must be blind indeed who do not perceive that neither free trade nor improvements of machinery, no appliance of science to production, no increased means of communication nor new colonies, emigration, opening of new markets, nor all these things put together, can do away with the miseries of the industrious classes; but that whilst society remains on its present false base, every fresh development of the productive powers of labour can only tend to deepen social contrasts and to embitter and accentuate the class-struggle.

It is useless for the trades'-unions to waste further time, trouble, and money in fighting the "bosses" for some petty concession, which is maintained with difficulty, at best benefits a very few, and is only hindering

the cause of the People. The present cowardly attitude of the unions is fast bringing British Trades'-unionism into contempt amongst all earnest, honest champions of progress. The charge has been made, I am afraid with only too much truth, that we have allowed ourselves of late years "to be dominated by a pettifogging set of self-seekers—men with no grit—browsers and scrapers to the middle-class god, Respectability." I earnestly entreat my fellow-unionists to exert themselves to remove this reproach. Let us show that we are capable of better things, that we can look beyond the narrow range of our everyday life and the mere selfish struggle for our own advantage. A mighty movement is in progress throughout the whole of the civilised world. Society is steadily, irresistibly dividing itself into two camps—the People on one side, the Privileged Classes on the other. All the ebullitions taking place in the various countries to-day, whatever may be their immediate origin or object, and by whatever name they may be described, have only one root-cause—the revolt of Labour against Monopoly—and are but the preliminary skirmishes before the great and decisive battle that remains yet to be fought ere the Curse of Capital be utterly overthrown and the cause of Labour won.

The paramount duty of the trades' unions seems to me to be clearly defined. It is to make plain to all men that they have no part nor lot with those who would maintain the existing unjust social arrangements, but that they recognise the absolute identity of their interests with those of the opponents of class privilege and domination. The trades' unions have hitherto kept commendably clear of party politics, but there appears some danger at present that they may be "got at" by the professional politicians, and may be induced to turn aside from their proper work to waste their efforts in Parliamentary pottering. The unions should steadily reject all alliances with any of the present political parties; they should refuse to take part in those disgusting farces termed royal commissions; and above all, they should guard against being cajoled by the blandishments which are being craftily bestowed upon some of the weak-kneed "representatives" of labour. The attention of trades' unionists ought to be solely directed to the social question. Nothing short of an Economic Revolution can emancipate labour, therefore no amount of legislative tinkering is of any use, so long as private property in the sources of life is permitted.

The existence of great organisations like the trades' unions with no definite programme is a strange anomaly in these times of active revolutionary propaganda, and with the social question agitating the minds of the workers throughout the whole of the civilised world. It is time that a joint committee was appointed to draw up a manifesto setting forth clearly and distinctly the aims and objects of organised labour. The monstrous doctrine of the bourgeois political economists, that human labour should be dealt with exactly like machinery or raw material, should be utterly repudiated. The workers should no longer contentedly allow their labour-power to be bought and sold like a commodity to make profit for the possessing classes, but should claim for themselves and for all men equal rights as free citizens to work together and to enjoy the fruits of their labour. The future action of the trades' unions, then, ought to be solely directed to the end of substituting production for use in the interest of the whole of the community, for the present system of production for profit in the interest of landlords, capitalists, usurers, etc.

To accomplish this desirable alteration the principle of solidarity must be much more widely accepted amongst all classes of workers than obtains at present; the spirit of fraternity must extend beyond the narrow bounds of nationality and bring about a common understanding with the peoples in other lands. Our brethren in America are considerably ahead of us in this matter. They have realised the inability of local unions among a comparatively small section of the workers to cope with the international conspiracy of the plundering classes, and are consolidating themselves into a vast organisation, which may be termed the New Society in embryo, which will undoubtedly at no very distant date develop into a Co-operative Commonwealth. Let us emulate their example and rally to the standard of labour all those who are willing to do their duty; all who suffer from the present condition of society and all who sympathise with the sufferers; in a word all those who acknowledge truth, justice and morality as the bases of their conduct towards all men, without regard to colour, creed, nationality, or occupation. Only by so doing will it be possible to close the era of social injustice and class war and to inaugurate a happier state of society for all, in which life shall be a thing to be enjoyed, instead of, as now, for far too many of us, a burden to be endured.

Comrades, I have sought to prove the inability of Trades'-unionism alone to liberate Labour from the grasp of Capital, and I have pointed to Socialism as the next stage in the evolution of society. I earnestly hope my words may lead you to inquire more fully into the subject; and I am sure if you do so, you will acknowledge the wisdom and goodness of the principles of Socialism, and will henceforth subscribe yourselves Socialists as well as Trades'-unionists.

THOMAS BINNING.

Sire, the fundamental principles of Society require men to regard each other as brothers and to work together for their common welfare. Do not forget this! Remember, to do grand things we must have enthusiasm. All my life resolves itself into one great thought—to secure for all mankind the most unfettered development of their faculties.—*St. Simon.*

Revolution means merely transformation, and is accomplished when an entirely new principle is—either with force or without—put in place of the existing state of things. Reform, on the other hand, is when the principle of the existing state of things is continued, and only developed to more logical or just consequences. The means do not signify. A reform may be carried out by bloodshed, and a revolution in the profoundest tranquility.—*Ferdinand Lassalle.*



## SCOTTISH NOTES.

The visit of a fat old lady from England to the Edinburgh Exhibition has been the sensation of the week.

Said fat old lady who has been exhibiting herself happens to be the Queen, otherwise she is not "so very fat or yet so very funny," as the old song has it, or indeed possessed of any other remarkable physical or mental quality to make her person of any interest to the public. You could pick up old women quite as fat and as pompous by the bushful in the country—particularly at butcher-shop doors and public-house doors.

However, being "the Queen," and one of the horde

"Of princes, the dregs of their dull race who flow  
Through public scorn, mud from a muddy spring,  
Rulers who leech-like to their country cling  
Till they drop blind with blood without a blow,"—

she was of course received by the vast rabble of sycophants with hallelujahs and vociferous applause. Grey-beard professors, statesmen, land-thieves, labour-thieves, and the race of "money-mongers all," bowed and adored her as if she were a goddess and by no means made of the same clay as any other pauper old woman in the country.

It was a vast barbaric show—but it was a show merely. Therein is at least a moiety of consolation. It is but just to the crowd of idolators to say that they were all hypocrites. There was not a sincere act done or an honest word spoken during the entire ceremony. All was feigned; every man and woman there (with possibly the exception of the "mere masses," who were kept outside) was there not to honour the Queen but to display and advertise themselves. Supposing the Queen had been a wooden effigy or a piece of cracked old china, everything would have gone on quite the same. If she were to die to-morrow, and the King of the Cannibal Islands were to be stuck in her place, the loyal multitude would repeat the performance. Not a lord or money-bag was there but would kick herself and her crown into the Firth of Forth to-morrow if it would serve his interest or vanity to do so. There are more knaves than fools in the world. If there is any comfort in the fact, let us humbly avail ourselves of it.

The Tyree expedition has ended neither in tragedy nor comedy, but in burlesque. As in the case of Skye, no battle took place. The marines have fraternised with the people, and the island has been the scene of much merrymaking. A few days ago a tug-of-war took place between the marines and the crofters, when the marines suffered a serious defeat. Meanwhile we hear that the people are still in practical possession of the farm concerning which all the exhibition of war was about. It is generally anticipated that the net result will be the same as in the Skye affair, where scarcely any rent or taxes have been paid during the last two years.

The strike of the miners of Messrs. Dixon & Co.'s pit at Blantyre—of which I gave an account some time ago—has unfortunately collapsed. The company succeeded in getting almost as many "black-nebs" as they needed, mostly from other districts. Further resistance being useless, the strikers agreed to return.

There are signs at last of a great national miners' union being formed. Meetings all over the country have been held during the last fortnight, and a unanimous feeling expressed in favour of common action. At present, in the great majority of the districts the men have adopted a restrictive policy—viz., a "darg" of 2s. 6d. a-day, and five days' work a-week. When it is remembered that if the miners were concerned each one only for his own immediate interest, they could earn not 12s. 6d. but 20s. or 25s. per week, the sacrifice for solidarity made by these poor fellows must command our admiration.

If the secretaries of labour unions throughout the country were all made of the stuff of William Small, miners' agent, Blantyre, the solution of the labour problem would not long be delayed. Not only is he not afraid that the cause of the miners will suffer by their listening to "dangerous Socialist theories," but he boldly proclaims himself a Socialist and assists in organising Socialist meetings amongst them. Many of the local leaders also avow themselves Socialists and do not hesitate to express their belief that any rise of wages they may force the masters to grant will bring only a temporary and but paltry relief, and that the only real emancipation of the miners will be the entire destruction of the fabric of landlordism and capitalism.

The Scottish Land Restoration League, which has given little public manifestation of life since the general election in last November, when its candidates were defeated, is at last beginning to bestir itself. A strong Branch was formed in Govan last Wednesday. Like the Socialists the Land Restorers perceive the necessity of outdoor propaganda, and have already held several successful open-air meetings. The Land Restoration League is almost the only political body with which we, as Socialists, are not in antagonism. "The Land for the People" is a cry which Socialists can join in lustily; and although the methods by which the Land Restorers propose to give the people the land are faulty in the extreme, yet the fact that they preach the principle, and that they advocate the confiscation of private property in land for the public weal, gives their propaganda a comradeship with our own. Wherever they till we shall surely sow. Already their converts are

fast joining our standard, and wherever they have been we are made welcome.

The progress which Land Nationalisation has made in Scotland during the last three years, of itself presages well for Socialism. Prior to the visit of Henry George in 1883, the notion of land nationalisation scarcely existed in the minds of the people, or at least there was no expression of its existence. Yet the speeches of that one man and the subsequent efforts of a few earnest and enthusiastic disciples have spread the teaching throughout the land, filled the newspapers with discussions upon it, and compelled would-be members of Parliament to frame an additional batch of "equivocal answers."

In these days when clergymen preach, doctors cure, artists paint, poets sing, philosophers speculate, soldiers fight, and governments govern, all for money, it is no wonder that Socialists should be looked upon askance, and their ardour attributed to mercenary motives. At one of our open-air meetings in a country district, when after two hours' speaking we had succeeded in selling some 4s. worth of literature, on a comrade announcing that we would pay the people a visit again, a stout housewife, who had been jealously eyeing the commercial part of our propaganda, was heard to declare, "Ay, they may weel come back again, they've made a right guid haul." Our joint railway fares to the place amounted to 5s.!

As illustrating the growing interest in Socialism in Scotland, I may mention that the *People's Journal*, a Dundee weekly newspaper having a very large circulation, is about to publish a series of articles on "Socialism, Old and New."

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

## THE GREAT TRIAL IN CHICAGO.

## II.

WHEN, on the 31st of July, the defence, through Mr. Solomon, made their opening address to the jury, the case against the eight Anarchists was certainly anything but hopeful. Cunning, unscrupulous, backed by the whole power of the State, and with unlimited resources at his command, the prosecuting attorney had succeeded in weaving a mass of testimony together which, to an outsider, seemed impregnable. Two at least of the defendants—Messrs. Spies and Fielden—seemed irrevocably doomed. The *Chicago Tribune*, on Saturday morning, July 31st, gleefully declared that nothing now could save at least seven of the Anarchists from the halter. The cry for blood and for vengeance went up simultaneously from every capitalist sheet in Chicago, and was echoed by hundreds of newspapers throughout the land. States Attorney Grinnell was praised for his fearlessness and ability in probing to the bottom this "heinous conspiracy"—and, in short, the verdict was given for death, and nothing but the consummation of the great tragedy was wanting to complete the scene.

In one short week all has been changed. The liars and perjurers have been unmasked (the tools, but not the principals, I fear), and what seemed a week ago to be a hopeless case against the eight brave men on trial, now looks, as I predicted it would turn out to be, like a monstrous conspiracy to take the lives of brave and innocent men in revenge for the retribution which fell upon the police as a natural consequence of their own acts.

It is true the defence have not disproved what the prosecution apparently showed, that there was a movement on foot to precipitate the social revolution; but the defence have not attempted to disprove this. Mr. Solomon distinctly stated in his opening address to the jury that the defendants were not on trial as Socialists, or Anarchists, or revolutionists, but as criminals, as murderers. And the defence have fully shown how guiltless our comrades are of murder, or of any petty crime.

To any unprejudiced and fair-minded person, after reading the evidence presented during the past week, the innocence of these men must be perfectly apparent. Not one vestige remains of the "solid and impregnable wall of damning testimony" presented by the State. Not one iota of so-called "proof" but what has been met by overwhelming proof on the side of the defence. In the eyes of every unbiased person those men stand acquitted of any crime, and loom up, grandly and heroically, as the brave champions of an unpopular Cause. Should the prosecution, in spite of innocence established, now secure a verdict (of which they are still very confident), and our comrades suffer the extreme penalty of the law, it seems as if the very stones of their prison cells must cry out against the judicial murder.

In spite of all this, however, in spite of the evidence which the hiring press dare not suppress—and how gladly they would if they dared—those very newspapers, which in their news columns contain convincing testimony of the innocence of the Anarchists, still persist in their editorials that the case of the prosecution is as strong as ever, still insist that the testimony of the defence is weak, that the great mass of testimony counts for nothing, and still howl for the blood of these devoted comrades. Relying upon the fact that business men have no leisure to follow up the trial through all the evidence offered, the papers daily print short editorials, notoriously false and misleading, which are read by the majority of the people, and from which opinions are formed.

But let the discriminating and unprejudiced readers of the *Commonweal* examine for themselves the important testimony produced during the past week, and judge whether or not our comrades are the victims of a devilish plot to swear away their lives.

A week ago none of the eight seemed so deeply enmeshed and so utterly lost to us as August Spies. He it is that was claimed to be the head and front of the whole affair, and against him the mass of testimony was hurled. Witnesses had sworn that he had led the strikers on to McCormick's factory day before, that he had urged the sacking of the works and the killing of "scabs." The fiend Gilmer had testified to seeing Spies in the alley, and lighting the deadly bomb; some of the officers had sworn to finding dynamite, etc., in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* office, and they had charged the preparations for an extended emeute upon him. But not less than a dozen witnesses, some of them leading citizens, have testified for the defence that Gilmer's character is infamous, that he cannot be believed under oath, and that his morals in every way are corrupt. Numerous witnesses have sworn that they stood in the alley at the time the bomb was thrown, that neither Spies, nor Fischer, nor Schwab was there. It has been clearly proven by several witnesses that Spies was on the wagon at this time. Others have testified that Spies, so far from inciting the crowd to attack McCormick's factory, actually warned them to keep away from there. Again, it has been shown that at the time of Spies's arrest, there was no dynamite in the office of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. In short, for every witness—most of whom, remember, were policemen—who testified against Spies, a dozen proved him innocent.

Fielden's case was little if any more hopeful than that of Spies. Three police-

men had sworn that he answered Capt. Ward's command to disperse by shouting "There come the bloodhounds; men, you do your duty and I will do mine," and that he crouched behind the wagon, firing upon the officers. This the capitalist press thought convincing proof of his complicity. But now a dozen men have sworn that Fielden never uttered these words, that he answered Captain Ward's command to immediately and peaceably disperse with the words, "Why, captain, this is a peaceable meeting." Other witnesses have sworn that Fielden was at a meeting of the American Group which had met to form a plan for the organisation of the working girls; that while there he received a message to speak at the Haymarket meeting, and that previous to that he had not known of the intention to call such a meeting. Those who heard Fielden when upon the witness-stand in his own defence, state that his attitude was heroic. Even the newspapers admit that his bearing was frank and manly, and that his answers had all the appearance of truth. He was subjected to a most rigid cross-examination, but never once faltered or wavered. When describing the scene at the Haymarket, and explaining portions of his speech made there, he was deeply impressive.

A great many witnesses have sworn that not a shot was fired by any person but the police, and a physician was put on the stand who proved that the bullets he had extracted from wounded officers were of the "regulation" pattern used by the police. From all this mass of testimony it is clear that the officers, in their excitement and fright, shot one another down.

In the case of Fischer, Parsons, and Schwab alibis have been proven. A number of witnesses swore that Schwab was addressing another meeting four miles from the Haymarket at the time of the disturbance. Parsons was several squares away—with Mrs. Holmes, Mrs. Parsons, and others—at the time of the explosion. As nothing definite had been proven against Lingg and Engel, little needed to be offered in their defence. Against Nebe the State has not the shadow of proof, and counsel for the defence laboured long and earnestly with Judge Gory to have the jury bring in a verdict of "Not guilty" in his case. All to no purpose, however, and this innocent man—whom the authorities consider dangerous—is still undergoing his trial for murder.

As a proof of the unfairness which characterises the actions of the court and the prosecution in this trial, I will mention two out of a number of instances which I have personally gathered. A large number of flags and banners belonging to the Socialists were allowed to stand against the wall opposite the jury, the outermost one bearing the inscription, "Down with all law." When Major Harrison was upon the stand, and was being questioned by Captain Black for the defence, an objection was made by the States' attorney to the question. At this the major winked and nodded his head at the prosecuting attorney, when Mr. Grinnell, understanding the "tip," immediately withdrew his objection.

Several times during the past week the defence have tried to show that the police were heard to declare that "blood would flow before twelve o'clock" on the night of May 4th, which would have proved conclusively that the officers were meditating an onslaught upon the crowd. Witnesses did testify that the police rushed up to the meeting in great haste and with impetuosity, and some swore they saw revolvers in the hands of many of the officers.

Ere this reaches England the great trial will be ended, and we shall probably know the fate of our brave comrades. At this writing, I dare not speculate as to what their fate will be.

Wm. Holmes.

August 7.

## FRANCE.

PARIS.—Fourteen persons were arrested for participating in last week's agitation against the Bureaux de Placement.

The scandalously partial conduct of the magistrate and jury last week at the Assize Court of the Seine has succeeded in making the condemned Socialists extremely popular, the Parisian press almost unanimously criticising the two sentences very severely. This fact must be taken for what it is worth, for of course each party takes up the cry to fashion it for its own benefit. I quote haphazard from several papers. *Le Figaro* (Reactionary): "The truth was said by Mlle. Louise Michel on leaving the court—'The jury is conscienceless.'" *La Gazette de France* (Reactionary): "The liberty of public meeting is not so well understood and not so readily admitted as the liberty of the press." *L'Intransigeant*: "Monarchy does not disquiet them (the magistrates and juries) most of them having already served her, and feeling quite ready to serve her once more; but Socialism affrights them. The condemnation of our Paris friends makes a companion-picture to that of Villefranche." *Le Peuple* (Opportunist): "The Republican revolutionaries will go to prison for having said something similar to that which the Bonapartist revolutionary, for his part, has written. And while they are under lock and key, M. Mariotte can quietly turn to the editing of his articles and can placard them throughout Paris."

VIERZON (Cher).—A few days back all the workers at the "Société Française de construction de matériel agricole" left off work. Though they did so quietly and there was no prospect of rioting, yet military help was called for and obtained and the place was filled with two companies of infantry plus six brigades of gendarmes. The population was very indignant at this step, and in a short time some 4000 persons had collected before the workshops of the Société. In spite of provocations by the police, the strikers (and indeed all the inhabitants of Vierzon, for the indignation and sympathy is general) have behaved throughout with calmness and determination, say the correspondents of the *Cri du Peuple*. A member of the Municipal Council at Vierzon writes that about thirty mounted police charged through the crowds without the least reason. A meeting has taken place, of over 1500 persons, presided over by Citoyen Vaillant, who hastened to the scene of action. In a letter to the *Cri*, the latter writes that all are in open sympathy with the strikers, not only the workers but clerks and bourgeois also, and that in face of such a strong chance of success for the strikers, the Société thought only to be able to intimidate them by the intervention of military force, always at the service of capitalists. The soldiers, he it said, obviously recoiled from the work set them to do. At the meeting it was resolved to demand the withdrawal of troops and the immediate release of those arrested, and to set on foot periodical subscriptions in aid of the strikers. Vaillant speaks of Vierzon as a "Socialist town."

THIERS (Puy-de-Dôme).—A severe crisis is taking place here, the workshops closing one after another. The masters of course can live on their past gains meanwhile, but one trembles to think of the helpless misery of the workers.

CALAIS.—A Socialist meeting took place here last week in spite of the local administration refusing until the last moment the use of the Hippodrome, thinking no doubt by their indecision they had done sufficient to spoil the meeting. They were disappointed, however, for the meeting of 1200 persons was very enthusiastic and listened with great attention to Jules Guesde, who spoke for over an hour on the "Social Question in the Nineteenth Century." Guesde also assisted at two other meetings here, the "order of the day" at one being "The State before, during, and after the Revolution," and at the other "Family, Religion and Property."

MAY MORRIS.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

### Notices to Members.

Reading Room.—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.

Library.—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

General Meeting.—Monday August 30, at 9 p.m.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Croydon, Merton, to May 31. Clerkenwell, Dublin, Mile-end, North London, Norwich, to June 30. Bloomsbury, Hackney, Hammersmith, to July 31. Bradford, Leeds, Manchester, to August 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Marylebone, Oxford, to September 30. Branches not mentioned here have not paid to date, and some are months in arrears. This laxity on the part of Branches is one of the greatest hindrances to the propaganda of the League.—P. W.

### Executive.

A special meeting of the Executive was held on Thursday 19th, to consider the attempted suppression of open-air speaking. A deputation was sent to the Social Democratic Federation and invitations issued to the Fabian Society, Socialist Union, and Christian Socialist Society to send delegates to confer upon the subject.

At their usual weekly meeting on Monday August 23, the Council passed the following resolutions:

"That the Council of the Socialist League expresses its abhorrence at the cowardly conduct of the Government in Chicago in passing a sentence of murder on men against whom nothing else can be proved than sympathy with the suffering masses."

"That the members of the Council desire to record their sympathy with our comrade Laurence Grönlund upon the death of his wife."

Edward Aveling bade farewell to the assembled comrades ere departing on his American lecture tour.

The deputation which had been sent from the special executive meeting on Thursday to the S. D. F., having reported that they had refused to co-operate with us, Morris was asked on Monday whether it was true that he was to speak at the Trafalgar Square Demonstration next Sunday. Answering in the negative, he explained that his name had been placed upon the bills entirely without his knowledge or consent.

The Hulme Radical Association send us a numerous signed protest against the recent exhibition of legal brutality, in the following terms: "We, the undersigned, hereby protest against the sentence of £20 fine, and £50 sureties or two months' imprisonment, passed upon J. E. Williams and S. Mainwaring at the Middlesex Sessions last week, and regard this as a disguised attempt to abolish freedom of speech and thereby compelling agitation to take the form of secret conspiracy."

### BRANCH REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, August 20, at Adelphi Hall, W., Edward Aveling lectured to a good audience upon the "Social Revolution." The meeting enthusiastically wished Aveling good-speed on his journey to America. One new member made.—W. A. C.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, August 18, E. Wardle lectured on "The Fallacies of Society" to a good audience; several questions were asked and answered satisfactorily; 3s. 7d. collected for Defence Fund.—On Sunday, August 22, H. H. Sparling, A. K. Donald, and Blundell held a good meeting, at which a resolution condemning the police action was passed unanimously. At this moment some bystander was assaulted by a glass missile flung from the outside of the audience. (For further particulars, see letter in another column.) After this, we marched back to the hall, singing and playing the Marseillaise and the "March of the Workers," and secured a good audience for an indoor lecture given by A. K. Donald on "Law and Order;" many questions and good discussion followed; 1s. 5d. collected for Defence Fund. *Commonweals* have sold well at our meetings during the week.—W. B.

CROYDON.—On Sunday morning, August 22, W. H. Utley gave a vigorous address at our open-air station, Cross Roads, Canterbury Road, which was well received by a very good audience. The audience would have been much larger still had we commenced earlier. In the evening, at the Royal County House, Utley again delivered a splendid lecture on "The Golden Age," which was loudly applauded at the close. Collection and sale of literature good.—

HACKNEY.—On Sunday, August 22, we held our usual meeting in Well Street, at which Barker spoke to a fair audience. At 3.30, in Victoria Park, Lane addressed a good meeting. On Wednesday, August 18, we opened a new outdoor station in the Broadway, London Fields, and had a very good meeting, the speakers were Graham, Allman, and Fleckton.—J. F., sec.

MARYLEBONE.—On Sunday morning, B. Somerville, of the London Patriotic Club, addressed a large meeting at the corner of Salisbury and Church Street. Four policemen were in attendance; they did not seem inclined to interfere, but one of them went to the station, and returned in company with an inspector after we had closed the meeting.—In the afternoon, we had a large audience in Hyde Park, which was addressed by comrades Burcham, Wardle, Donald, and Mainwaring. The meeting was very sympathetic, and at the close 8s. 2½d. was collected for the Defence Fund.—H. G. A., sec.

MILE-END.—On Tuesday, August 17, H. H. Sparling lectured here on "Killing no Murder," to a large and sympathetic audience. He showed in the course of his remarks that the law often killed while the actual perpetrators of the crime went scot free; anything which man needed for the enjoyment of a full life and could not be obtained, resulted in deprivation of life in that proportion.—H. DAVIS, sec.

MERTON.—Although we have discontinued our lectures and outdoor meetings, we have by no means been idle, every Sunday evening we have sallied out armed with a supply of literature and advertisements, and "respectable" people have found as a consequence of our activity some surprising statements affixed to their gate posts and fences, in many cases enclosing stolen land. Last Sunday our intended meeting on Mitcham Fair Green fell through in consequence of our comrades' tardiness in mustering. Next Sunday we shall hold a meeting upon the Green at 11 a.m. prompt. Merton subscribers and members of the Branch will please show up at club-room by 10 a.m. prompt. We average 1½ quires of *Commonweals* weekly to regular subscribers, and hope that our Merton friends will endeavour to increase this amount.—F. KITZ.

NORTH LONDON.—It was decided at the business meeting of the Branch on Friday night to postpone the meeting at Ossulton Street from Saturday until Tuesday, and to take up Harrow Road in co-operation with the Marylebone and Bloomsbury Branches. On Saturday night, accordingly, a very strong contingent of members gathered at the contested ground at Harrow Road, and Nicoll, Allman, and Mrs. Taylor spoke, with the result that the three names were taken.—On Sunday morning, Henderson addressed a large meeting, opened by short speeches from Nicoll and Cantwell, in Regent's Park. The audience was most

enthusiastic, and some spirited opposition followed. There were 53 numbers of *Commonweal* sold, and some Manifestos. For the Defence Fund 8s. 8d. was collected.—F. H., sec.

GLASGOW.—This Branch carried on a vigorous propaganda last week. On Monday evening, August 16th, comrades Greer and Glasier addressed an open-air meeting at Rutherglen, and on Tuesday evening an open-air meeting on Glasgow Green. On Saturday afternoon, a propaganda excursion was made to Hamilton, where two outdoor meetings were held, one at the Low Quarries, which was addressed by comrades Small (miner's agent) and Glasier, and another at the New Cross, where comrades Small and Greer spoke. At both meetings the audiences were in entire sympathy with the speakers, and 8s. worth of literature was sold. On Sunday afternoon, comrades Downie and Glasier addressed a large and sympathetic audience on the Glasgow Green, where *Commonweal* sold well. On Sunday evening in our Rooms, an admirable lecture on "White Slaves" was given by John Adams, our little hall being filled. In the discussion which followed, J. Shaw Maxwell, of the Land Restoration League, in an excellent speech expressed complete sympathy with our doctrines.—J. B. G.

HULL.—On Friday, 20th inst., E. Teesdale lectured on "The Evolution of Property" to a small audience. In future the meetings will be held on Tuesday evenings. On September 7th, the Tuesday in Trades' Congress week, a special lecture will be given on "Trades' Unionism and Socialism."—T.

LEEDS.—On Sunday morning we held our usual open-air meeting on Hunslet Moor. Comrades Chapman and Maguire addressed a large and very attentive audience on the "Prosecution of Socialists for Obstruction" in a place where no real obstruction was caused. Comrade Maguire drew attention to the infamous conduct of Assistant-Judge Edlin whilst conducting the trial, and called upon the audience to show their sympathy for the Socialists by subscribing a little towards paying Mainwaring's fine, and 4s. 3d. was collected. In the afternoon we met the members of the Bradford Branch at Bingley, and held a good meeting on Myrtle Green. Comrade Lea officiated as chairman, and comrades Mitchell, Maguire, and Minty addressed the audience on the "Principles of Socialism." This is the first Socialist meeting that has been held in Bingley, but it is very probable that a Branch will be started there before very long.—F. C., sec.

MANCHESTER.—The usual open-air meetings was held on Sunday, at both of which comrade Carpenter spoke. He gave a very encouraging report of the work being done by the Sheffield Socialists. In the evening he gave a lecture in the Mechanic's Institute, entitled "Justice before Charity," showing that the relations of men must be founded on justice, not on greed and competition, and that if this was the case there would be no need for so much of the soup-kitchen form of charity. He explained very clearly how modern philanthropists were floundering about in the mire without getting to the bottom of the evils which they try to cure, and that nothing but Socialism will really remove the cause. The lecture was much appreciated; some discussion followed, the objections being ably answered by the lecturer. Strong indignation was expressed by the audience at the unjust sentence on the London comrades, and 8s. 5d. was collected for the Defence Fund. Five new members joined.—R. U.

CANNING TOWN LECTURE SOCIETY.—Last Sunday, H. H. Sparling, of the Socialist League, gave an excellent address at the corner of Beckton Road, upon "Current Events," which was listened to attentively and highly appreciated. There was slight opposition from Mr. Bowen, a temperance friend, on "Temperance and Wages," but this was satisfactorily replied to. About three quires of *Commonweals* were sold, and 4s. subscribed by the bystanders towards "persecution" expenses.—Mr. W. H. Smith, President of the South-West Ham Radical Association, gave an address at the Rooms, 144, Barking Road, upon "Social Democracy," and was fairly received, but the usual cry of "details" was raised.—J. O'S.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—An open-air meeting of Socialists took place on Monday evening last on the unoccupied space at the corner of Fargate and Surrey Street, and the principles of Socialism were expounded to an attentive audience of 200 or 300 people. S. W. Drury, of Attercliffe, presided, and pointed out that the object of Socialism was the formation of a true Society formed on the teaching of Christ, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," in opposition to the false society of to-day, whose motto is, "Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost." He was followed by John Furniss, of Rivelin, who, taking up the words of the opener, showed very conclusively that the rich, instead of being the brethren of the poor, are practically preying on their vitals, taking from them the main part of the wealth they produce, and putting many to a slow death in the process. Edward Carpenter attacked the system of interest, showing that the key of Socialism was the abolition of rent and interest, going to a class as they do now. He pointed out that £33,000,000 a year go to railway shareholders alone for no work done by them, and gave a plan by which the railways and other industries could be taken over into the hands of the nation, and so these enormous sums become available for the use of the people, instead of going into the hands of an idle few. R. F. Muirhead, of the Glasgow Branch of the Socialist League, then gave an account of the movement in Glasgow, showing that considerable activity in the Cause was prevailing in Scotland. An animated discussion followed, in which Mrs. Maloy took part; but the opposition was feeble, and the sense of the audience was strongly in favour of the Socialists. A considerable amount of literature was sold.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W. Friday, August 27, at 8.30 p.m. A. K. Donald, "Terrorism."—A meeting of this Branch will be held on Friday September 3, at 8 p.m., in Communistic Club, 40 Tottenham Street, W., to discuss the position of the Branch. Members wishing to move any resolution at that meeting are asked to send the same to the Secretary, W. A. Chambers, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on or before August 30.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7 p.m.

Hackney.—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every alternate Tuesday at 9, for the enrolment of members and other business.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays, at 8 p.m. August 29. Touzeau Parris, "Socialism from an Anarchist Point of View."

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday August 29, at 7.45 p.m. A. K. Donald, "Methods of Propaganda."

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

Mile-end.—East London United Radical Club, Mile-end Rd. Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

North London.—32 Camden Road. Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m.

South London.—Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 at 112 Hill Street, Peckham, S.E.

### Country Branches.

Birmingham.—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. Saturday afternoon, 28th August, Propaganda Excursion

to Hamilton—meeting to be held at the Low Quarries, a large attendance of miners being expected. Members to be at Rooms at 3.45, and leave Central Station at 4.12.—On Sunday afternoon a DEMONSTRATION will take place on Glasgow Green, to protest against the sentences on our London comrades and the attempt of the police to suppress open-air propaganda.—On Sunday evening, in the Rooms, 34 John Street, Wm. Greer will lecture on "Commercial Tyranny."

Hull.—Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street. Every Tuesday at 8 p.m. August 31, Kropotkin's "Appeal to the Young" will be read.

Leeds.—No meeting-room at present. Out-door stations notified below.

Leicester.—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Monday at 8.

Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

Oldham.—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Next Meeting on Thursday September 2, at 9 p.m.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

### LONDON.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 28.	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales")	7	The Branch	N. London.
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7	Uttley	Clerkenwell.
S. 29.	Croydon—Cross Roads,	11	The Branch	Croydon.
	Canterbury Road			
	Marylebone—corner of Salis-	11.30	The Branch	Marylebone.
	bury St. and Church St.			
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	H. Graham	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—Beacon Rd.	11.30	Knight & Tarleton	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	H. Davis	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	D. J. Nicoll	Mile-end.
	Regent's Park	11.30	T. E. Wardle	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	H. H. Sparling	Bloomsbury.
	Walham Green, opposite Station	11.30	Tochatti	Hammersmith.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30	Uttley	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	H. A. Barker	Hackney.
	Clerkenwell Green	7	A. K. Donald	Clerkenwell.
Tu. 31.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7	W. Chambers	N. London.
	Soho—Broad Street	8	H. H. Sparling	Bloomsbury.
Wed. 1.	London Fields—Broadway,	8.30	The Branch	Hackney.
	opposite "Sir Walter Scott"			
Th. 2.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	The Branch	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	8.30	H. A. Barker	Mile-end.

### PROVINCES.

Bradford.—Corner of Godwin St. and Sunbridge Road, every Sunday, at 6 p.m.

Hulme.—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.

Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

Manchester.—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road, every Sunday, at 11 a.m.; Gorton Brook, every Sunday afternoon, at 2.45.

Oldham.—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

LONDON PATRIOTIC CLUB, 37½ Clerkenwell Green, E.C.—Sunday August 29, at 9 p.m. Debate, "Socialism v. Individualism"—T. E. Wardle, W. Hardaker.

HERNE-HILL WORKMEN'S CLUB, Chaucer Road.—Sunday August 29, at 8 p.m.

H. H. Sparling, "Unrest and Unreason."

PROGRESSIVE DEBATING SOCIETY, "Bee Hive," Warner St., New Kent Road.—

Sunday September 5, at 8 p.m., A. K. Donald, "Solidarity."

## FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Already acknowledged	£4 15 9	19. W. Barker	£0 4 0
16. Collected after Concert	0 5 0	23. C. Templeton	1 0 0
Collected by members at		W. R., Halifax	0 10 0
Canning Town	0 6 3½	C. J. Tait	0 5 0
N. London, at Regent's Pk.	0 17 9	Hoxton Branch	0 4 0
G. Marks	0 1 0	Collected by Pope	0 1 0
Hammersmith Branch	0 9 6	Hammersmith Branch—	
F. F., donation	1 0 0	Kelmescott House	0 9 0
19. Collected at Farringdon		Beacon Road	0 2 8
Hall, Aug. 16	1 10 0	Additional to collected in	
Clerkenwell Branch, Aug.		Farringdon Hall, 16th	0 2 6
15 and 18	0 6 3½	24. Glasgow Branch	1 0 0
C. Walkden	0 5 0	25. Leeds Branch	0 4 5½
P. C. Walkden	0 5 0	Total	£14 5 2½

PH. WEBB, Treasurer, Aug. 25, 1886.

### THE

## PRACTICAL SOCIALIST.

AN EXPONENT OF EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM; BUT DISCUSSION OF ALL ASPECTS INVITED.

EDITED BY THOMAS BOLAS.

MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

W. REEVES, 185 FLEET STREET.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

It cannot be said that the Irish question is much furthered by the recent speeches in Parliament. Mr. Parnell's speech was able, and so was Mr. Chamberlain's. The real gist of the former was a kind of mild persistence in the original claim for a Dublin Parliament, stated in language so moderate as to give the impression of yielding perhaps to those who do not understand the man and the claims which he represents. Yet, undoubtedly, to Mr. Parnell nothing is worth thinking about except the said Irish Parliament in Dublin. "Give us that, and do what else you like" is practically what he is saying.

As to Mr. Chamberlain, clever and effective as his speech was, it was little else than a piece of Parliamentary fireworks; because at this date we scarcely need to be told that he is a bitter opponent of the establishment of an Irish Parliament at Dublin, and that really was almost all he had to say that bore directly on the question. Mr. Sexton again made several points at Mr. Chamberlain's expense, notably when he "solemnly asked the House which looked most like a foreign country—the country which Lord Aberdeen left the other day, or the country to which Sir Redvers Buller went yesterday." Also his little piece of history of the Donegal peasants was as touching as it was unanswerable. But, after all, what is there in all this? On one side the expression, not at all veiled, of the determination to stand by the land thieves to the last, even if the purse of the British taxpayer has to be dipped into for their solace; and on the other, a covert threat of refusal to pay rent.

By the way, it did always seem pretty certain that the Tories would support a Land Purchase Bill, or measure for safe-guarding the landlords against their loss of other people's property, if only it could dissociate such a piece of consolation from the company of Home Rule; which Mr. Gladstone vainly tried to make respectable by that association.

Mr. Chamberlain in his speech, took occasion to pronounce very decidedly in favour of peasant proprietorship, and alluded to his own proposal of last year as a basis for it. Such twaddle is rather sickening. Thus the ball is kept up in the air between the Tories and the Liberals; the former sedulous to do nothing, the latter to do something which shall amount to not much more than nothing. And all the while both parties must surely know that the real question is whether the Irish people shall have their own land to use for their own livelihood. Neither party wants that to come about; the Tories are quite satisfied with things as they are, if only some one else could be got to insure the landlords' rent; the Liberals would like to see one group of exploiters give place to another; and at that point, it seems, they stick hopelessly.

Socialists will not fail to note that Mr. Chamberlain justified his refusal to relieve the Irish peasants who could not pay tribute to their exploiters by pointing out that others were as badly off as they are. He said: "We might address Her Majesty and say that we fear during the coming winter that the depression of trade which has continued so long will lead to a lack of employment, and be productive of much suffering, and that it will endanger social order. *That would be perfectly true*, and my only objection to an addition of that kind to the Address would be that it would be useless and improper to do so, unless the House were determined to deal with the subject-matter, and find a full, complete, and satisfactory remedy." (Ministerial cheers).

Did the Ministerial members know what they were cheering? Surely if words mean anything (and certainly that is rather more than doubtful in a Parliamentary speech), this paragraph means either an incitement to revolution, or a confession of helplessness, which should force the speaker of it into private life as a self-admitted imbecile, or at least a member of a class and a legislative body necessarily imbecile under the circumstances. Mr. Chamberlain assumes the impossibility of the House of Commons finding a remedy for wide-spread destitution among the people. Most certainly he is right in doing so, but it is a curious admission for one to make who is not a confessed Socialist.

For torturing a little boy of eight years old a ship's clerk the other day was punished with a month's imprisonment. It is true that it was done so ingeniously that the doctor said that the boy "was in no danger or his health permanently impaired." True also that the culprit was

the father of the boy, so that the holiness of the family somewhat excuses him in the eyes of that "society" of which he is an ornament. Yet certainly the amusement was cheap, compared with street-preaching.

Mr. Burnett at the Workman's Conference in Paris took upon himself to defend Mr. Broadhurst against the attack made by Grimpe. Judging from the report of it, the defence was mostly of the official and conventional kind usual amongst us on such occasions; but it is worthy of note that he thought it necessary to defend the English trades' unions against the imputation of being hostile to Socialism—a significant symptom enough of the progress of our doctrines.

Mrs. Besant returns to the charge in *Our Corner* in an article called "Why I am a Socialist." It is very brightly and clearly written, and will no doubt have a considerable effect on the as yet unconverted readers of *Our Corner*. Some exception might be taken to the passage in which she points out the instances of State interference apparently on behalf of the workers. But though a centralised State Socialism is not the goal that we aim at, it is true that these approaches to it, forced as they have been on the dominant classes, are tokens of the decrepitude of the present system of wage-slavery. They are a necessary consequence of the upholding of our false "free contract" in an age of increasing democracy. The people must be robbed, but the robbers dare not reduce them to extremity, therefore some of the plunder must be given back to them, and especially to some of the more respectable and helpful of them, so as if possible to gain a body of adherents for the robbers amongst the robbed themselves. This device, conscious or not, is a cunning one, but will fail before coming economical changes, which will bear with them commercial ruin under our present system and consequent Revolution. I should like to say how heartily I agree with Mrs. Besant on the failure of our civilisation. That lies at the bottom of our war with the present and our hope for the future, for those of us who have eyes to see and hearts to understand.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## THE GOVERNMENT AND IRELAND.

LORD SALISBURY declares the Irish Question is settled—settled by the election of 1886. By others of equally high authority we are told that the Irish Question is not settled, and others again tell us that we shall have some stormy times before we get rid of the Irish difficulty. But Lord Salisbury has spoken, and his word is accepted by tens of thousands of the English people. It is, therefore, necessary to look at the facts of the case, and see how far they agree with Lord Salisbury's words.

Lord Salisbury tells us that an immense majority of the people have declared against an independent Parliament in Ireland. But the majority is not a great one. A majority of seventy or eighty thousand in a national contest, and on such a question, is not immense. It is a mere nothing. Taking the returns as published a few days ago, the total number who voted for Gladstonians was 1,350,336, and for Conservatives 1,106,651, giving Gladstone a majority of 243,685. The Gladstonians elected numbered only 196 to the Conservatives 316. Dividing the votes recorded by the number of members, the Gladstonians received on an average 6890 each, the Conservatives 3502. If we take the total votes recorded for Gladstonians and Conservatives, and divide them between the total members, the average to each would be 4802, and the Gladstonites would have numbered 282, and the Conservatives 230. And if we add the Liberal Unionists to the Conservatives, with the Irish vote Gladstone would have had a working majority of over 60. And this anomalous state of things exists after all our Reform and Redistribution schemes. It is quite true that London has returned 48 Conservatives and 3 Liberal Unionists out of a total of 62, as Lord Salisbury boasts. It is equally true that England as a whole has returned a large majority of Conservatives, and in that respect is far behind Scotland and Wales.

But let us see what Salisbury said at the Mansion House, August 11. After referring to the fact that previous Governments had failed in dealing with the Irish Question, he said: "But I think there is one advantage which we possess over our predecessors, an advantage we shall turn to good use. We come back to office as the bearers of a mandate from the people of this country deciding, and in my belief, finally and irrevocably deciding the question which has wrecked the peace of the neighbouring island." To talk to-day about finality is

simply absurd, even from the head of the Tory party. To talk of finality is bad enough even from a Cecil, but to talk of the irrevocability of a popular vote is a thousand times worse. A decision to-day final and irrevocable is the wildest nonsense that mortal could ever utter, and is enough to make one doubt the sanity of its author. Again, "The question of independent government of Ireland has been referred to the only tribunal that can determine with authority and without appeal." This assertion is equally astonishing coming from the head of the stupid party. What, the people the only tribunal that determines any question with authority, and from whose decision there is no appeal! We thank his lordship for reminding us of the fact, and shall not forget his lordship's words when the people become more wise than they are to-day, and in their wisdom demand the abolition of Royalty, of Aristocracy, of the State Church, of the extinction of Pauperism, and the re-organisation of Society on a thorough Socialistic basis.

Lord Salisbury proceeds: "No impartial judge can doubt that the people of this country have decided by an enormous majority against independent government in Ireland. Well, that being the case, we, I think, approach the question of social order in Ireland—the dominant and most important question connected with the government of that country—we approach that question with a great advantage, of which we shall make use." It is very evident that he and his colleagues believe, or affect to believe, that they have received from the people a mandate to do whatever they please; a mandate of unlimited power, of boundless authority. It is a gross delusion. If the majority of the electors had voted for the Tory Government, nay, if the electorate had been unanimous for the Government, the latter would not, and could not, have received any such mandate. The rights of every individual are sacred—the right to life, to equal liberty, to free association,—these rights depend neither on majorities, nor governments, nor Society at large. To attempt to interfere with them is an act of tyranny; to suppress their free exercise for a single moment would be an act of usurpation. Every act of usurpation is a crime, is an act of war against the people, is a crime against humanity.

Again, Lord Salisbury says: "Governments may yield to terror; Monarchies and Oligarchies may change their opinions under the pressure and the fear that popular feeling evokes; but the people, the masses of men themselves are never moved by fear, and you may be quite certain, unless our race has lost all its spirit, that this decision, after long reflection deliberately given, is the final verdict of the English people. I will not go into details of measures, or of methods, but I will say that armed with this decision it is our duty to restore in Ireland that social order, the loss of which is their only cause of discontent," etc. "Governments may yield to terror." What a discovery! "Monarchies and Oligarchies may change their opinions" from fear of the popular will. How terrible! But the people "are never moved by fear." What a grand consolation! Would that the time had come when the people could not be moved by fear; that they could not be governed by terror; that they would not yield to usurpation. But social order is to be restored. Yes, Social Order! The catch phrase of every tyrant, the pretext for every usurpation. But social order can never exist where tyranny prevails, where any portion of the people are subject to any kind of oppression. Salisbury is quite right. Social order is the great desideratum in Ireland. But what is social order in Ireland? It is the supremacy of the aristocratic Government of England. It is the protected claim of the landlord to plunder the Irish people in the name of rent, and by eviction to reduce them to starvation and death. This is Law, this is Social Order in Ireland. The right of the land-thief to plunder the cultivator, protected in his work of rapine and murder by English bullets and English bayonets. But what is social order. The basis of social order is the harmony of interests, resulting from the operation of the principle of equal liberty, of equal justice, securing to each equal social advantages through all the ramifications of Society. Does my Lord Salisbury understand what social order is? If he does not, it is worse than folly, yea, it is folly and stupidity combined for him to prate about its restoration.

But "Law and Order" must be protected. Yes, "Law and Order." This has been the cant-phrase of the bloodthirsty order-mongers of every age and of every country. In all the states of antiquity, in every age and in every clime, through the darkest periods of human history, "Law and Order" have been the pretext for the greatest crimes, the pretended justification for the most daring usurpation, the most cruel and detestable tyrannies. In the name of "Law and Order" millions have been slaughtered, nations have been swept away, and countless numbers reduced to a slavery worse than death. But we are told it is the law; yes, the law! the law! the law! and the law must be obeyed; every one must bend his will before the majesty of the law; the law must be supreme. With the usurper of every age and of every clime his will has been the law, and the protection of his interests has been the basis of social order. It was so in ages gone by; it is the same to-day. To-day, the protection of class interests and the plunder of the millions is the basis of social order. The law is the will of the protected classes, the security of their right to plunder the wealth-producing masses. No one is bound to obey the will of the usurper. No one is bound to obey the pirate, the highwayman, the usurper. The only basis of law is the principle of equal liberty, of equal justice between each and all in all the relations of life, and through all the ramifications of Society. All else is but usurpation, and is no more binding on a single human being than the idle wind.

J. SKETCHLEY.

Socialism proposes to have more workers and less work for each.

## RUSKIN AS A REVOLUTIONARY PREACHER.

### IV.

MR. Goschen at Edinburgh during the latest political shaking up said of the Irish, "that they held views contrary to the received doctrines of England and Scotland on almost every political, economical, and agricultural subject. And if they are right, we are egregiously wrong" (*Times*, 25-6-86). The *Times* does not put any "Hear, hear," but many "Hear, hears" were thought by the audience, I am sure.

John Ruskin has a number of students in Edinburgh, and some of them probably called to mind his suggestion that the Irish faith, "that people ought to be lodged for nothing," might spread beyond Ireland. That faith has spread pretty rapidly and wide since 'Fors' No. 4 was penned.

The bitterness of such as Goschen arises from the fact that a large number of the people *do* believe the orthodox political economy to be, what Ruskin calls it, "a bastard science," like witchcraft or astrology.

In another part of the same speech Goschen protests against being "carried away by a phrase as to the necessity of obeying simply the voice of justice." We all know how little he is likely to be so carried away.

"Ye who judge the earth give *diligent* love to justice;" not merely, says Ruskin, "love," but "diligent love"; and, continuing from where I left off in my last, he explains on page 84 his idea of what may be called diligent love:

(30) . . . "one circumstance only interfering with the simplicity of this radical idea of just payment—that inasmuch as labour (rightly directed) is fruitful just as seed is, the fruit (or 'interest,' as it is called) of the labour first given, or 'advanced,' ought to be taken into account, and balanced by an additional quantity of labour in the subsequent repayment; . . . so that the typical form of bargain will be: If you give me an hour to-day, I will give you an hour and five minutes on demand; If you give me a pound of bread to-day, I will give you seventeen ounces on demand; and so on. All that it is necessary for the reader to note is, that the amount returned is at least in equity not to be *less* than the amount given."

Not a loop-hole does he leave to the Goschens and Brights and other high-priests of competition; for (p. 85):

(31) "And this equity or justice of payment is, observe, wholly independent of any reference to the number of men who are willing to do the work. I want a horse-shoe for my horse. Twenty smiths, or twenty thousand smiths, may be ready to forge it; their number does not in one atom's weight affect the question of the equitable payment of the one who *does* forge it. It costs him a quarter of an hour of his life, and so much skill and strength of arm to make that horse-shoe for me. Then I am at some future time bound in equity to give him a quarter of an hour and some minutes more of my life (or of some other person's at my disposal), and a little more, in making or doing what the smith may have need of."

The first of these two passages knocks, I think—to use a Yankeeism—the "everlasting stuffing" out of that creditably ingenious fiction, the "wage-fund theory"; and the two passages are complete enough proof that "revolutionary" is a correct term to apply to our preacher. By this light we see the "wage-fund" to be no fund provided by the capitalist simply out of his exceeding goodness of heart, but in reality a fund into which the defrauded labourer is continually pouring fresh, compulsory deposits.

Our writer deals with the modifications which in practice have to be submitted to, simply from reasons of convenience, mainly induced by use of a symbol of exchange—"money." But he will not allow any deviation from the principle; for these difficulties

(32) . . . "do not affect the principle of exchange. The worth of the work may not be easily known; but it *has* a worth, just as fixed and real as the specific gravity of a substance." (P. 88.)

(33) "This impossibility of precise knowledge prevents neither from striving to attain the desired point of greatest vexation and injury to the other, nor from accepting it for a scientific principle that he is to buy for the least and sell for the most possible." (P. 89.)

Quite a large number of Socialists may learn something from this passage. I earnestly submit to them that discussions on "Personal duty under the present system" may be simplified by every Socialist understanding the full bearing of this last quotation. There are many Socialists who by hunting for the lowest possible estimate and bating down prices still strive for the point of greatest vexation to the other. They should all the time bear in mind,

(34) "It is easier to determine scientifically what a man ought to have for his work than what his necessities will compel him to take for it. His necessities can only be ascertained by empirical, but his due by analytical investigation." (P. 90.)

The empirical system—which is, in plain terms, the continual trying to see the least the labourer can exist on—has been worked for its full power during the last hundred years—the period of cotton and steam. He will be a bold prophet-economist who will dare by his science to prove its continuance for another such century of horror.

He analyses next the two cases of just and unjust purchasers of labour, "when two men are ready to do the work and only one wants to have it done":

(35) "The unjust purchaser forces the two to bid against each other till he has reduced their demand to its lowest terms. Let us assume that the lowest bidder offers to do the work at half its just price." "The first or *apparent* result is, therefore, that one of the two men is left out of employ, or to starvation. . . . This first or apparent difference is not the actual difference [between the just and the unjust]. "By the unjust procedure, half the proper price of the work is left in the hands of the employer. This enables him to hire another man at the same unjust rate, on some other kind

of work ; and the final result is that he has two men working for him at half price, and two are out of employ." (Pp. 90, 91.)

This unjust system is then shown to be an increase in one man's power over other men's lives, but eventually a decreased fruitfulness ; and finally that the unjust employer is the worse for his unjustness :

(36) "Distress (irrespective of that caused by sloth, minor error, or crime) arises on the grand scale from the two reacting forces of competition and oppression. There is not yet, nor will yet for ages be, any real over-population in the world ; but a local over-population, or, more accurately, a degree of population locally unmanageable under existing circumstances for want of forethought and sufficient machinery, necessarily shows itself by pressure of competition ; and the taking advantage of this competition by the purchaser to obtain their labour unjustly cheap, consummates at once their suffering and his own ; for in this (as, I believe, in every other kind of slavery) the oppressor suffers at last more than the oppressed." (P. 99.)

The teaching of Essay III. is socialistic in tendency ; and yet we right here come on one of the passages Ruskin is so fond of slipping in as protest against Socialism, his great fear being not Socialism, but Equality :

(37) "If there be any one point insisted on throughout my works more frequently than another, that one point is the impossibility of Equality." (P. 102.)

But Socialists who discriminate between equity and equality need be under little concern at this disclaimer, in view of this :

(38) "Whereas it has long been known and declared that the poor have no right to the property of the rich, I wish it also to be known and declared that the rich have no right to the property of the poor." (P. 103.)

(39) "I said in my last paper that nothing in history had ever been so disgraceful to human intellect as the acceptance among us of the common doctrines of political economy as a science." (Pp. 103, 104.)

At pp. 159, 160 he has another of these queer protests against what he calls Socialism, his notion of which, in 1862, was a rough division of all property, which he illuminates as follows :

(40) "I am not taking up nor countenancing one wit the common socialist idea of division of property. Division of property is its destruction, and with it the destruction of all hope, all industry, and all justice : it is simply chaos—a chaos towards which the believers in modern political economy are fast tending, and from which I am striving to save them. The rich man does not keep back meat from the poor by retaining his riches, but by basely using them. Riches are a form of strength ; and a strong man does not injure others by keeping his strength, but by using it injuriously. The socialist, seeing a strong man oppress a weak one, cries out, 'Break the strong man's arms' ; but I say, 'Teach them to use them to better purpose.'" (Foot-note, pp. 159, 160.)

Socialists have little to be afraid of in the above as making against them ; the economist is the more concerned, for again he is told that chaos is before him, again he is told that ruin and not wealth is the result to be looked for.

Essay IV., entitled "Ad Valorem," the last, is about double the length of any of the others, is really a chapter of definitions of Value, Wealth, Price, and Produce, which definitions he arrives at by a *reductio ad absurdum* smashing up of the definitions of the orthodox economists, which he does so unmercifully as to account for their hatred. As a definitionist, John Ruskin is E. B. Aveling with a difference ; to satisfy Ruskin you must know *all* the possible variations of a definition, and keep them ready for use. This is somewhat of a strain when, as in the case of the title of "Letters to the Workmen," 'Fors Clavigera,' there are some twelve or fifteen readings.

(41) "It were to be wished that our well-educated merchants recalled to mind always this much of their Latin schooling,—that the nominative of *valorem* (a word already sufficiently familiar to them) is *valor* ; a word which, therefore, ought to be familiar to them. *Valor*, from *valere*, to be well, or strong ; strong in life (if a man), or valiant ; strong, for life (if a thing), or valuable. To be 'valuable,' therefore, is to 'avail towards life.' A truly valuable or availing thing is that which leads to life with its whole strength. In proportion as it does not lead to life, or as its strength is broken, it is less valuable ; in proportion as it leads away from life, it is invaluable or malignant." (P. 118.)

Naturally arising from this on "Ad Valorem" comes his definition, which is Mill's definition with a small but very vital addition.

(42) "Our definition of Wealth, expanded, becomes : 'The possession of useful articles, which we can use.'" (P. 123.)

"THERE IS NO WEALTH BUT LIFE. Life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings." (P. 156.)

Almost of necessity every reader will see, that all expenditure on account of war, and for war material, must be regarded, in the light of the above definition, as production of a wrong kind.

(43) "Production does not consist in things labouriously made, but in things serviceably consumable ; and the question for the nation is not how much labour it employs, but how much life it produces. For as consumption is the end and aim of production, so life is the end and aim of consumption." (P. 155.)

(44) "... Consumption is the crown of production ; and the wealth of a nation is only to be estimated by what it consumes." (P. 150.)

(45) "The final object of political economy, therefore, is to get good method of consumption, and great quantity of consumption ; in other words to use everything, and to use it nobly." (Pp. 150, 151.)

It matters not to the labourer, so far as his immediate profit is concerned, whether he be employed in growing a peach or making a bomb-shell, only, says Ruskin, the mode of consumption.

(46) "The worst of it, for the peasant, is, that the capitalist's consumption of the peach is apt to be selfish, and of the shell, distributive." [A somewhat grim pun this, by the way.] "... *Somebody's* roof must go off in fulfilment of the bomb's destiny. You may grow for your neighbour, at your liking,

grapes or grapeshot ; he will also, catallactically, grow grapes or grapeshot for you, and you will each reap what you have sown." (Pp. 154, 155.)

(47) "It is one very awful form of the operation of wealth in Europe that it is entirely capitalists' wealth which supports unjust wars. Just wars do not need so much money to support them ; for most of the men who wage such, wage them gratis ; but for an unjust war, men's bodies and souls have both to be bought ; and the best tools of war for them besides ; which makes such war costly to the maximum ; not to speak of the cost of base fear, and angry suspicion, between nations which have not grace nor honesty enough in all their multitudes to buy an hour's peace of mind with : as, at present, France and England, purchasing of each other ten millions sterling worth of consternation annually (a remarkably light crop, half thorns and half aspen leaves,—sown, reaped, and granaried by the 'science' of the modern political economist, teaching covetousness instead of Truth). And all unjust war being supportable, if not by pillage of the enemy, only by loans from capitalists, these loans are repaid by subsequent taxation of the people, who appear to have no will in the matter, the capitalists' will being the primary root of the war ; but its real root is the covetousness of the whole nation, rendering it incapable of faith, frankness, or justice, and bringing about, therefore, in due time, his own separate loss and punishment to each person." (Foot-note, p. 154.)

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

## CRIME UNDER SOCIALISM.

Not only opponents but also well-disposed inquirers often ask what will be done with criminals in a Socialistic order of things. They opine that, admitting the justice and benevolence of the Socialistic theory, it is fitted only for virtuous citizens and does not take into account the vicious and ill-disposed, whose misconduct would, they say, upset all our calculations and render the new social order unworkable. Now (passing over the fact that the most hurtful of all criminals now constitute that most respected class whose example guides the bourgeois world, the rich, who by their monopoly of the sources of subsistence and enjoyment impoverish and enslave the majority of mankind, and whose existence as a class it will be the first work of the coming revolution to destroy) a sufficient answer can readily be given to the foregoing question by saying that should the worst come to the worst the future society can always have recourse to the same measures as the existing one for the repression of crime, and with at least as good effect. A more satisfactory solution of the matter will however be found in the natural reply to another question, which I will put thus : What will become of crime under Socialism ? With the exception of certain crimes against Nature, such as drunkenness and the indulgence of other perverted appetites, the victims of which may rightly be restrained but are none the less worthy of commiseration as sufferers from our execrable social system, with its luxurious excess on the one hand and its despairing penury on the other, and omitting also such artificial, law-created offences as "sedition" and "blasphemy," all that is now recognised as crime may be classified under one or other of two headings : 1st, offences against property, and 2nd, offences against the person. Crimes of the first category will cease with the abolition of monopoly in the means of subsistence and enjoyment, for no sane person can have any motive for depriving another of that which he needs when he himself possesses an equal share of all things requisite, particularly when his own claim is entirely dependent upon his recognition of the equal claim of everybody else to an undisturbed participation in all available advantages. Of crimes against the person—i.e., of violence—by far the greater number are committed in the execution of attacks against property, and are therefore referable to that baleful usurpation. The desperate deeds perpetrated by highwaymen, burglars, garotters, and poachers, belong to this category, and must cease with the removal of their cause. It may safely be said that crimes of violence which are totally unconnected with attacks upon or disputes concerning property do not contribute more than a very small contingent to this second class of crimes, and will be greatly and progressively diminished by the ever-deepening sentiment of fraternal solidarity inculcated and fostered by every detail of the relationship between men in the future associations of equals, which will, moreover, be far more competent to protect their members than is our present misnamed "society," which, torn of conflicting interests, is compelled to act through the agency of an administration organised mainly in order to support the existing unjust social system. The justest judge will be an untrammelled public conscience, and a free people the best police.

HENRY GLASSE.

Some of our labour exchanges are harping away about the Democratic and Republican parties just as though they were two distinct parties working for the advancement of different ends and objects. Let this nonsense cease ; the country has been under the one party of monopoly for twenty years and is to-day worse than ever.—*Industrial News*.

THE LAND QUESTION.—The Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, in reply to an interviewer lately, stated, when asked if he considered a purchase scheme as a final settlement : "No, certainly not. I am so thoroughly convinced that the form of land tenure now popularly known as 'the nationalisation of the land' is the only system fully consonant with the principles of justice, that I must hesitate in regarding as absolutely final a scheme based upon any other principle."

The Chicago grain gamblers have decided to go to work at 10.30 a.m. during July and August, and take a holiday every afternoon. Although these gentry work only one and a half hours a day, one of them bags more grain than 1000 farmers who work fifteen hours a day, and the very sound of eight hours for mechanics sets them wild with virtuous indignation. What a world this is, and what a fashionable god the dollar is.—*Industrial News*.





"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

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All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

A CHANCE READER.—The subject is of no importance.

P. R. DOMONEY (Southampton).—Held over till next week from want of space.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 1.

ENGLAND	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	Lille—Le Travailleur
Justice	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	BELGIUM
Freethinker	Toledo (O.)—Industrial News	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair
Norwich—Daylight	San Francisco (Cal.)—Truth	SPAIN
Club and Institute Journal	Bulletin	Madrid—El Socialista
Church Reformer	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Bedford and County Record	men's Advocate	El Grito del Pueblo
INDIA	Washington (D. C.)—National	El Angel del Hogar
Madras—People's Friend	View	HOLLAND
Allahabad—People's Budget	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	Recht voor Allen
CANADA	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	AUSTRIA
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Herald	Brunn—Volksfreund
UNITED STATES	Tribune	HUNGARY
New York—Volkzeitung	Salem (Oreg.) Advance-Thought	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Der Sozialist	FRANCE	NORWAY
Freiheit	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Social-Democraten
Truthseeker	Le Socialiste	SWITZERLAND
Dramatic Times	Le Revolte	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Boston—Woman's Journal	Guise—Le Devoir	

RECEIVED.—"To the Police"—"Money and Men"—"Mostly Fools"—"Vegetarianism."

### ADVERTISEMENT.

To many minds not the least attractive promise in the prophecy of Socialism, will probably be that of the almost entire disappearance of what is known as advertisement. Except to the bat-like intelligence, alas! too common, which thinks to justify the capitalist's position by pleading that he "gives employment," or "makes money circulate," and so forth, the conception of the possibility of lifting from the shoulders of Labour this heavy burden comes to a man as a revelation. For it is certain that under a Socialised system of production and exchange, wherein all contribute to the common wealth and from it satisfy their needs, and when none can any longer achieve, or desire to achieve, private aggrandisement by exploiting his fellows, all the vast human energy now kept in meaningless stir at the miserable and slavish task of "pushing" wares, all this life-blood, so to speak, recklessly spilt by the supposed necessities of commercial rivalry, will be set free for happiness and for leisure.

In Judge Haliburton's 'Clockmaker,' we read that Sam Slick's two unflinching allies in persuading the country-folk to buy his clocks were, on his own amusing confession, (1) Soft Sawder and (2) Human Natur; in fact, an active and a passive element united to form the product, a bargain. This distinction of his, strikes me as truly philosophical and strictly analogous to that other famous classification of humankind which we owe to the fertile inventiveness of the Tichborne Claimant, that "some folks has plenty money and no brains, and some folks has plenty brains and no money." What can be more natural and proper, starting from such a condition of things, than that the latter class should by a persistent use of soft sawder prey upon the human natur' of the former, and thereout suck no small advantage? Bores and bored, advertisers and advertised, divide our modern world. With the passive class it is impossible not to sympathise, considering how many and grievous things they endure at the hands of the bill-sticking fraternity. From the cradle to the grave, kind creatures throng our

way, all performing endless variations of one and the same motive, "Codlin's the friend, not Short." Acres of closely-printed benevolence beam upon us from the newspapers, made up of disinterested advice to shun imitations, to call a spade a spade, to avoid complicated braces, and so forth. Kind enquiries as to where we mean to dine, or what is our crest and what is our motto perpetually jostle us, while philanthropists who, for a paltry enclosure of thirteen stamps, freely guarantee £5 weekly to persons of either sex, without hindrance to present occupation, are as thick as blackberries. Beneficent beings! almost incredible is it that the world should need bettering when good angels such as ye abound! To give up your insinuating ministrations will cost us a pang no doubt, but the inevitable wrench must and shall be borne with fortitude. In the name of human development we will resign without a murmur the pressing attentions of street-touts and bill-distributors, whether of photographer or quack, and restore to the army of useful labour those enforced deserters whom a corrupt and emasculating Society degrades into human sandwiches doomed to tramp the gutter in dismal squalor, unless glorified by some enterprising theatrical manager with the masquerade costume of a sailor, a convict, or a heathen Chinese. Flaring gas-jet announcements, stencillings on the pavements, and handbill-showering balloons will disappear, in company with the sensational placards containing large-type allusions to "Murder!" or to "£2000 Reward!" The automatic climbing-monkey, walking-race, and wrestlers, now used by ingenious shopkeepers to draw a well-dressed crowd before their plate-glass, will find their occupation gone. Doomed also are the insidious puffery of *Pall Mall* interviewers, and the effective device of a wily-planned action for libel. We may reasonably expect that tributes to the efficacy of Cockle's Pills will cease to find their way into works of travel. Those irritating contributions to our ephemeral literature, the paragraphs ending with ADVT., and "Toughened," "Bilin' Water," and such-like enigmas of the Agony Column, will no longer squander incalculable foot-pounds of brain-power daily. Shakespeare will not be dragged through the mire in order to "push" a button or a brace. The astute medicine vendor, who takes his stand on a Biblical text, and stoutly upholds the doctrine that the blood is the life, will draw no further profit from his contest with that untiring antagonist of his whose theory that electricity is life so naturally suggests a reference to his magnetic belts. Eno's florid periods, so persuasive to lull the qualms of the bourgeois as to the consequences of excess at table, will lose somewhat of their ubiquity. In fine, a clean sweep will be made of the obtrusive heterogeneous world-wide swarm of competing claims which may glad the heart of the advertising contractor, but surely of him alone. And yet the world will go on when every wall, arch, and conveyance, has been released from Willing's hideous sway; and not only that, but our deliverance from the attacks of tedious impertinence and aggressive ugliness made on us by the reckless commercial spirit of selfishness and wastefulness combined (selfishness, because one man's success to-day necessarily implies another's defeat; and wastefulness, because the mighty human forces employed spend themselves mostly in neutralising one another), and our deliverance from the unwholesome presence of brazen self-assertion and flagrant insincerity, will bring into human life a charm which is stifled in the atmosphere of to-day.

C. W. BECKETT.

### MODERATION.

WHEN the dominant classes bestowed upon the worker the right of grumbling when he felt his condition was not quite what it should be, they told him above all to be careful in the language he used concerning his wrongs; they were content to let him think as he pleased, as long as he did not translate his thoughts into words or action; above all, they abjured him in most moving terms to be moderate. "Although we take from you by legal trickery the wealth that you have made, although you are plundered on all sides, be moderate. We know you are ill-treated as a class. Your sons are sent to sea to drown in rotten ships for our profit and advantage, yet don't lose your temper, my good friend, be moderate. It is true that your daughters, if beautiful, are thrown on the streets after they have ministered to our pleasures, and in the end they perish in disease and dirt in some reeking cellar in this giant city, but, my good fellow, I can't allow you to talk in this manner. Moderation, my friend, Moderation! We admit these are grave ills, but if you will leave us alone we will remedy them in time. Wait, my friend! Patience is a beautiful virtue, do we not see it admirably displayed by those interesting animals, the sheep and the donkey? How quietly the sheep stands shivering in the cold wind of spring, naked, stripped of his fleece by the skilful hands of the fleecer! And the donkey, behold that admirable quadruped quietly trotting to market with a heavy load of vegetables, bearing in patience the abuse and blows of his master; though half-starved and ill-fed he never complains and never dreams of rebellion! My friend, these meek and useful animals teach you a lesson, they are patient under discomfort and suffering, why, because they know their misery and wretchedness is a distinct gain and benefit to those who have most earnestly their welfare at heart, their well-meaning and indulgent masters. My friend, we are going to grant you a great boon, the right of free speech. For some time we have allowed you to think as you pleased, not finding it possible to stop you, but we have always endeavoured to raise and elevate your thoughts far above the toil and strife of this earthly world, to that happy region where want is unknown and misery is forgotten. Do not worry about the filthy lucre of this world, but lift your eyes prayerfully and calmly to that land beyond the clouds, where

your meekness and moderation will receive its due reward. This right we grant you, must be used with moderation, and strong language will not be allowed. We give you the chance of 'baa-ing' or 'braying' when our kindness has been too much for you, but be careful to convey no particular meaning into your utterances. Do not covertly insinuate that your fleece is your own, or that you have a right to a fair share of the greens you are taking to market, because this will not do. Language of a seditious and revolutionary character will not be permitted. Now you may go, but bear this caution in mind!"

Why do the middle-classes love mildness? Why do they so earnestly entreat us to be always quiet and constitutional in our utterances? Is it because they have an objection to hearing the naked truth, or do they dread the people hearing it? Is it possible to use mild language in describing our present Society? Is the workman likely to feel in a good humour when he gazes back upon the long weary years that have passed, years that have been spent in heavy drudgery, for what? To heap up riches for his master, and to hand down slavery to his children. This world to the workman is a wilderness of work, fruitless and wasted; his labour has only served to keep him in poverty, and to make others rich and miserable. Can we destroy this accursed system by mild words and soft phrases? Can you make a revolution with rose-water, and will you charm away the present system by eloquence of the Parliamentary pattern? I don't think so. Some of the middle-class appear to think that Socialism might be realised by degrees, that it is an excellent idea, only they would rather not have it carried out in their time. Cannot we let them down slowly into this new world, as a sudden change would be so shocking to their delicate nerves? But that is not our business, it is entirely their own affair. The middle-classes may grant us Socialism in small instalments if they choose, but it is for the workmen to demand all that is due to them. Above all, let them learn that it is not moderate men who have changed the world, moderate men have never led the way; they have always been in the rear, and shouted with the crowd. "Desperate diseases require desperate remedies," and the disease from which Society suffers to-day will not be swept away by the mild medicine of moderation.

"It would be amusing were it not so sad," to hear these "practical politicians," who, after drawing a painful picture of the misery of the labouring multitude, calmly propose as a remedy for all these ills some petty measure of land reform or little allotment scheme to enable the cultivator "to grow his own outdoor relief," and while these gentlemen are talking, other men still more moderate are busy denouncing them as sacrilegious innovators and sanguinary revolutionists. So the great political game is played—talk, talk, talk, year after year; moderate men and moderate measures—nothing whatever is done. The poor are left in misery, while the aspiring gentleman who longed to represent them, and who burned with ardour to redress their wrongs, now he has written the two magic letters after his name, lounges in his cushioned seat in "the best club in London," having totally forgotten the people who sent him there.

If the working-people are not sick of Moderates and moderation by this time, they ought to be. Every day it appears clearer that they have nothing to hope from any one but themselves. Parliament is a place for talk, not for action, a court of chancery which humbugs and tortures, not a few suitors, but a whole nation. The moderate men that sit there, will give you nothing but compliments on the magnificent manner in which you bear cold and hunger. What you win from them will be only gained from their fears. Show them you are losing your sheep-like character, let them know distinctly that you are sick of their humbug, and tired of their wearying cant. Make them once understand this, and your end will be attained; whatever you ask will then be granted you, but Moderation will give you nothing!

D. NICOLL.

### "NE SUTOR ULTRA CREPIDAM."

THE ostensible journalist who, in the New York *Dramatic Times* deals with events theatrical, and chronicles small beer, leaves his last awhile to get off the following words of wisdom:

"When I perceive, through the trials of the Chicago Anarchists, that there are at least 30,000 people in that blessed city, who hold it to be a sacred duty to kill, burn, and destroy, I wonder whether they, or the rest of the world, are crazy. Is there any extravagance that may not now be preached with the certainty of making hundreds of conscientious proselytes? When Spies and the rest are hanged, there will be hundreds of thousands of people to honour them as martyrs to a noble Cause. I wonder, by the way, what is the Ultima Thule of the Anarchists' creed. Supposing they burned all the buildings, slew all the capitalists, stopped all the factories, exploded all the police in the world, what would they do then? I suppose hang each other. What a lucky chance that the Chicago authorities can begin at that end of the job."

His lucubration is of no value in itself save for the admission we italicise, but it well illustrates the crass ignorance and malignant stupidity of the average moulder-of-public-opinions-at-a-price.—S.

A meeting of black-coated gentlemen is called an assembly; but a meeting of the men who feed, clothe, and house them is called a mob.—W. Harrison Riley. I am a honest middle-course man, desiring and hoping for social progress with all my might, but resolved not to purchase it at the cost of universal overthrow. I foresee that a tolerably violent crisis is inevitable. But I would have that crisis brought about with all the discretion compatible with existing circumstances, and, besides this, I am more than persuaded that the mad attempts made by the men of action (those who act from emotions) do but retard and render it more risky.—Count Cavour.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### A FRATERNAL GREETING.

Le Socialiste, 17, Rue du Croissant, Paris, August 23rd.

To Citizen Belfort Bax,—Dear friend, we take the opportunity of the first return of the day of our existence as a Socialistic periodical to greet our English friends, and wish them success in their spirited exertions against capitalism, our common enemy. We keep an attentive eye on your daily progress, and cannot but notice with high satisfaction the increase of Socialism in the mother-land of civilisation, reputed by the advocates of the bourgeoisie to be its last stronghold, and now won, or on the best way to be won, to the modern ideas of justice and freedom. As your Continental friends, and associated in the struggle towards the single and same aim, the independence of Labour, we send you a hearty cheer, and join in your hopes so closely related to our own.—The Managing Committee of the *Socialiste*,  
P. LAVIGNE, JULES LEFÈVRE, L. DUBOIS.

[We are glad of this opportunity to congratulate our friend the *Socialiste* on its accomplishment of its first year of usefulness, and most cordially wish it success in the future. It is scarcely worth while to dwell on the fact of the completeness of our sympathy with the workers who happen not to live in England, or our abhorrence of national rivalries. We look forward to the day when the word "nation" will only refer to the past, and "foreigner" will be a mere dictionary word.—THE EDITORS.]

### SLAVERY OF SHOPWOMEN.

Of late, Socialists and others have given attention to the injurious effects on the system of excessive hours and standing continually, enforced by drapery "bosses" on their unfortunate female slaves. But there are greater evils behind the scenes. In this trade girls are fed and boarded by their exploiting masters, receiving a monthly salary as well. But this monthly salary is *always expected to be drawn in goods*. Result when trade becomes slack, the girls are often thrown out without a shilling in their pockets; as for the food, in some houses it is good and abundant, but very much oftener girls are half-starved; as to their sleeping accommodation they generally sleep two in a bed, and there are often six beds in a small room! Fancy twelve adult females in a closet breathing the same air the whole night! In the larger towns, in houses doing a good trade, the cellars are often fitted up as "departments" or workrooms, and being under the street level have no ventilation whatever, and are absolutely stifling, being always lighted with gas, often a dozen jets. Factory inspectors may know of their existence, but they never visit them.  
J. S. MCCARTHY.

### SOCIAL ADVANTAGES OF VEGETARIANISM.

It seems a great pity that Socialists should trouble themselves (*Commonweal* Aug. 28, *Justice* passim) to quarrel with vegetarian and suchlike propaganda, which, beyond its direct advantage to the adopter, has the almost more important advantage that it is a sure if indirect way of bringing people into contact with the whole social problem, and of giving them energy to face it and money to help out the solution. The number of recruits to Socialism by this mode is very considerable.

The opposition is intelligible enough, arising as it does from two misconceptions—the first, that any one who economises his personal expenditure makes a capitalistic use of his wealth; the second, that standard of comfort means the number of pence spent for food. The reverse of the first proposition—viz., that one who economises personal expenditure makes a social use of his wealth—is for vegetarians as near the truth.

If one gets nothing but food out of life then the amount of food may be taken to measure the amount of comfort, as it represents the amount of labour spent for a certain income of power to live on, and if there be any margin over this spent in the pleasures of life, whichever he choose, this must be reckoned to the amount of comfort; and any choice of food which increases this margin may be an advantage: this depends entirely on the power to use it. Were there any likelihood of a general economy before the workers are so far educated as to interfere with the "iron law" this would be a disadvantage; but one must be a despondent Socialist as well as flesh-eater to look for this; and meanwhile it seems to me a great social gain to place as many as possible in the position of advantage, and we shall gain more and more surely by the social education which vegetarianism gives its adherents than by quarrelling with them.

Not every one has the grace to jump stride by stride with the Socialist prophet; but there is certainly no creed surer to make people dissatisfied with the life and work of their neighbours in their present condition than is vegetarianism.  
R. C. BUIST.

### MARSHALL & CO.

Mr. John Marshall complains that he has been "hit in the dark" by "a loaded bludgeon" wielded by your correspondents J. L. M. and T. M. This is, most obviously, untrue. The article, whatever its other defects may be, was not wanting in straightforwardness. The statements are there to be read by any one and the space is free to Mr. Marshall if he wants to refute the statements. It is no use to whine about being hit in the dark. Mr. Marshall contradicts only one of our assertions. It appears that his brother is not going with his machinery to America. But this is an unimportant point, as Mr. Marshall's personal movements are of no interest to the public.

If Mr. John Marshall wishes to discuss the matter I shall be glad to do so with him. As to the charge of being personal, I repeat that the writers of the article were not personal, since they assumed that the Marshall family were, like most capitalists, unconscious of the economically dishonest position of their class. If, however, Mr. Marshall comes forward to defend the system or champion the class he belongs to, he can make the matter to some extent personal. But that is his doing, not ours.

In Friday's issue of the *Hull Daily Mail*, there is a letter complaining of the influx of people in search of work who had been discharged by Messrs. Marshall in consequence of the removal of their business to America. This is a good piece of independent testimony to the main point of our article.

In order that Mr. Marshall should know where to begin his defence, and as he prefers the matter put in a personal way, I will repeat the gist of the article thus—Some thousands of men, women, and young girls are now tramping about in search of work. Most of them miserably poor (or they wouldn't tramp). The condition of these people is the result of the capitalist

system with which Mr. Marshall is identified. These people are poor and miserable because the fruits of their labour have been stolen from them, partly by Marshall and Co. and partly by their fellow capitalists. Marshall and Co. have a thumping good fortune (or a few fortunes) among them, which have been gathered up, like other fortunes, by hiring people to do the work and stealing the biggest part of the produce of their toil from them.

I hope this statement of the case is plain enough. It is, perhaps, not elegantly expressed, but Mr. Marshall does not write with academical civility (for which I rather like him), so he will not mind my rough way of putting it.

J. L. MAHON.

#### SOCIALISM IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

I am sure it will be interesting to you and your readers to know that the principles of Socialism are spreading in these districts. For many years we have had a large number of gardens which have been managed by individuals who have occupied from three to four acres. These have found work for their families; but of late years a change has taken place. The farmers are turning their land into garden farms, pushing out the small gardeners. This year there have been very large crops of berries, strawberries, and raspberries. One of our large growers has had large huts built upon his land for the accommodation of some of the inmates of Holborn Union, London, whom he or his agent in London has induced to come into these districts to pick his fruit. In connection with this firm of Bath and Crampton an interesting case was brought last week before the Wisbech Board of Guardians. Two women, whose names are Jane Green and Ruth Howe, were induced to come here; they were told that they could earn from 3s. to 4s. per day; they, with others, came from Holborn Union, their fares being paid from London; they worked Thursday and Friday, and instead of earning 3s. or 4s. a-day, Jane Green earned 2s. and Ruth Howe 3s. 4d. in the two days, which was paid them on the Saturday. This small sum had to last them until Monday, when their kind and considerate masters discharged them. Now here were two young women brought from London to Wisbech, a distance of 95 miles, the only bedding provided for them straw-litter, with nothing to cover them. On the Monday they were penniless—what could they do? On Tuesday August 5 they applied for assistance to the Wisbech Board of Guardians to assist them back to London. Now this firm are in the habit, at the commencement of the season, of advertising very largely in the papers of our larger towns for workpeople, and it is no uncommon sight to see working men and women footsore and weary coming into the town applying for work, to be told that they are full. The disappointment to these people is something awful. Now Bath, who is at the head of his firm, was one of the supporters of Joseph Arch in the late election. Another of his supporters, who grows about 100 acres of gooseberries alone, because the business has not been making such large prices this year, has reduced the wages of his people all round, some 3s., others 2s. per week. These are specimens of the men who were the supporters of Joseph Arch. Need I tell you the workers are dissatisfied with these political "guides," and some of them are beginning to see in Socialism a better way?

Wisbech, Cambridgeshire, Aug. 16.

W. ADDISON.

#### "IMPROVEMENT OF THE PEASANTRY."

May I draw your attention to a leader in the *Christian World* of Aug. 19, headed "Improvement of the Peasantry," in which the writer asks "Why should not the man of wealth and station learn to find as much pleasure in the sight of a brave honest and handsome peasantry as in that of partridges and deer?" Then he goes on to say "What a changed appearance would England present if instead of nests of hovels throughout its inland villages those hovels were exchanged for thatched cottages, each with its garden and its pasturage." It is simply the old story—as of cities so of country places. For near our fashionable streets and houses of the wealthy and "noble" are the dens and squalor of the poor; by the side of the country mansions are hovels and misery. The same question might just as well be asked of the rich dwellers of the town as to why they could not learn to find pleasure in the sight of brave, well-fed, handsome workmen; for why should the peasantry only have this advantage, and why should the rich dwellers of towns be encouraged to be more hard-hearted than the "man of wealth and station" in the country or who is the possessor of property in the country? The article in question dwells chiefly on the misery of the peasantry, and endeavours to encourage the landlords to interest themselves in the extension of the allotment system, and asks individual landlords to give themselves to such work upon a much larger scale than has yet been done. Might as well ask banks to give up a greater portion of their share of the profits than they do to their clerks, or the manufacturer a portion of the machinery or a portion of what is produced to the badly paid worker. We all know that if this were done there would not be so many starved, poverty-stricken looking workers or wearied, care-worn, anxious-looking mothers of the same class, with ill-fed, ill-clad children. But the point lost sight of is, what is to triumph over the selfishness and greed that aims at crushing the poor until they become destitute? The possessing classes, with their greed and their crushing propensities will not bring about a better state of things; neither will the "charities" and other spurts of the more thoughtful of them solve this problem. If the possessing classes are too busy or too selfish or too sentimental to concern themselves or go deep enough into the matter, there is no question that in the course of a few years, when the knowledge of facts will filter down to the humbler classes of society, who find the struggle of life growing harder and fiercer every day, will result in a change of the most radical nature. We need not look far round to see that the land question is not the only one that has to be solved—landlords are not the only miscreants in this poverty question. "The improvement of the peasantry" will not settle the question that is stirring both town and country; for what about the oppression that goes on with private and public companies, so that shareholders who never do a stroke of work may receive good large dividends? Take for instance such companies as the tramway companies, of which so much has been heard lately—men having to work for seventeen hours for 4s. 6d. a-day, which is only given under certain conditions.

It has been said that sentimentally all men are Socialists; they say it is dreadful to have an East End and a West End. Out of the fulness of the heart men speak, but not out of the fulness of the head. The writer of the leader referred to is one of the number; but to be a good and useful philanthropist he must aim at being a practical Socialist.

SARAH S. GOSTLING.

Remember, that all the unemployed people in the world, rich or poor, are su-  
ffered by the employed.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES.

### HULL.

A meeting of the Hull Trades and Labour Council was held last Thursday to discuss a resolution of a semi-Socialist kind. The resolution, proposed by Mr. Biggins, called upon the State, through the corporations, to employ the unemployed who are suffering from the chronic distress—the workers thus employed to consume their own products as far as possible. The resolution was moved in a speech full of sympathy and earnest thought on the question. The apathy and selfishness of trades'-unionists generally was boldly commented on, and the party politicians remorselessly put aside as people from whom no real help might be expected. The speaker also warned his fellow-councilmen that unless they now did something to settle the unemployed question they would some day find it much more formidable, and perhaps a peaceful solution impossible. Neither the speech nor the resolution were Socialistic, but both showed a spirit which is only too scarce amongst trades'-unionists, and also a really thoughtful knowledge of the question. The very least that can be said of Mr. Biggins' speech and resolution is that they gave a splendid opening for a good discussion on an aspect of the labour question that working-class "leaders" ought to feel interested in. But, alas! the Trades and Labour Council showed less intelligence and less concern than might have been shown in a Church mutual improvement society. Only two speeches were made and these in moving and seconding an amendment of, to say the least, a curious kind. It affirmed that the permanent good of the workers could best be promoted by (1) universal co-operation, (2) land-law reform, (3) labour representation. The first thing about this is that it was no amendment at all: any one might have consistently voted for both resolution and amendment. Next, the absurdity of universal co-operation and land-law reform and labour representation! Under universal co-operation the land laws would be abolished altogether, and there would be none but labourers to represent. Newton's big aperture for the cat and a small one for its kitten was nothing to this amendment. The speeches of mover and seconder of the amendment were entirely disheartening. They showed a total want of appreciation of the problem touched by the resolution, and a fervour for such a paltry and vague measure as land-law reform that was comic to see and sickening to think of—sickening to think that men who are leaders of the working class cannot rise above paltry reforms, which are chiefly used to hoodwink them. Of course Mr. Biggins was bespattered with compliments. The Council in fact said: "You're a nice young man, Mr. Biggins, and we're proud of you as a colleague, but you mustn't do this sort of thing again. You really ought to be content with the opinions held by your colleagues and not bring up questions like these, which they know nothing about, but upon which it is presumptuous for you to teach them anything. If you must shine as an 'advanced' man, surely labour representation is quite revolutionary enough." Perhaps Mr. Biggins will try a stronger motion next time. Anyhow he must now have his doubts as to the fitness of the Hull Trades Council to take care of working class interests.—J. L. M.

### FRANCE.

LYONS.—The cabinet makers and varnishers at some of the workshops here are out on strike against a reduction of their wage.

RONCHAMPS (Hte. Savoie).—There has been a strike in the coal-pits of Ronchamps, and it is expected that the masters will apply for military assistance against them.

FLEURS (Nord).—A correspondent of the *Travailleur* writes at length to that paper concerning the many and various abuses submitted to by the workers at some leather-works at the Pont du Breucq, where they not only toil through the week 17 and 18 hours a-day, but work on Sundays also. Some of the children employed work 15 and 16 hours a-day, the women 16 and 17. So much for the law passed in 1874 limiting the labour of women and children to 8 hours!

VIERZON (Cher).—The development of the strike at the "Société Française for the manufacture of agricultural plant" is highly interesting, as showing, as far as it has gone, a solidarity, self-reliance, and determination unfortunately not common enough among the exploited classes. In spite of the prolonged sojourn of battalions the place has been perfectly quiet since the first day or two, the inhabitants being resolved not to weaken themselves by violent expression of feeling whatever the provocation, and the soldiers showing a disposition to fraternise with them. The strikers' Committee were summoned to an interview with the Prefect of the Department, who advised them to accept the terms offered by the Company, and pointed out the harm they would do themselves by forcing their employers to procure labour elsewhere. In answer to this "fatherly advice" they declared that they would only go in on their own conditions; and as to imported labour, "any men who were so devoid of *esprit de corps* as to consent to come, would soon go away again on discovering that they were required to work at a wage on which it was impossible to support life." One correspondent of the *Cri* says that the Société has been obliged to set the overseers and foremen to work in the empty shops. They have as yet been unsuccessful in all their attempts to procure foreign labour from the industrial centres of the district, all the workmen refusing to supplant their fellows. Thus the strike bids fair to be one of importance. If the workers gain the victory it will be an encouragement to others—an encouragement sorely needed, unity of action being more a characteristic of the capitalist than the worker. Revolutionary groups everywhere are subscribing to the necessary funds, and meetings are being held in Paris in favour of the strikers, organised by the Central Revolutionary Committee, while the *Cri du Peuple* has opened a subscription and sent out subscription-sheets for the same object.

Taking advantage of the general disturbance and the presence of the military at Vierzon, most of the porcelain-manufacturers have agreed to concoct a reduced tariff to present to their workers on the 1st October. In a meeting of the workers called to discuss the same it was unanimously agreed to leave the workshops immediately the masters have presented the tariff. The more the merrier! The whole of the district will then be on strike, and the better able to hold its own.

On Sunday last the *Socialiste* celebrated its anniversary by a banquet, presided over by Paul Lafargue. We take this opportunity of offering our best wishes and congratulations to our French comrades.

LILLE.—The revolutionists of Lille have formed under the title of "Les



Parias de Lille," an Anarchist group, whose mission will be to create in this town an agitation in favour of revolutionary ideas. This circle, called together in a town so full of misery and suffering, should make a fruitful propaganda. M. M.

### HOLLAND.

*Recht voor Allen* gives the following particulars of the prosecution of Socialists in Holland. Those already tried are Domela Nieuwenhuis, sentenced to twelve months' solitary confinement; C. Crol, to six months; Van der Stad, six months and fined 110 florins; Van der Veer, eight months; Fortuin, three months; Meegens, six months. Waiting for trial, Mater and his daughter, Voormey, Belderok, and forty minor cases for selling the papers in the streets.

The subscription-list for the relief of the sufferers by the late riots in Amsterdam is still open. Remittances may be sent to K. A. Bos, Kleine Wittenburgstraat 34, Amsterdam.

### EGYPT.

"The defence of the Oasis of Assiout is entrusted," says *Le Tribune des Peuples*, "to the mercy of a band of soldiers who commit the most frightful excesses. These bandits beat unmercifully the unfortunate fellaheen, pillage their dwellings, and violate their women. Distress is general amongst the agriculturists. But in spite of the daily increasing deficit, European correspondents (English and French) pronounce emphatic eulogies on the financial prosperity of the country."—E. T.

### PARAGUAY.

A correspondent of *La Tribune des Peuples* says that the land of this country is now in the hands of a few large proprietors, and that the small farmers and field-labourers are rapidly becoming the slaves of these new lords of the soil. The names of some of the "land-grabbers," with the quantity of land they hold, are given, thus: Cassado possesses 2000 leagues; Dr. Argerich, 700; Vernet, 453; Dr. Sauze and Son, 200; Dr. Castro and General Santos, 350; and so on. The writer in *La Tribune* points out that these figures will cause the workers of Paraguay to speedily consider ideas of Social Revolution, and we echo his hope that we may see Paraguay soon abreast of the revolutionary movement which is spreading over the whole world.—E. T.

### LITERARY NOTICES.

In the *Herald of Health* for current month appears a well-written article on "Historical Parallels," which is worth reading, especially as appearing in a non-Socialist paper.—S.

*Aeracia* (Barcelona), which always contains interesting matter, has in the August number an able and thoughtful article on "War and Civilisation," showing war to have been the basis of all civilised society, and war, or at least the "force of the majority" to be its basis for a long time to come. Following on this, a little article on "Force and Science" in the hands of the workers, is of interest.—M. M.

### FREE SPEECH DEMONSTRATION IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE.

On Sunday, August 29, a demonstration was held by the Social Democratic Federation in Trafalgar Square, to protest against the sentences passed upon Mainwaring and Williams, and against the whole interference with free speech. The meeting was large, well organised, and orderly. Resolutions in accordance with the objects of the assemblage were carried unanimously. Successful as the meeting was, its effect would undoubtedly have been redoubled had it been representative of the whole Socialist party, and also of the Radicals. Some of the French delegates spoke, and were enthusiastically received. S.

### DR. AVELING'S LECTURE TOUR IN THE STATES.

Our comrade started Monday August 30 on an extended tour in the United States, under the auspices of the Socialistic Labor Party. The following are the dates and places at which it is arranged for him to speak: September 14, Bridgeport; 16, New Haven; 17, Meriden; 19-23, New York and Brooklyn; 25, Jersey City Heights, Hoboken, etc.; 26, Newark; 28, Philadelphia; 30, Elizabeth. October 2, Rockville; 5, Hartford; 7, Adams; 9, Holyoke; 14, Manchester; 16, Boston; 18, Lawrence; 20, New Bedford; 22, Providence; 24, Albany-Troy; 26, Syracuse; 28, Rochester; 30, Buffalo. November 1, Cleveland; 3, Detroit; 5, Chicago; 11, Milwaukee; 14 and 15, St. Paul-Minneapolis; 20 and 21, Davenport-Moline; 24, Kansas City; 27 and 28, St. Louis; 30, Indianapolis. December 2, Louisville; 4 and 5, Cincinnati; 7, Dayton; 9, Springfield, O.; 11 and 12, Pittsburg; 14, Williamsport; 18, Baltimore; 20, Paterson; 22, Greenpoint; 25, New York.

### FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Already acknowledged	£14 5 2½	N. E. Bethnal Green Club	£0 1 8
Hoxton Branch	0 1 3	Bradford Branch	0 5 0
North London Branch—23d	0 8 8	Edinburgh Branch	0 7 6
" " 30th	0 11 4	Donation	0 1 3
Harrow Road Sympathiser	0 1 4	Total	£16 3 2½

PH. WEBB, Treasurer, Sept. 1, 1886.

### A BENEFIT CONCERT

WILL BE HELD AT

FARRINGTON HALL, 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.,

ON

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18th, AT 8 O'CLOCK,

For the purpose of raising Funds to pay the Fine (£20) imposed on SAMUEL MAINWARING at the Middlesex Sessions.

Admission by Programme only. . . Sixpence Each.

Which can be obtained from WM. BLUNDELL, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.; H. G. ARNOLD, 6, Little Carlisle Street, W.; E. POPE, 6, York Street, Church Street, Bethnal Green, E.; and T. E. WARDLE, 9, Charlotte Street, Bedford Square.

The Committee requests that early application be made for Programmes by all who can help to sell them.

INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB.—On Tuesday Sept. 7 comrade A. Litvinoff Finkenstien, who happened to be one of the innocent victims of the justice of our civilisation, will be released from Holloway Gaol, after having suffered for six months. All his friends are kindly invited to attend at the Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, E., at 8 p.m., where a cordial welcome will be given to him on that evening.—W. W.

1649. 1792. ???.

(By HENRICH HEINE. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

THE Britons' behaviour was hardly the thing  
That it ought to have been, when they killed their king.  
Not a wink of sleep could his majesty get  
On the night ere he paid his final debt;  
For still through the window there rang in his ears  
The noise at his scaffold, the taunts and the jeers.

And even the Frenchmen were scarce more polite.  
In a four-wheel cab and a pitiful plight  
They carried king Capet to meet his fate,  
And allowed him no coachmen or carriage of state,  
Which a king by the rules of the old etiquette,  
Whene'er he goes driving, ought always to get.

But a still more unqueenly, undignified part  
Had the fair Antoinette, for she rode in a cart;  
And in place of her ladies-in-waiting she got  
For her only companion a rough Sansculotte.  
The widow of Capet thrust out in her scorn  
The thick lip with which ladies of Hapsburg are born.

But Frenchmen and Britons have never been blessed  
With a scrap of good-nature: good-nature's possessed  
By the German alone, who good-natured remains  
When the worst and the reddest of Terrors reigns.  
The Germans would always his Majesty treat  
With the utmost respect, as is proper and meet.

In the grandest and royallest chariot-and-six,  
Whereto the sad servants black trappings affix,  
With the coachman flooding the box with his tears,  
Will a German monarch one of these years  
From all that might ruffle his feelings be screened,  
And with loyallest deference guillotined.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

### Notices to Members.

Reading Room.—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.

Library.—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

Open-Air Speakers are specially summoned to a meeting to-day (Saturday September 4), at 6 p.m., to arrange stations, etc., for ensuing month.

### Executive.

At their meeting on Monday August 30 the Council received a letter from the "Metropolitan Open-Air Temperance Mission and Advocates' League," requesting that arrangements be made for the Council to receive a deputation to confer upon the question of open-air spaces and meetings, with a view of agreeing mutually that meetings of the two bodies shall be held at such times and places as not to interfere with each other. It was resolved to notify the willingness of the Executive to receive such deputation on Monday next, September 6, at 9 p.m.

It was voted that E. B. Aveling's and C. W. Mowbray's tendered resignations be accepted, on the ground that it was imperative that membership of Council be restricted to those able to attend and take part.

### General Meeting.

The General Monthly Meeting of London Members was held on Monday last. Branch reports submitted showed a satisfactory state of affairs. *Commonweal* Manager's report was submitted, and discussed at some length. At the same time the literary character of the paper was considered, and a strong desire was expressed on the part of most of the members for more home labour-notes. The Editor pointed out that he was always trying to get such notes, and urged upon every one the great importance of every one doing their best to contribute items of interest in this direction.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Croydon, Merton, to May 31. Clerkenwell, Dublin, Mile-end, North London, to June 30. Bloomsbury, Hackney, Hammersmith, to July 31. Bradford, Leeds, Birmingham, Manchester, Norwich, to August 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Marylebone, Oxford, to September 30. Branches not mentioned here have not paid to date, and some are months in arrears. This laxity on the part of Branches is one of the greatest hindrances to the propaganda of the League.—P. W.

### BRANCH REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, August 27, at Arlington Hall, W., A. K. Donald lectured to a fair audience on "Methods of Propaganda." The general principle advocated was that the Socialists should use every means likely to advance the Cause. He criticised the views of those Socialists who disbelieved in political and parliamentary action, and thought that much good work might be done in that direction. Discussion followed.—W. A. C.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, August 25, H. H. Sparling lectured on "Woman's Position To-day," a good discussion followed.—On Sunday evening, August 29, we held a good meeting on the Green, comrades Sparling, Chambers, Somerville, Blundell assisting; we then sang the Marseillaise, in which the audience joined heartily, and closed the meeting by inviting the audience to the London Patriotic Club to hear a debate between T. E. Wardle and H. Hardaker, the subject being "Socialism v. Individualism;" the result was good. Sale of literature during the week fair.—W. B.

NORTH LONDON.—The members of the Branch, with supporters from Bloomsbury, Marylebone, and other Branches went in good force to Harrow Road on Saturday night. The speaker was T. E. Wardle, and the meeting was most enthusiastic. At the opening our comrade was warned by three policemen in a body that they would be obliged to take his name if he persisted. A resolution was then passed without a single dissident expressing entire disapproval of the action of the authorities. For almost an hour Wardle spoke to an interested crowd, who received his remarks with many expressions of approval. Then Mrs. Taylor followed with a telling speech for some time, after which Wardle renewed his arguments. He had scarcely spoken two minutes, however, before several policemen headed by an inspector surrounded him, and requested him to stop. Cheered by the crowd, he refused and went on speaking, whereupon the

inspector threatened to remove him to the station. Still he refused to stop, and was then marched off under convoy of four policemen, a fifth covering the retreat with a majestic air, followed by a crowd vigorously hooting the constables. As the audience seemed, like *Oliver Twist*, anxious for more, Henderson resumed the meeting amid loud cheers, until Wardle, having been released, returned and was greeted with great applause. The meeting was then adjourned until next Saturday.—The usual meeting was held in Regent's Park on Sunday morning by Henderson. The audience was large and favourable, and showed its favour substantially by giving 11s. 4d. to the Defence Fund, and buying a good number of *Commonweals* and some Manifesto's.—F. H., sec.

MILE-END.—On Tuesday, August 24, Wm. Morris lectured here to a very large audience on "The New Epoch." He took a survey of the present system of production and distribution, and showed the iniquities of the former and inequalities of the latter, these two elements combining to produce all the evils which spring from poverty, the great parent evil. He dwelt at some length on the education of the working-classes, which, he contended, was very far from what was necessary for the due understanding of the labour problem. He also showed, to the evident satisfaction of the audience, who frequently applauded him, that the present state of things could not last; the markets of the world, opened in many cases at the point of the bayonet, were rapidly closing, thus shutting off the channel through which we dispose of our wares, and this would bring about a strong reaction which would lead to the Social Revolution. There was no opposition. We received notice to quit the hall on or before the 31st, so we are again without a place to meet in. Comrade Westwood lectured to a good audience on the Waste on Thursday evening. Good sale of *Commonweals*.—H. DAVIS, sec.

MERTON.—Last Sunday, we held a meeting upon Mitcham Fair Green, when F. Kitz lectured upon "The Position of the Working-class in England To-Day," and showed how the workman in free England must first of all work for another man's profit or starve, and how when he expends his wages he is robbed again by the cheating, sanctimonious shopkeeper, who puts on a smiling face to the housewife when laying out her husbands' wages, and sneers at the husband when he takes part in a movement for the bettering of his condition, and monopolises social power as a "Guardian of the poor" (sic), and punishes in the bastille workhouse those who are unable longer to afford him a profit upon labour or distribution of goods. Our meeting was, as a first attempt upon new ground, a great success; nearly a quire of *Commonweals* sold, and 5s. collected for Defence Fund.—F. Kitz, sec.

GLASGOW.—On Friday evening, comrades Mavor and Glasier (S.L.), McCulloch (S.D.F.), and Shaw Maxwell (L.R.L.), called upon the French Artisan Delegates at Nelson's Hotel and exchanged greetings. At the station on their departure a large body of Socialists had gathered, and cheers for the Social Revolution were lustily given, the delegates waving a red flag as they moved out of the station.—On Saturday afternoon, the Branch held a meeting at Hamilton near the Cross (not at the Low Quarries as was announced). Comrades Warrington, Glasier, Downie, Kennedy, and Small addressed the audience, which was large and sympathetic. Two quires of *Commonweals* sold and a quantity of pamphlets.—On Sunday afternoon, a large Free Speech Demonstration, organised by the Glasgow Branches of the S.L. and S.D.F., was held on Glasgow Green, from 10,000 to 12,000 people being present. There were two platforms, one occupied by the Social Democratic Federation and the other by the Socialist League, some of the speakers being exchanged. Resolutions condemning the attempted suppression of Socialists' meetings, and the sentences passed upon Mainwaring and Williams, and demanding the immediate release of the latter, were passed unanimously and with acclamation.—In our Rooms, John Street, at 7 p.m., an interesting discussion on Socialism took place.—On Monday evening, an open-air meeting was held at Bain Square.—J. B. G.

HULL.—J. L. Mahon lectured on August 24th, on "The Meaning of Social Revolution." A good discussion followed on the questions of force, testotalism, and palliatives.—E. T.

MANCHESTER.—On Sunday morning, comrade Parkinson addressed a good audience on the Ashton Old Road, and expounded the principles of Socialism in a way that told. Paper sold well. Some more open-air work was done in the afternoon, and in the evening a good discussion was held in the club-room. Things look more hopeful altogether, the advantage of having even a small room is beginning to be evident.—R. U.

CANNING TOWN LECTURE SOCIETY.—On Sunday morning, August 29, J. Lane lectured on "Capitalistic and Socialistic Morality," and was fairly listened to. He was opposed by some, who dwelt upon the cry of "revolution and bloodshed," and crediting Socialists with a little more than they utter. Another opponent from the temperance standpoint condemned both word and action of Socialists. After the lecturer's reply the meeting terminated.—J. O'S.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—The above section met again on Monday evening at the top end of Fargate, and the crowd was larger even than the week before. The speakers, T. Garbutt, E. Carpenter, and W. S. Drury, attacked the system of interest. One of them read an extract from Bishop Jewett, saying that to lend £100, and for it covenant to receive £105, was "filthy gains and a work of darkness." The speakers maintained that to live in idleness, and by preying on the needs and adversities of your neighbour, was unchristian and immoral. The crowd listened with the greatest attention, and when the main meeting was over resolved itself into knots, which kept gyrating around, and carrying on the discussion to a late hour.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, W. Friday September 3, at 8 p.m. No public lecture will be given, but a general meeting will be held to discuss the position of the Branch. Members are earnestly asked to attend.  
**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday September 5, at 7.30 p.m. H. Davis, "The Modern Trinity." Wednesday 8, at 8.30. H. A. Barker, "The Deserted Village."  
**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7 p.m.  
**Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every alternate Tuesday at 9, for the enrolment of members and other business.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays, at 8 p.m. September 5. W. B. Robertson, "Over-Production and Over-Population."  
**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday at 7.45 p.m.  
**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.  
**Mile-end.**—East London United Radical Club, Mile-end Rd. Tuesdays at 8 p.m.  
**North London.**—32 Camden Road. Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m.  
**South London.**—Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 at 112 Hill Street, Peckham, S.E.

### Country Branches.

**Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.  
**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.  
**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. Saturday afternoon, September 6, Propaganda Excursion

to Motherwell.—On Sunday, at 4.30 p.m., open-air meeting on the Green.—In our Rooms, 84 John Street, at 7 p.m., lecture on "Some Lessons on Economics," by James Mavor.—Monday evening, 8th, open-air meeting at Parkhead Cross.

**Hull.**—Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street. Every Tuesday at 8 p.m. September 7, a Special Lecture will be given by J. L. Mahon, on "Trades'-unionism and Socialism." The chair to be taken by Charles L. Biggins, vice-president of the Hull Trades' Council and delegate to the Trades' Congress, 1886. Trades'-unionists are particularly invited to attend. Discussion to follow.

**Leeds.**—No meeting-room at present. Out-door stations notified below.

**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Monday at 8.

Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

LONDON.					
Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.	
Sat. 4.	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales")	7	The Branch	N. London.	
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7	W. Chambers	Clerkenwell.	
S. 5.	Croydon—Cross Roads,	11	D. J. Nicoll	Croydon.	
	Canterbury Road				
	Marylebone—corner of Salis-	11.30	Henderson	Marylebone.	
	bury St. and Church St.				
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	H. Davis	Hackney.	
	Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.	11.30	W. Morris	Hammersmith.	
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	Somerville	Hoxton.	
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	J. Lane	Mile-end.	
	Mitcham Fair Green	11.30	Tochatti	Merton.	
	Regent's Park	11.30	R. A. Beckett	N. London.	
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	W. Chambers	Bloomsbury.	
	Walham Green, opposite Station	11.30	H. H. Sparling	Hammersmith.	
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30	Henderson	Marylebone.	
	Victoria Park	3.30	H. Graham	Hackney.	
	Clerkenwell Green	7	H. Davis	Clerkenwell.	
Tu. 7.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7	The Branch	N. London.	
Wed. 8.	London Fields—Broadway,	8.30	Flockton	Hackney.	
	opposite "Sir Walter Scott"				
Th. 9.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	Uttley	Hoxton.	
	Mile-end Waste	8.30	H. Davis	Mile-end.	

### PROVINCES.

**Bradford.**—Corner of Godwin St. and Sunbridge Road, every Sunday, at 6 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Glasgow Green, Sunday at 4.30. Parkhead Cross, Monday evening.  
**Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.  
**Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m., Sundays.  
**Manchester.**—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road, every Sunday, at 11 a.m.; Gorton Brook, every Sunday afternoon, at 2.45.  
**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

## LITERATURE OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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5. **Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 16 pp. . . . . 1d.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE OFFICE, 13, FARRINGDON ROAD, LONDON, E.C.

## THE PRACTICAL SOCIALIST.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 35.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

It is difficult, or rather impossible, to get at the real facts of the farce enacting in Bulgaria at present. The ultimate meaning of it is of course that Russia wants to get Bulgaria into due condition for being eaten—to beat it tender, as French cooks do with a beefsteak. As to when or how she will eat her Bulgarian morsel it is little use speculating. Meanwhile the Prince Alexander, who a few days ago was such a hero to the English bourgeois, turns out to be a “hero” of quite a modern type. He will now doubtless find plenty of people to give him the very disagreeable names which his present conduct seems to call for. I think it will be enough for us to sum them all up in one word—perhaps the most opprobrious that can be cast at a man—and say that he has acted like “a gentleman.”

For the disappointment of the Bulgarian people one does really feel a pang of genuine grief; that they should be made the playthings of these scoundrels! Yet one must keep in mind that even if their dream of independence had been realised they would have been after all landed amidst the sordid realities of a backward country undergoing the process of being opened up to modern commerce. Nothing worse will happen to them under Russian rule—because nothing worse could happen to them. Massacre, war, pestilence, pinching times—all these are incidents to a rough condition of life; but they come and go, and leave hope behind them. But the pitiless grasp of commerce, continuous, unrelaxing, is a robbery of the weak by the strong from which there is no appeal. All these blessings of civilisation the Bulgarians would have had to accept as the dark lining to the glittering robe of their independence. Dependence on Russia can give them nothing worse, and may make them more discontented, more ready to throw off at once the tyranny of absolutism and the tyranny of the money-bag.

It is at least to be hoped that they will have no illusions as to the help they are likely to get from this country. “Our best wishes” they can have as much of as they please—a kind of gift-money which several other nationalities have had opportunities of appreciating at its true value—nothing. If they are so rash as to attempt to resist the Czar in arms, and get themselves killed and maimed by the thousand in consequence, they will at least have the further consolation that their sufferings will afford a pleasure equal to the reading of a realistic novel at the breakfast-tables of English middle-class families. But on the whole they had better trust to the paternal promises of the Czar than to the sentiment of the ruling classes of England: there is not a pin to choose between the good faith of the two.

In the debate on Dr. Clarke's amendment on the Crofter question there was plenty to show how in questions affecting the immediate welfare of the working classes it is hopeless to expect to get anything out of Parliament. “Non possumus,” how can we? was the clear-cut answer to the Crofters' story; and will be the answer always given to any attempt at dealing with the one thing necessary to be dealt with—the exploitation of the workers at the hands of the land and capital grabbers. The occasion was made good use of by those who were anxious to set forth the virtues of the “Macallum More,” that great chief (of rack-renters and land-agents) known in London as the Duke of Argyll, and to sing the praises of landlords generally.

It was no bad commentary, also, on the curious delusion that Parliament is a good platform for revolutionary propaganda that Dr. Clarke's speech was contracted into three lines of print by the great Liberal paper, the *Daily News*.

The unemployed men who “demonstrated” in Liverpool on the 3rd ult. met with a similar “How can we?” from the mayor of that city; though the answer was not given so unhesitatingly as in Parliament, and to judge by the report in the *Liverpool Courier* the mayor seemed somewhat uncomfortable, probably because he could not fail to know what an amount of distress there exists close to his own municipal door. One workman asked the mayor if the corporation could not take in hand their work themselves, instead of giving it out to contractors, who would employ less men. The mayor naturally said in answer that he could not say anything on the matter, and pointed out that competition among the contractors prevented any excessive profit. He did not further point out that that profit came out of the wages of the workman, for if he had heard that fact he of course would have

tried hard not to believe it, and probably would have succeeded. Neither, it seems, did the workman retort on him that the competition praised by the mayor was the reason why the unemployed were there asking for what in fact amounted to parish relief in a different form.

The workman (poor fellow!) had had no opportunity of learning that “relief works,” in crises like the present, mean just digging a hole and filling it up again—a make-believe of real work, in short—and that the temporary palliation of employing out-of-work men on non-productive labour must be very temporary indeed, and react on those men who are “in employment”—i.e., who are working not for their own livelihood, but the profits of a master. Let us hope that he and his fellows are learning in various ways that there is but one remedy for their trouble—employing themselves; living on the wares which they themselves have made, using the machinery and hoarded wealth which they themselves have made to go on producing necessary and pleasant wares for their own use. It is dismal to think what a heavy price they are paying meanwhile for their ignorance of this. Let the thought stir up all Socialists to extra exertions.

WM. MORRIS.

## TO THE POLICE.

FELLOW-VICTIMS,—Poor, despised, abused policemen, how refreshing a poor man's pity must be to you! But does it never strike you as passing strange why you, of all men, should be so generally disliked and avoided; you who are charged with the weighty duty of watching and guarding the interests of the community? I pity you sincerely in your thankless task. I pity you, dull and lonely, compelled to live aloof from men, pacing your cheerless rounds in stiff and sullen decorum. I pity you, numbered, buttoned, and solitary, dogged by the cold scrutiny of an unsympathising, fault-finding public, and for many other things beside.

What quarrel can there be between us as reasonable men? I know that you come of the people—the poor and unfortunate of them, as I do. That you have been buffeted through life I know, with next to no leisure or means by which to put your days to profitable account. That you, in common with the most of us, have had to rough it in all weathers for a scanty living, and, on the whole, a miserable one, I also know. What cause, then, can there be for bad blood between us? No cause in the world but our own sad ignorance!

But you may say: “Are you not a Socialist, and the enemy of law and order which it is our bounden duty to maintain?” I am a Socialist, and the ardent supporter of all order and law which have Justice for their foundation. Do you say that the justice of things is not your concern? Then will you not say whether you are men first, or policemen? Surely the justice of the laws you are called on to maintain should concern you closely as men, and doubly so as policemen. But you know, and I do, perfectly well that you cannot at all afford, as affairs stand at present, to consider the right or the wrong of Society's regulations. It is a matter of bread and butter to you, and you let it rest at that. Still, you would prefer to maintain the right thing to the wrong thing, would you not? If you say Yes, that is enough.

Now look carefully about you. You have a wide field for observation. The vices and weaknesses of the highest and lowest come out in all their nakedness before you. Are you never ashamed of the work you are compelled to do? Surely you do not enjoy arresting the poor starveling whose offence is his necessity, the begging of a mouthful of bread. Surely you at times compassionate the destitute girl whose last resource against hunger is the streets and a short life. But have you never made a mistake? I mean have you ever arrested, in your fresh and unsophisticated experience, an aristocratic ruffian under the delusion that the law applied without favour to wealthy and poor? If so you will have atoned. I can sympathise with the sense of shame which must take hold of you when you are contemptuously tossed half-a-crown to see a brawling, drunken money-bag home. I have seen a wealthy young rough make a bet with his friend that he would knock down the first “bobby” he met and not be arrested. And it actually turned out so, the few shillings which might have been mulcted at the police-court going, in this case, into the assaulted policeman's pocket. Of these proceedings I know but little in comparison to what you must know. I know sufficient, however, not to envy you.

Strip yourselves of your blue-coats and buttons now, and let me address you as men. Are you not saddened and sickened by the



miseries rampant around you? Are you not disgusted by the rottenness lording it and ruling? You cannot fail to note the fact that it is the unworthy, unscrupulous people, who attain to wealth and station. You must know that the useful worker, the creator of the good things called wealth, is a despised lower-class body, of which class you yourselves are parcel. When you know that wealth abounds, and in consequence of the labour of this degraded class, and when you see that very class starving through lack of the veriest necessities, what more is wanting to convince you of the injustice of prevailing laws?

Do not, therefore, as men of understanding, voluntarily set yourselves in the way of those who seek to uplift the downpressed. Curse the hour you are ordered to stand between the People and their proper rights! And prepare yourselves, while yet there is time, to help the People, when the right moment comes, to discomfort the common oppressor—yours as well as theirs.

In the meantime, you will be sent to our meetings to harass and obstruct us. Be not too willingly duped. Hear what the Socialists have to say, and by that means you will profit. Do not fall foul of the People! This mean stratagem of the powers set over us has worked too long and too disastrously. It is high time the Police and the People understood one another. Now more than ever it is meet for them to know that their interests and well-being should be one.

For the rest let me appeal to your humanity. Scatter the new ideas among and about you. Embrace them. Bide your time, and when the deciding hour is at hand throw off the blue-coat, buttons and all, join in the Cause of the People!

T. MAGUIRE.

### “MOSTLY FOOLS.”

CARLYLE's dictum has been well-nigh worn to death by this time, but it receives confirmation afresh from day to day. The latest illustration of the innate stupidity of the unawakened, unreflective mind, may be found in the columns of the London daily paper which with brazen insolence arrogates to itself “the largest circulation in the world.” In a column which has for some time past been set apart for correspondence upon the subject of foreign goods and competition, the British merchant has wailed and wept over his decreasing share of the world-market. The excuses framed by him, and for him by the ingenuous young men of the staff, in defence of his “enterprise” and “sagacity” in presence of the incontrovertible fact of his being beaten in the race, are numerous and wonderful, affording food for thought.

Let it be borne in mind that the only plausible pretext for the continued existence of the capitalist—the individual employer of labour—be he manufacturer or merchant, is, that he *organises* labour, productive or distributive, and that he thus fulfils a definite and useful function in the community.

Organisation of labour if it mean anything at all, must mean the disposition and arrangement of the work to be done among the men who do it, so that the greatest possible result may follow the least possible exertion, that the community in return for the labour expended by its members may receive the largest possible quantity of the necessities of life; and organisation of distribution must likewise mean the so managing the conveyance of the products of labour to the consumer as to cause the least possible waste or expense.

All this is upon the assumption that the “organisation” is really *intended* to benefit the community, but, as it is to-day, the so-called organisation upon which the capitalist bases his claim to extra remuneration is directed, *not* to the good of the community, but to the exclusive profit of the individual monopolist. As the individual capitalist has to fight for his life with all other capitalists in the same line of business, that is, to compete with them for a share in the market, a very large portion of the product of labour must be expended in maintaining this battle. As he by no means “sees the fun” of retrenching his “legitimate share” of the wealth produced, the sole way of meeting the drain caused by advertising, clerks, travellers, etc., etc., is by decreasing the wages of his workmen, and thus reserving to himself a wider margin of profit. His workmen—poor devils!—having only the power to labour in their own bodies by which to live, are compelled to sell it at whatever it will fetch in the open market, and to compete against one another for the privilege of toiling hard all their miserable lives for a starvation wage, with the workhouse as their reward at the end of it.

The profit of the master means the poverty of the worker. Wages cut down to their lowest render the wage-receiver unable to buy anything but the cheapest goods in the smallest quantities. In other words, they lessen his purchasing-power. Low purchasing-power, an inability to buy on the part of the masses, stagnates the home market and makes impossible the consumption of the manufactures of a country, or even an equivalent thereof, in that country itself. Hence arises the compulsion upon the capitalist to seek a market abroad, to find some place where his goods will sell at a sufficient price to keep up his profits. Capitalists of other nationalities are on the same road, they are equally anxious with himself to get and keep as much of the market as they can, and the battle is continually widened and intensified.

Every civilised community is in the hands of the capitalist class; every nation is exploited in the same way. Thus the imported goods must square with the purchasing-power of the consumers, must be cheap, even as the goods of home manufacture. But, as already pointed out, cheap goods entail low wages on those who make them,

and lessen their ability to buy, and thus the play and inter-play of competition goes on, until the whole civilised world groans under “foreign competition,” “over-production,” “depression of trade,” and all the other ills that our beautiful commercial system is heir to.

Surely now, one would think, the men of brain and breeding, the marvellous masters of the cheating art, the great captains of industry, should be able to assign somewhat of an intelligible reason for “the faith that is in them,” and in some measure to explain away the existing dislocation of commerce in accordance with their creed, which includes amid its many dogmas the assertion that this is the best of all possible worlds, and their management of the world the best of all possible providences.

From their prolific pen has flowed a stream of attempted explanations indeed, but they are explanations which explain nothing, and elucidations that, if taken as meant, would render the riddle a thousandfold more intricate even than it is.

The “foreign” capitalist is painted in colours of awe-inspiring darkness, and the good kind British merchant stands out in strong relief against a background of evil, unscrupulous, Machiavellian competitors. Somehow or another, the foreign workmen reverses the verdict, and is an angel of light when contrasted with our home article. As one means of raising himself to the sublime level of his foreign brother, the working Britisher is advised to reverse his present policy, and is warned against the “illogical action of trades’ unions in restricting production.” “If trades’ unions troubled themselves more about the hours worked, and the minimum wages of the particular trades they represent, they would do much more good than by restricting output, because most men would try to earn the highest wages;” which, being interpreted, means that the capitalist would be enabled to “employ” more labour if he could make a greater profit upon it, that unrestrained piece-work and overtime would multiply his profit, and enable him to compete with advantage until the balance was restored, when the labourer would find himself working at lower wages for longer hours and harder work, while production had again become as “restricted” as ever. “Yet,” says “Manufacturer,” “East-end labour is as cheap as *ANY labour in the world*,” and he adds his opinion that London manufacturers “ought to be ashamed of themselves, *with all their advantages*, for not having pre-eminence not merely at home, but in all neutral markets.” To this observer for one, it evidently appears as though it is his tender-heartedness and reluctance to “take advantage” which throws the British merchant so far behind. We may note with interest, remembering what “cheap labour” means, the admission that the London toilers are as miserably treated as the most rigorously trodden down of earth's inhabitants; and yet it is not enough!

Of course, the venerable but decrepit stalking-horse of the apologist for commercial crises has been trotted out, and “Over-production” in all its glory brought forth as a solution. Where production is for consumption, and regulated alone by the needs of the community, there *can* be no over-production,—nor is there now in truth. What the cry means is that there are more goods produced than will bear profit to the capitalists.

Another correspondent, who attributes the ills of which he writes “to the competition of the low-paid labour of the Continent,” finds the remedy in “protection of British industry,” for, as he says, lowering of the wages generally “would only drive our people to discontent and Socialism.” That is to say, he wants to artificially raise the prices of imported goods so that home-made ones may be “enabled to compete,” and he does not see that this is robbing Peter to pay Paul, mulcting the consumer to benefit the producer, who in his turn is mulcted upon what he consumes, until it is all brought round to the same condition of things as that with which we start. His letter concludes with a question we too should like to see solved: “What is the use of the British Empire if it fails to find employment for the people to whom it belongs?”

One individual, after a little juggling with the currency question, concludes: “It is certain that we are not being drained of our gold, and that what we buy is counterbalanced by what we sell. This being so, *we have not as a nation anything to complain of*.” Virtually saying: “Scant food and lack of clothing, depleted stores and poor harvests, all these may come upon us and much more, but so long as we have a supply of the precious metal we are all right. What we want is *money*, it does not matter about the things to be bought with it, we can do without *them*.”

But the gem of the whole collection is a letter which treats of the former supremacy of England in the world market and her gradual decline, ending with the naively lachrymose complaint: “I have come to the conclusion that some foreign merchants and manufacturers are quite as expert in roguery as any we can produce!”

In the day now dawning, when social good shall be men's aim instead of private profit, when goods shall be made and stored and exchanged as the need of the community direct without regard to individual greed, when amicable exchange of worth and benefit between peoples shall supplant commercial war and national rivalry, when free federated communes are tilling and working and building in peace with themselves and all others, such manifestations of utter imbecility will be looked back upon with compassion, even as the “civilised man” of to-day looks back upon the crude and childish ideas of his primitive progenitors. Meanwhile we, the forerunners of the coming time, must in season and out of season expose the trivial absurdity of the excuses put forward by the men who imagine that as they stultify themselves by their lying they can blind the world.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

## THE PARIS TRADES' UNION CONGRESS.

MR. BURNETT has written an article to the *Pall Mall Gazette* in which he has given his views of the International Trades' Union Conference recently held in Paris. Considering Mr. Burnett's position and that of the English trades' unions at present, this is a document of some importance, and it would be well to understand what the drift of it is. He writes as a trades' unionist, and clearly is anxious to establish the superiority of the English workman over the French, who from his point of view is more backward as being less of an unionist, and also as being worse paid than his English brother. As to the latter point I need say nothing, save that Mr. Burnett's figures help to confirm the Socialist view of the general industrial depression all over the world. For the rest, he speaks of the French trades'-unionists as belonging to the Possibilist section of the Socialists, who, I must remind our readers, are the most backward section of the party, being sorely tainted with opportunism, and aiming at mere State Socialism; so that I must assume that the French trades'-unionists, though they may go further in a Socialist direction than the English do, are nevertheless not amongst the most advanced of French workmen. As for the resolutions for which the English delegates refused to vote, it is true, as Mr. Burnett states, that some of the measures they indicate have been in force in England for some time; but the two most important of them are the claims for an international minimum of wages and for a maximum of eight hours for the day's work, which of course have not been touched here. However, Mr. Burnett states that the English delegates would have affirmed their assent to them, "but for the first clause, which required the workmen of the different countries represented to urge their respective governments to open negotiations for the purpose of concluding international conventions and treaties concerning the conditions of labour." Now the neutrality of the English delegates on these terms does seem, as the *Cri du Peuple* calls it, "grotesque," because these resolutions imply the continuance of the present state of things otherwise, and can only be carried into effect by the existing machinery of government; so that to a plain man the meaning of the neutrality seemed to be, "Yes, we agree to these measures, but we do not want to have them carried out."

Of course to us Revolutionary Socialists the resolutions seem no approach to a solution of the labour question; and to try to carry them as an instalment of our claims seems a more than doubtful step, as it is possible that after a long agitation they might be yielded to by the masters, who, though they would then be in a worse position perhaps, would still be the masters; labour would not be emancipated, while the workmen would be "contented" by the concession—i.e., put off from the real issue.

But, also of course, the neutrality of the delegates was not based on this objection: they were not afraid of State Socialism, but of Socialism. Nor, indeed, can we pretend to be surprised that they were not prepared to vote on this point with the other delegates, who were all avowed Socialists of some shade or other. Mr. Burnett's phrase of "the English unions depending for their advancement upon themselves" is a mere phrase, and really means the reverse of what it seems to mean. It means that the English unions are not prepared to accept the responsibilities of freedom, that they are still contented with their position as a check on the masters—a check whose tendency is to ensure the existence of the employing class. But it is clear from Mr. Burnett's article that they are shaken somewhat, as the following quotation from it shows decidedly: "It was felt that with so strong a Socialistic feeling now manifesting itself in England, it was not possible to stand on the high ground of three years ago, as if no such feeling existed."

There is a certain weight in these words, coming from Mr. Burnett, whether we look upon him as "Chief Correspondent to the Labour Bureau of the Board of Trade," or as a trades' union delegate: in both capacities he is bound to be very cautious. We may fairly hope that three years from this time the trades' unions will not be "sitting on the fence," but will be in the lists, and on the right side there.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

The form of Mr. Bradlaugh's question in the House as to the imprisonment of John Williams was rather unlucky, since it allowed the Home Secretary to evade the real point of the extreme harshness of the sentence on both defendants, for Mainwaring's was exactly the same as Williams's. Of course the Home Secretary told the now well-worn falsehood of the absence of discrimination on the part of the police; also he said nothing on that important part of the sentence which binds our comrades over to keep the peace and find a surety for twelve months. If John Williams were to pay the fine, he could not come out of prison until he had satisfied this part of the sentence also. In short, Assistant-Judge Edlin has managed to bamboozle people as to what the sentence really was; and now the Home Secretary is helping him. In any case, the public may rest assured that the sentence was directed against the Socialists because they were Socialists, and for no other reason.

A (PROFIT-SEEKING?) CIVILISER.—Whether this man be honest or not, whether his motive be a high one or base, matters little to the unfortunate victims of his exploiting "improvements":

"The young Maharajah of Manipur is setting to work in earnest to improve his estates and give employment to his subjects. He has imported machinery from England at a cost of over Rs. 55,000, and has established works at Lakhimpur, Cachar, for sawing and preparing timber for building purposes, and for the making of furniture and tea boxes. The valuable forests of Manipur will yield an unlimited supply of timber, and the cost of preparing it for industrial uses will now be greatly reduced. Machinery for working soorky-mills and for paddy-husking has also been added to the resources of the State, and will no doubt bring in a considerable accession of revenue. The young Maharajah is certainly moving in the right direction; and if he continues to show the same intelligent interest in the welfare of his people, he will secure their loyal attachment while adding to the material prosperity of the country."—*Times of India*, Aug. 10.

## THE SONG OF THE WORKERS.

(REMEMBERING THE MARTYRS OF THE COMMUNE.)

We drift along the streets, and hear our masters in their mirth.  
They've slain our friends—our martyrs—but their spirits walk the earth:  
They're moving in a silent realm of service for the race;  
Their voices now are sounding from a hushed and awful place.

They now are calm and patient—they are for us, but can wait;  
They're moving on forever in the silent round of fate—  
Free as the winds and waters—all our earthly wall and bars  
Have crumbled into ashes: they are moving with the stars.

We'll not forget, O comrades, how ye met the ravening hordes—  
How shone out over all the earth the splendour of your swords;  
How they lit up all the Future, all the golden years to be,  
When the burden shall be lifted and the worker shall be free.

We'll remember how ye rallied, faced the ancient Wrong in wrath,  
How your swords that lie in ruins cut the centuries a path.  
We'll not forget your forms that loomed upon the barricades,  
Nor how ye looked from silent eyes when laid asleep with spades.

Yours were the distant voices of the Revolution:—hark!  
What noise is that of hurrying feet that gather in the dark?  
The noise of pale men marshalling! Look! what tremendous Form,  
Looming in outer darkness, throws its shadow on the storm!

It is the Terror marching on before the face of kings—  
The light of hope that falls upon the anvil as it rings—  
The sad and haggard Spectre that begins to hush the feast—  
The Hand reached down to mortals in the furrow with the beast.

More terrible than bugles or the roll of startled drums  
Will be their cry before us when the final battle comes.  
Ring out, O voices, gather from the four winds of the night—  
Ring on as rallying music in the fearful front of fight.

CHARLES EDWIN MARKHAM.

## LITERARY NOTICES.

The *Little Socialist* of Denver, from which the Clerkenwell Branch took its idea of the *Labour Leaf*, has reciprocated the compliment by adapting to the advertisement of the *Labour Enquirer* the leaflet entitled "The Worker's Claims and Public Opinion," originally written by comrade Scheu to advertise the *Commonweal*. This is as it should be: whatsoever is of use for the advancement of our cause should be used by all.—S.

*Essais de Critique* (Giraud, 18, Rue Drouvt, Paris). Under this title, M. Charles Fuster publishes a number of studies of the most striking personalities and ideas in the literature of to-day. The article on "Pessimism and M. Paul Bourget" is one of the best in the book. In it the author discusses the theories of cotemporary pessimism in a spirited manner. M. Fuster defends throughout his book optimism, the dream and the ideal. It is a work of literary reaction, and, what is rare, written by a young man. Seldom has the school been so energetically attacked.

We have received Nos. 3 and 4 of the *Tribune des Peuples* (Paris), which bids fair to be a very useful publication. These numbers contain some well-written popular articles on subjects interesting to Socialists, and a good deal of varied foreign news, of which, indeed, the editors seem to make a special feature in their periodical. We wish our cotemporary all success.—M. M.

*To-Day* for September has two sonnets on "The Depths of the Sea," that, good as they are, are immensely over-matched by the subject with which they attempt to deal. The articles this month are up to the average. A special number has been published, consisting wholly of an instalment of Broadhouse's "Capital."

*Christian Socialist* is, as usual, fairly good reading. An over-zealous correspondent is tacitly rebuked for taking a recent rabid article on "Socialists and Purity" too literally, and is told "There is a high moral tone among its (Socialism's) London advocates as a rule."

*Municipal and State Socialism* (L.P.D.L.) is a reprint of the address delivered by M. Leon Say to the Liberty and Property Defence League. It is principally filled with a glorification of "individual energy and personal responsibility" as against social unity for common good. The international solidarity of the exploiters grows ever more complete—let the toilers take heed.

The Liberty and Property Defence League have also issued a broadsheet translation of M. A. Raffalovich's laudatory description of them, and of their work originally published in the *Journal des Economistes* (Paris). This contains a confession that the League was formed "under the pressure of necessity"—(the rats are being cornered and show fight)—and elsewhere explains: "It is certainly not a disinterested League, actuated by humanitarian motives; its bond is rather the upholding of the grand principle of individual liberty, and the preservation of property intact. Railway companies, shipowners, manufacturers, landowners, have had for some time separate organisations for the protection of their particular interests; these independent associations are grouped around the London League. It is an incontestable fact that these interests are powerful, dispose of large resources, and wield considerable influence in Parliament. Granted they are monopolies," etc., etc. Keep on explaining, and you will lighten our work!—S.

Six thousand tobacco-workers have struck work in Havana, because the employers would not raise their wages. Sixty-eight factories are stopped.

More capitalistic murders are reported this week. At Linkinghorne, near Launceston, a workman and his child were killed by the bursting of an unsafe boiler. Being only a workman he can be replaced at less expense than his employers were willing to go to for a new boiler.—F. H.

"Unreasonable devil! You're twice as well off as your grandfather was!" says the capitalist to the workman. But that isn't the point: the question is, is the workman as well off as he might be and ought to be? And if not, why not?—*Workmen's Advocate*. It is not only the capitalists who talk like this, but men, who imagine themselves to hold advanced opinions and who belong to Radical organisations, sometimes lecture Socialists upon their presumed unreasonableness because they refuse to be bamboozled with such ridiculous comparisons. Editor of *Radical* please note.—T. B.



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance should be attached to them because of the position they may occupy in these pages. None, therefore, are to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s., six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

J. W. B. (Deoghur, Bengal).—We have replied by post. We are always glad to receive letters from all sorts and conditions of men in every country of the world—the more the better.

C. E. MARKHAM.—Many thanks. One used in this issue, others as we find room.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 8.

ENGLAND	NEW SOUTH WALES.	LA CITOYENNE
Justice	Sydney—Bulletin	Guisse—Le Devoir
Freethinker		
Norwich—Daylight	UNITED STATES	BELGIUM
Club and Institute Journal	New York—Volkszeitung	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair
Church Reformer	Freiheit	Liege—L'Avenir
Anti-Sweater	Truthseeker	
Bristol Mercury	Boston—Woman's Journal	SPAIN
Anarchist	Liberty	Madrid—El Socialista
National Review	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Bandera Social
Journal of Vigilance Association	Toledo (O.)—Industrial News	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Practical Socialist	San Francisco (Cal.)—Truth	Barcelona—La Justicia Humana
Radical	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	Acracia
	Cleveland (O.)—Carpenter	HUNGARY
	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
INDIA	Herald	NORWAY
Madras—People's Friend	Evening Journal	Social-Demokraten
Allahabad—People's Budget	Daily News	Kristiania
Bombay—Times of India		SWEDEN
Indian Spectator	FRANCE	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Voice of India	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	PORTUGAL
Calcutta Statesman	Le Socialiste	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
CANADA	Le Revolte	Voz do Operario
Toronto—Labor Reformer		

RECEIVED.—"The Poor's House"—"Where does all the Wealth go?"—"Crime under Socialism"—"Woman's Work."

### MONEY AND MEN.

We can scarcely open a newspaper at present without seeing all the ills of the present time put down to the fall in prices. The daily papers of the 27th ult. report that Mr. Norton, the New South Wales delegate to the Working-men's Congress in Paris, said that in his colony "agriculture could not be said to exist," the landlords being of the same kind as our Irish ones, and that "the position of the working-man was intolerable." In the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the 26th ult. is a picture of "Another Circle of Hell," namely the condition of the pit-women of Belgium, as set forth in the Report of the Belgian Commission of Inquiry into the Material Condition of the Working-classes. The same *Gazette* contains an article by M. Emile de Laveleye on "The Case for Bi-metallism," in which it is stated that one main cause of "the present economic crisis" is the recent disuse of silver for coinage purposes. The meaning of an *economic crisis* is, I think, a state of affairs entailing suffering on some large body of people. The above-cited "intolerable position of the working-man" in New South Wales, and "the Circle of Hell" in Belgium are samples of such suffering, which spreads over the whole commercial world.

M. de Laveleye has studied primitive property and has a reputation for trying in a scientific spirit to get at the real root of things. His article may then perhaps be taken as a scientific statement of the causes of the pressing social evils of the time, and of the remedies which, in the view of commercial magnates, it is possible to apply.

Now the point of the scientific statement is that a fall in prices leads to most dreadful results in a commercial system. Is it seriously believed that the condition of the working-classes, which only varies between being a little less and a little more miserable, has been in the

least caused, or can in any way be affected by "a fall in prices," any very sudden changes being excluded? Judging from the wearisome repetition in the mouths and through the newspaper organs of the governing classes, they do entertain this belief. But if we recollect that many beliefs are based upon people's interests, we naturally ask whether this class-belief has any other foundation.

Arthur Young, writing in 1770, makes a statement, verified by later enquirers, that in the 275 years elapsed since 1495, prices had increased seven-fold, but agricultural wages had only doubled. The scientific statement strongly suggests, though not saying so in so many words, that among "the sad results of a fall in prices" is "a proportionate fall in wages," and the same must be true of a rise. What does such science make of Arthur Young's fact?

Will Political Economical Science be pleased to tell us what is the ideal relation between an ounce of gold or silver and a pound of beef or a sack of wheat? If I go to a professor of Natural Science, he will tell me that if certain definite weights of sulphur, oxygen, etc., be taken, sulphuric acid can be made; that this by acting on copper and zinc to a certain extent, will produce electricity, which can be measured and stated in quantity quite definitely; and finally that the relations between the various weights and quantities are and always have been the same. Does Political Economical Science give us any similar information about its subject matter, and will it tell us why an ounce of gold would buy nearly 1000 lb. of meat in 1495, when its price was about 1d. per lb., but now only about 100 lb.? If the persons who profess this science were to venture to tell out plainly the reason of this, it would give such a shock to their enchanted palace, as would shake it into ruins.

Their answer would tell the world that their measure of value was a thing that itself varied in value from day to day, and that they were like architects using an enchanted foot-rule which though always a foot-rule in appearance, should vary in length day by day from an inch to an ell. The folly, or rather the cruelty of mortgagees, landholders, etc., is extraordinary. They demand a fixed amount of gold every year, without any regard to the amount of labour required to get the gold. Then comes a crisis and farmers and tenants are unable to pay their rents. Is this because they work less, or because the ground is less fruitful? Not a bit of it, but "prices have fallen." In other words, the farmer has to hand over to his landlord a larger share than before of his wheat or barley, has in short to work more for him, until he can work no more. Then comes a chorus of complaint from all the idle classes who live on other's labour; up rise the Professors of the sham Science, and the Apologists of Usury, and put forth scientific excuses for the mess that has been made, or promote Wars which shall develop commerce and set us straight. The scientific statement above alluded to is simply a number of assertions, without any attempt to connect them together into the form of a proof, or even of an argument for establishing some *probable* conclusion. "Coinage is the blood of the social body"—such phrases are simple nonsense. "The production of gold is very inferior to the requirements of the world." Where is the proof? If the production of gold were half of what it is, the labour employed in getting it and other circumstances being unaltered, the principal differences would be that there would be less gilding, and that our "sovereign" would be of about half its present weight. It cannot be said that such changes could constitute a disaster of the intensity prophesied by our commercial wiseacres.

The fact is that their scientific statements show how entirely they walk in grooves, and how cramped their minds have become by the deadly formalism of our money-making society. They have become unable even to grasp the idea of living men acting together under a more rational system, where something very different from "coinage" would be "the blood of the social body," namely, a fellow-feeling over all its members. There would then be no horrible contrasts of the millionaire lolling in his Heaven of idleness, and of starved women grinding out their lives in the Hell of a Belgian or English pit, contrasts which are the necessary results of competitive commerce. Is it because the Professors of Scientific Commercialism regard them as necessary, that they pass them over in silence? If so, they and Socialists are at least agreed on one point, and the question that remains is whether the only conclusion to be drawn is not that a system producing such necessary results, without any corresponding advantage, ought not at once to be swept away.

C. J. FAULKNER.

A visitor at a lunatic asylum made the following observation to the head doctor: "How is it that you venture to risk yourself among all these raving lunatics?" "There is no great courage in what I do. Madmen are veritable anarchists, for one never sees two of them agree upon combined action. One can chastise a lunatic and his neighbour will never dream of defending him. Because they are incapable of uniting themselves in resistance, but few warders are sufficient to control hundreds." Society is an immense asylum: the wage-workers are like the lunatics; as they will not agree to impart solidarity to their efforts, it only needs some thousand police and soldiers to oppress millions of workers.—*Le Socialiste*.

Every toiler in the land contributes more than half the products of his labour to the support of the 50,000 state office-holders, 125,000 federal office-holders, a standing army of 25,000, a navy of 20,000, besides 100,000 ministers, 125,000 lawyers, 150,000 doctors, and innumerable other quacks, to which may be added half a million retired usurers and speculators. The farmer gives these idlers his best veal, beef, wheat, and mutton, while he has left the heads, plucks, and middlings. The coal miner gives them the best coal while he burns screenings; the gold digger gives them the best metal, while he wears brass; the weaver gives them the silks and laces, while she wears the five-cent print; the tailor gives them the best broad-cloth, while he wears shoddy. Thus it is with everything. The drones live on the fat of the land.—*Industrial News*.



## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

## CHAPTER XI.

## REACTION AND REVOLUTION ON THE CONTINENT.

WHEN the great war which Napoleon waged against Europe came to an end by his defeat and ruin, France was once more handed over to the Bourbons, and Europe fell into the arms of reaction and sheer absolutism. The Holy Alliance, or union of reactionary monarchs, undertook the enterprise of crushing out all popular feeling, or even anything that could be supposed to represent it in the persons of the bourgeois.

But the French Revolution had shaken absolutism too sorely for this enterprise to have more than a very partial success even on the surface. The power of absolutism was undermined by various revolutionary societies, mostly (so-called) secret, which attracted to them a great body of sympathy, and in consequence seemed far more numerous and immediately dangerous than they really were. Still there was a great mass of discontent, mostly political in character, and by no means confined to the poorer classes.

This discontent went on gathering head, till in 1830, and again in 1848, it exploded into open revolt against absolutism all over Europe. This revolt, we must repeat, was in the main a mere counter-stroke to the reaction which was diligently striving to restore the aristocratic privilege which the French Revolution had abolished, and to sustain what of it had escaped its attack. In 1830 the revolt was purely bourgeois in character, and was in no sense social, but, as above said, political. In 1848 it had in some places a strong infusion of the proletarian element, which however was dominated by middle-class patriotism and ideas which led to the assertion and consolidation of nationalities. But a new element was present in these latter revolutionary movements, though at first it did not seem to influence their action much. This was the first appearance in politics of modern or scientific Socialism, in the shape of the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, first published in 1847. The rise and development of this phase will be dealt with in detail further on; at present we can do no more than call attention to the steady and continuous influence of this last-born Socialism, compared with the rapid extinction of Babeuf's propaganda, although he had a numerous body of adherents; since this fact marks a very great advance in opinion since the end of the eighteenth century.

The general effect, however, at least as seen openly, of these insurrections was little more than the shaking of absolutism and the supplanting it in various degrees by middle-class constitutionalism; and also, as aforesaid, an added impulse to the consolidation of nationalities, which later on produced the unification of Italy and of Germany, and the assertion of the independence of the Hungarian nationality.

In France the outward effects of the insurrection were most obvious and lasted the longest; but the bourgeois republic which took the place of Louis Philippe's corrupt constitutional monarchy asserted itself tyrannically enough against the proletariat, and in consequence had no strength left to meet the political adventurer Louis Napoleon, whose plot against the republic received just as much resistance as gave him an excuse for the massacre of 4th of December 1851, by means of which he terrorised France for many years; although as to numbers it was quite insignificant compared with those which followed the taking of Paris by the bourgeois troops at the time of the fall of the Commune in 1871.

This successful stroke had really no relation to any foregoing reactionary dictatorship. It even professed to be founded on democratic feeling, though as a matter of fact it was the expression of the non-political side of bourgeois life—the social and commercial side—the ideal of the shopkeeper grown weary of revolutions and anxious to be let alone to make money and enjoy himself vulgarly. Accordingly France settled down into a period of "law and order," characterised by the most shameless corruption and repulsive vulgarity. She got at last into full swing of the rule of successful stock-jobbery which had already been established in England, and carried it on with less hypocrisy than ourselves, but perhaps with more open blackguardism.

To sustain this régime various showy military enterprises were undertaken, some of which it was attempted to invest with a kind of democratic sentiment. It was also of some importance to make at least a show of giving employment to the working classes of France. This principally took the form of the rebuilding of Paris and the restoration, or vulgarisation, of the mediæval cathedrals and public buildings, in which France is richer than any other country; so that this apotheosis of middle-class vulgarity has left abiding tokens of its presence in a loss which can never be repaired. But in spite of this militarism and the attempt to gain the support of the proletarians by gifts of "bread and pageants," discontent of various kinds sprang up and steadily increased. Moreover, the new birth of Socialism was beginning to bear fruits; the Communistic propaganda got firm hold of the city proletariat of France. Socialism was steadily preached in Paris at La Villette and Belleville, which latter, originally laid out and built upon as an elegant suburb for rich bourgeois, proved a failure, and became a purely workman's quarter in consequence.

While all this was going on underground as it were, the Cæsarism of the stock-exchange was also beginning to get the worst of it in the game of statecraft; and at last the results of the consolidation of nationalities which was the chief aim of the bourgeois revolt became obvious in the revival of the old animosities between Germany and France. Bismarck, who had become the attorney-dictator of Germany,

had got to know the weakness of the showy empire of Louis Napoleon, and had a well warranted confidence in that carefully elaborated machine the German army. He laid a trap for the French Cæsar, who fell into it, perhaps not blindly, but rather driven by a kind of gambler's last hope, akin to despair.

A great race war followed, the natural and inevitable outcome of which was the hopeless defeat of the French army, led as it was by mere selfseekers and corrupt scoundrels, most of whom lacked even that lowest form of honour which makes a Dugald Dalgetty faithful to the colours under which he marches. The Second Empire was swept away. The new Republic proclaimed after the collapse at Sedan still kept up a hopeless resistance to the unbroken strength of Germany—hopeless, since the corruption of the Empire still lived on in the bourgeois republic, as typified in the person of the political gamester Gambetta. Paris was besieged, and taken after a long resistance, which reflected infinite credit on the general population, who bore the misery of the siege with prodigious patience and courage; but no less disgrace on those who pretended to organise its defence, but who were really far more inclined to hand over the city to the Germans than allow it to gain a victory under the auspices of the revolution.

All this must be looked upon by us as Socialists as merely the prelude to the great drama of the Commune, whose aims and influence will form the subject of another chapter.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## INTERNATIONALISM.

As the references to the starting of various associations in "Socialism from the Root-up" are necessarily brief, I desire as one who took a part in bringing together English and foreign workers, to supplement them. If we select the period immediately subsequent to the death of Robert Owen, we look upon a gloomy phase of working-class history. Remnants of the great Chartist and Socialistic agitations were following upon divergent roads the lead of Bronterre O'Brien and Ernest Jones; the former attacking the evils of landlordism, usury, and profit, and proposing what might be termed a mixture of Individualism and Socialism as a remedy, and the latter seeking through political Parliamentary means to alleviate social ills. Away from these sincere men was a mass of what may be termed the disbanded army of Chartist workers, men who probably were never sincere in their temporary adhesion to the great principles put forward during the previous great agitations, and now sought their own aggrandisement at the expense of the people's Cause. All sorts of middle-class humbug was upheld and preached by these renegades—Thrift, Emigration, National Insurance, and Malthusianism—a host of bogus associations sprang into existence for these several objects, and one or two middle-class saviours of Society became general banker and treasurer to the whole; our old friend Samuel Morley might consider this a personal reference. How these fellows scrambled for the middle-class gold thrown amidst them! How they belittled the great principles which they had formerly professed, and derided the enthusiasm of young men who sought to carry these principles forward, is well known to many who have pioneered the present Socialist revival.

The birth of the International was a gleam of hope for the workers, but even upon that body they intruded their presence; sleek trade unionists, who only believe in a corrupt aristocracy of labour and the "rights of those who can get them," irrespective of those who are entitled to them, joined with the aforesaid middle-class hacks in an hypocritical make-believe of adopting the economic theories of Marx and the principles of universal emancipation. But whilst the English delegates were playing a rôle, the "foreigners" were in earnest, and the Commune was proclaimed in Paris. It acted as a solvent upon these members of the British Federation, and they hastened to assure their patrons that they had no sympathy with violence, and a few belonging to that curious combination known as the Workmen's Peace Party, chief product of benefactor Morley, went to Paris and wept crocodile's tears over the effigy of the executed Archbishop of Paris, and thus added insult to the injuries endured by the martyr Parisian people in striving to prevent the re-imposition of the shackles of Capitalism. Favourable mention must be made of those members of the Federation who did honour to the heroism of the Parisian workers, but their enthusiasm could not withstand the dull apathy and hostility of the masses—apathy in a large degree due to the spectacle of apostasy presented to them. Their expiring effort was the formation of a club in 1873, which, however, was short-lived, and the earlier celebrations of the Communist uprising as a consequence were almost confined to foreigners resident in London. The persistent efforts of the London refugees to establish relations with English workmen resulted in a meeting of English, French, and Germans in August, 1877, whereat a resolution was agreed to form an International Club, and a few months saw its inauguration at Rose Street, Soho. I might record that they had previously rendered generous service to the English Trades' Unionists by causing the return of a large number of German masons, who, through the misrepresentation of the employers, were inveigled over here during the famous masons' strike. Their efforts were rewarded by the somewhat Internationalist Broadhurst rushing into print to deny that the International had any hand in the business. The passing of the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany crowded the ranks with exiles, and clearly demonstrated the futility of lawful agitation against despotism. The sudden strain of supporting a mass of expatriated men, women, and children was immense, but it was met and overcome. Suffice it to say that outside of the few Englishmen comprising the English section, not one penny of help did we receive. The Englishmen in association with this club now commenced attacks upon the cant and humbug which the enemies of progress were indulging in. Anti-Emigration meetings were held, whereat resolutions were passed denouncing the monopolists and their tactics, and the unemployed were stirred to resist the process of slow starvation. The execution of the Czar, and the prosecution of Most for commenting upon this event in the German *Freiheit*, together with the publication by the English section of a manifesto and English edition of the *Freiheit*, drew general attention to the principles of

Socialism, and vastly aided their propagation. In this light we might almost view ex-Home Secretary Harcourt as the putative father of the present marvellous growth of our movement.

The initial meetings of the Social Democratic Federation were held at this revolutionary and by that time Anarchist club, and although it may be very inconsiderate of me to note this fact, as affecting the origin of those who are not only painfully anxious to be considered a "purely English party," but also as the sole custodians of correct Socialist principles, to whom all others are "but their pupils and offshoots," (*vide Justice*), yet the truth must out. The Germans, having by bitter experience been cured of Parliamentarianism, the New English Party started with it, with what success the logic of events may prove, but there were a few inside and outside of the new party who would not wholly commit themselves to it on account of its Jingo Nationalism, and still preserved their organisation intact, and to these are due the thousands of Socialistic pamphlets, leaflets, and manifestos in circulation over the country, the wherefrom of which has seriously troubled our "masters."

The foundation of the "Radical," by S. Bennett, and the efforts of the Anti-Coercion Association to prevent coercion in Ireland, was also contributory to the birth of the "only English Party." In connection with Gladstone's ill-starred coercive policy, there are one or two facts which show curiously how English opinion is manufactured. Four trusty henchmen met over a friendly glass and determined to go to the aid of the Grand Old Man, and forthwith there was launched into existence the "Radical" League in support of the policy of her Majesty's Government towards Ireland. One of the four, a reporter, under a cloud for reporting an execution that never took place, had to work his "copy" through another hand, and the morning papers contained lengthy reports of the speeches which this precious gang made to one another, and Irishmen were exasperated by what appeared to be an influential combination against them. One of the historic four I see was among the seven who pretended to represent the English working-class at the late International Trades' Congress, and as "a fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind," he, of course, "warmly protested" against the attack made upon his fellow-Coercionist—Broadhurst by the German delegate. The game of representation which he and others have played for so many years, and the formation of bogus political associations chiefly around the neighbourhood of Clerkenwell, is now doomed by the advance of Socialism. Whilst in reality they have only represented a narrow clique in a special craft, as another delegate truly told them, the Aristocracy of Labour, they have presumed on all occasions to speak in the name of the great mass of the English workers, a position for which they have as much right to as the man in the moon. To talk of German competition whilst Englishmen are forcing their goods upon millions of people at the point of the bayonet, is like pot calling the kettle black, and is a stupid and mischievous contribution to the discussion of Social Economics.

The toilers and moilers in the sweltering back slums of our cities and towns, who get their hand-to-mouth existence in ways that Burnett and Co. neither wot of nor care about, and even the over-worked unionist who sees his combination powerless to repress the growing power of Capitalism, and only useful in saving the pockets of the exploiters from poor rates, and to increase the cost of living and rent to himself and others, may well question whether the Socialist or the *paid* Union Delegate best represents the full interest of Labour.

Mr. Burnett's sneer as to the fact of his being able to speak without fear of imprisonment falls flat, for he and his fellows would run no risk of imprisonment, even in despotic Germany, for acting gratuitously as relieving officers for the middle-class. But if, instead of talking cant, he fought the true battle of Labour with Monopoly, he might find himself fined or imprisoned even in "dear" Albion—Mainwaring and Williams to wit. However, he and his *confrères* have their reward. That slimy product of our modern capitalist system, viz., the anonymous scribbler of the Hebrew Money-jobber Daily Press, belauds them, and this, together with the small jobs which their close friends the Parliamentary Whigs are sure to give them, will constitute a sufficient recompense for the trials and tribulations endured at the Congress.

The German delegates' references to the Conservatism and indifference of the English workers to the root question of whether Labour shall be the slave or the master in Society are particularly true, and whilst we must regret that the present Socialist upheaval is more due to the failure of English Capitalism to still afford wages to its slaves than to spontaneous generous impulse on the part of the workers, we know that the movement now growing will not recede, and that the glorious band of men and women who dreamed dreams of Universal Freedom, and fought and died for their realisation, will receive just recognition by the establishment of an International Federation of the wealth producers.

FRANK KITZ.

#### "CAPITALISTIC ADVANTAGES OF VEGETARIANISM."

In the article on the above subject in the *Commonweal* for Aug. 28, an attack is made on vegetarians which to me is unjustifiable from a Socialistic point of view. The writer says it is "the vegetarian capitalist circular setting forth the advantages to be derived, both morally and monetarily from a vegetarian diet." And why should not this be what the writer says it is? This sneering style of writing in a Socialist journal is not calculated to advance the cause for which we are working; because, first, is it not a fact that vegetarians are as a rule thoughtful people, and is it not this class which it will be an advantage for Socialists to enlist under their banner? Second, is it not a fact that the majority of working men waste a large proportion of their hard-earned wages on eatables and drinkables which are not only worthless but positively injurious to them? Third, is it not a fact that working men can keep the body in a proper condition to perform their daily labour on a vegetarian diet? Having had five years' experience, my testimony ought to have some weight. Fourth, is it not the duty of every wage-earner to study how to lay out the money he works so hard for in the most advantageous manner? It is thought so; and I adopt the practice because there is an old saying that practice is better than precept.

It is all very well to rail at capitalists, and as a rule they are selfish and cruel oppressors of the masses; but what of the workers? Can we honestly and truthfully say they are what we wish them to be? The answer must be, they are not. The writer says by a cheaper diet they—the masses—may save a little *if they are very economical*. Would it not be better for them if economy was more extensively considered and practised in their daily lives? The writer of the article makes this quotation: "He who would be free, himself must strike the blow." That in this case is quite true; but the blow must be struck near home, and at some of the vicious habits which workers have contracted, before they will be in a position to enter fairly into a war

with the capitalist of this country. And it will be well for our fellow-workers to consider what are the conditions necessary to success when an army enters the field against an enemy. Why, that they have healthy bodies, that the organisation under which they fight shall be as near perfect as possible, and that they be commanded by able and skilful generals. Is this the case as regards the workers to-day? I fear not; and the workers' true friends are those who point out in what they are deficient. The capitalists have the advantage of the workers in all the particular points put forth; and though the workers outnumber them by ten to one, they are powerless to materially alter the existing state of things while they are merely dependents.

PHILIP R. DOMONEY.

Southampton.

#### "RIOTS AND REVOLUTION."

"Russian Anarchist" has proffered in your columns of Aug. 28 some remarks which, alas! are anything but superfluous. Among the curses of so-called constitutional (*i.e.*, hyper-commercial) countries the disposition to truckle to law and order takes the place of honour. How the bourgeoisie can be expected to hand over their "rights" and privileges to the mere force of moral suasion is only known to peace-preaching Socialists. Surely by this time we ought to comprehend that so long as the workers only *demand* their rights the capitalists will simply commiserate with and pray for them, perhaps sending round the hat for the purpose of flinging a few bones to the hungry dogs outside, and then philosophise upon the superior humanity of latter-day civilisation. This infamous farce would be ludicrous were it not effective; but effective it is, at least with our countrymen of the "tight little island." Through persecution, therefore, we learn to see the bourgeois jackal in all his native ugliness—a sight to be commended to all weak-kneed Socialists. In England the flimsy sham of freedom has hitherto sufficed to confine the malcontents within the bounds of moderation. In Germany (as I have noticed since my sojourn here) the "Arbeiter" understands perfectly well the economical chess-board, and will give small quarter to King Capitalist when once he succeeds in mating him. I can only say with your correspondent that I consider riots as of incalculable moral value as preparative measures, habituating as they do the people to measure their strength with the hirelings of their "betters," and destroying that fatal prestige which the law enjoys with the superstitious. This the shrewder capitalists are well aware of—*vide* the journalistic Billingsgate on the occasion of the London riots, and the moderate and matter-of-fact language used with regard to the Belfast scrimmages, where blood has flowed freely, but wherein the Social-Revolutionary element was unsuspected. The gulf between exploiters and exploited is an impassable one: *verb. sap.*

K. L. L.

Hamburg, Sept. 2.

### INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES.

#### FRANCE.

PARIS.—In the XIII Arrondissement there has been a strike of women at a corset-maker's atelier. This man employs 150 women who earn 8 to 12 francs a-week. Finding this wage too dazzlingly large, he made a new regulation which still further reduced it 20 per cent., requiring the workers to sign this on their entrance to the workshop as a *sine qua non*. Most of them naturally refused to accept such a condition, and have struck.

VIERZON.—The municipality of Vierzon-Ville have been quarrelling among themselves in a very edifying manner, the mayor and the opportunist members of the Council reproaching each other for the reprehensible action taken in summoning troops in aid of the "Société Française." In short, they are a little bit uneasy, seeing that the strike has assumed an important aspect, the strikers having popular opinion and sympathy with them. The authorities who permitted military assistance to be sent in against so peaceable and dignified a set of strikers might well begin to feel, as they look, somewhat foolish.

AMPLEPUIS.—A correspondent of the *Cri du Peuple* writes: "The firm of Villy, after having acquired an immense fortune, finds that this is not enough; they must reduce their workers to a state of misery. Is it not the way to obtain this result, to give them a wage of 1 franc a-day while exacting 12 hours' work for the same? What can the father of a family do with such a sum? We have been striving since the 16th June to lead our exploiters to recognise that the proletaire is not a labour-producing machine, and that he too has necessities of life. In sustaining our own cause, we sustain that of all our brothers."

RONCHAMP.—M. Rondet, secretary of the Federation of Saint-Etienne is at Ronchamp working among the miners towards the formation of an association of workers. The strike here caused much alarm to the mining company, and the prefect and commandant of the gendarmerie have remained in the district awaiting the outburst of a general strike, while cavalry and infantry have been held in readiness at Belfort. The overseers had forbidden the miners to assist at any meetings, but uselessly, for when Rondet arrived on the scene several meetings were largely attended, the audience openly defying the gendarmes.

"If they (the masters) agree together to force us to be idle, so much the better! Let us take them at their word. A universal strike! But instead of coming one after the other, let us strike all at once, the same day! The Aventine of Labour. . . . Let Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, Marseilles, all the great centres of national work give at the same moment the signal for a universal strike. Let the French workers cross their arms for only twenty-four hours and they will conquer, without a wound, without one drop of blood, one tear. There is no prison large enough to contain a People! The Social Revolution will be effected."—FELIX PYAT in *Cri du Peuple*.

#### SPAIN.

BARCELONA.—There has been some disturbance in the air at Barcelona for some time; a large strike of masons has lately taken place, and the authorities of the town have been taking military precautions in expectation of possible rioting.

An important meeting will be held here on the 8th September, consisting of representatives of the different departments of the woollen industry of the district. They purpose enquiring into the question of wages and organising some resistance to the prejudicial tariff of the capitalists.

BILBOA.—A correspondent of *El Socialista* writes: "It is sufficient here for a workman to be known to hold Socialistic and anti-religious opinions for him to be dismissed from workshop or factory. The authorities play shamelessly into the hands of the masters. It is now five months that the rules of working-men's societies have been detained by the Municipal Government awaiting their final approval and sanction. The local mandarins have a special law, it would seem, to interpret the right of association; as a proof thereof it is sufficient to know that a little time back Señor Pirala said that "they would approve of any such society, not being in existence for the purpose of organising strikes; if the contrary, they could not pass the rules." In short, the obstacles to the right of association are of such a nature that it is impossible for a workman's organisation to exist legally. The result is that the solidarity amongst the workers is nowhere sufficient to enable them to break the chains that enslave them and subject them to the "organisers of labour."

MADRID.—The numbers of the Labour Party increase day by day. The wage-workers of the capital who are the victims of as overwhelming an exploitation as their fellows in other parts, and who perhaps feel the severity of the economical crisis here more intensely than elsewhere, begin to see clearly that the only way to obtain their complete emancipation is to unite and take action as a definite party.

CASTELLON.—The Typographical Society still holds on the strike in Armentgot's establishment, though the latter, unable to find workers to replace the strikers, is offering a certain reduction of the working-day and a rise in the wages.

### BELGIUM.

GHEENT.—Ansele, the editor of the *Vooruit*, has just given himself up at the prison of this town to undergo his term of imprisonment. Several hundred workmen and women were at the gates of the prison awaiting his arrival, and cheered him loudly on his entrance.

VERVIERS.—300 navvies on the railway at Lambloux, near Verviers, have left off work on hearing that a reduction of wages was intended. Several brigades of gendarmerie have been sent to the spot.

LIEGE.—"The depositions made by the workers before the Commission of Inquiry has produced a deep impression throughout the country. The frightful misery of the wage-workers, the inhuman way in which the great majority of them are treated in the capitalist *bagnios*, where they in truth undergo the punishment of 'hard labour,' the numberless abuses of all sorts of which they are victims, all this clearly shows those among the bourgeoisie who think and reflect, that Belgium is not exactly a country of Cocaigne—as is so often falsely said in official harangues and hymns of praise—and to better the condition of the Belgian worker is an urgent necessity." I quote from *L'Avenir* (Liège), which goes on to give a full account of the result of the Commission of Inquiry. Among the witnesses taken from the iron foundries of the district, most of them demanded the total abolition of child-labour under the present conditions, in the last degree degrading and demoralising, as they say; and some of them demand the abolition of woman's labour. One witness said that the women in the foundry where he was, often worked all day up to their thighs in water, their wage being 70 to 80 centimes. Several officials and police-inspectors were examined, and gave the same dismal account of the lives of the miners. The huddling of families in one room (because the workmen's dwellings, so thoughtfully built for their benefit, are beyond their means), the miserable households—to call them by so grand a name—the dependence on the shops that sell on credit up to a certain time, and then "Pay or be off with you!", the debauchery and degradation—all this is, not a "twice-told tale," but a thousand-times told tale, "vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man." The dull ear will have to quicken its sense if the securely-sleeping bourgeois would not be suddenly aroused by the murmurs which, as yet, he hears only vaguely through his slumbers.

A large demonstration of miners and ironworkers was held at Motherwell on Saturday last, some 20,000 workers being present. Resolutions were passed denouncing the truck system still prevalent in Scotland, and the exactions of mining royalties. Messrs. Bradlaugh, Stephen Mason, and Donald Crawford, M.P.'s, spoke to the resolutions, their speeches being commonplace appeals for Whiggish reform. Several of the working-men, however, made vigorous and even Socialistic speeches, and it was quite evident from the applause with which the most extreme sentiments were received, that the miners are far ahead of their political patrons.

"Every night crowds of people are huddled together on the seats along the Thames Embankment and on the waste ground near Blackfriars Bridge." Such was the statement of the police at the Mansion House Police Court on Tuesday, August 31. Sir Andrew Lusk said it was scandalous that in the richest city of the richest country of the world so many persons should be wandering homeless and destitute. I beg his worship's pardon; he did not say that. He said it was scandalous that the authorities took no notice of the complaints about the state of the Embankment. The Alderman apparently would like these miserable outcasts to be driven from their present sleeping places to some spot where they would not offend the eye of comfortable respectability. Does Sir Andrew ever reflect that wealthy aldermen and homeless vagrants are produced under the same social system, and that the police are powerless to reform either body.—*Club and Institute Journal*.

The British Association have been debating on co-operation, and one of the speakers made a statement, in opposition to which I should like to place my small experience. He said that Socialist agitators had been unable to make any head-way in Lancashire because co-operation had turned so many of the workers into little capitalists. Doubtless, in this case "the wish was father to the thought." I only remember to have been once opposed by a co-operator specially on the question of co-operation, and that was near Oldham, where to my surprise more than one co-operator got up and said that our system had been tried and had proved anything but satisfactory. I found that he had taken Socialism to be another form of joint-stock company, such as those which pass under the name of co-operation, and that they had already begun to see the weak places in that system. Doubtless, many of the more thoughtful men, who if free would have come and worked with us, are too much taken up with co-operation even to give us a hearing, but I feel sure that the experience which they will get of the evils arising out of our competitive form of industry in their attempts at joint-stock production, will speak to them in favour of Socialism more eloquently than the best of our lecturers.—R. U.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

### Executive.

At their weekly meeting on Monday September 6, the Council unanimously voted: "That the Council of the Socialist League has full confidence in the good faith and loyalty to the Cause of our comrade Victor Dave, and supports him against the malicious attack made against him in the *Anarchist*." H. Graham was selected to fill vacancy in Council caused by resignation of Mowbray.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Croydon, to May 31. Clerkenwell, Mile-end, North London, to June 30. Bloomsbury, Dublin, Hackney, Hammersmith, to July 31. Bradford, Birmingham, Leeds, Merton, Norwich, to August 31. Manchester, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Marylebone, Oxford, to September 30. Branches not mentioned here have not paid to date, and some are months in arrears. This laxity on the part of Branches is one of the greatest hindrances to the propaganda of the League.—P. W.

### BRANCH REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, September 3, at 49, Tottenham Street, W., a very successful business meeting was held. We decided to give at least 5s. per week to the *Commonweal* fund. We mean to discontinue the usual weekly public meeting, and hold instead one every month, but members are asked to attend with their friends at the Communistic Club, 49, Tottenham Street, W., on Friday nights to enjoy a social chat on some subject appertaining to Socialism. P. Webb will open the discussion next week.—W. A. C.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, September 1, D. Nicoll lectured on "The Benevolent Bourgeois;" good discussion followed.—On Sunday, September 5, we held an excellent meeting on the Green, of an hour's duration, addressed by Blundell, Chambers, and Somerville, after which we invited sympathisers and inquirers to come and listen to an indoor lecture by H. Davis on "The Modern Trinity." Some hundred or more followed us to the hall to the tune of the Marseillaise, and comrade Davis had a large audience. The lecturer dealt with rent, interest, and profit, and showed the immorality of this modern Trinity; altogether friends found the lecture quite interesting and profitable; a brisk discussion followed. Sale of literature has improved. One new member made, and several this week have promised to join. Collected for Defence Fund: Wednesday, 1s. 10d.; Sunday, 3s. 0½d.—W. B.

CROYDON.—On Sunday morning, September 5, D. J. Nicoll spoke at our open-air station, Cross Roads, Canterbury Road, to a highly interested audience. In the evening he lectured on "The Benevolent Bourgeois," and his amusing discourse was much appreciated by those present.—A. F.

MARYLEBONE.—On Sunday morning, we had a very successful meeting at the corner of Salisbury Street, addressed by comrades Arnold and Henderson. We succeeded in keeping the footway pretty clear, and were not interfered with. In the afternoon we held our usual meeting in Hyde Park, at which Henderson, Chambers, and members of the Branch spoke; 1s. 1½d. was collected for the Defence Fund.—H. G. A., sec.

MILE-END.—On Tuesday, August 31, we met at our Branch-room, "East London United Radical Club," 143, Mile-end Road, for the purpose of holding our last meeting there, as we had notice to quit the hall after that date, when, to our surprise, we found all the chairs, forms, and tables placed on the platform in an ungainly heap, the floor of the hall swamped with water, rendering it entirely unfit for carrying on a meeting. T. E. Wardle was the lecturer appointed, and was already awaiting to be summoned to the hall. Under the circumstances, however, we decided to carry on our meeting on the Waste, as it would take some time to make the hall ready. Comrade Wardle then addressed a very large meeting on the Waste on the general question of Socialism, which was well received by the majority of those present; some slight opposition was offered by a bystander, who declined to address the meeting from the platform; his questions were answered to the satisfaction of the audience. Some pamphlets were sold at the end of the meeting. We are again without a place to meet in, which means practically that we are, as a Branch, disorganised; I therefore appeal to our Socialist friends in the district to keep on the alert for a suitable place to hold our meetings in for the approaching winter.—H. DAVIS.

MERTON.—Last Sunday, F. Kitz spoke to a large crowd gathered on Mitcham Fair Green, and a contingent of working-men came over from Streatham to assist. They listened attentively to a lecture on the history of the "Rise and Progress of English Manufactures," and the institution of the Poor Law as a reward to the workers for their industry. The chief inventions were the result of working-men's inventive genius. The capitalist horde of stock-jobbers and share mongers had seized upon the inventions of Stephenson, Arkwright, and Hargreaves, and built up colossal fortunes out of the over-work of men, women, and children. The lecturer concluded with an exposition of the principles of Socialism. 22 *Commonweals* sold, and several promises of adhesion given in. We purpose forming a Branch in the neighbourhood.—F. Kitz.

NORTH LONDON.—The usual meeting was held by Chambers at Ossulton Street on Tuesday, and was followed by some discussion. Sale of literature fair.—At Harrow Road, a most successful meeting was addressed by Henderson and Wardle. Although the meeting was as large, if not larger than usual, no police interference occurred, and the audience was most favourable.—The Sunday morning meeting at Regent's Park was addressed by Cantwell, Beckett, Mainwaring, and Wardle. The Branch is making good progress.—F. H., sec.

DUBLIN.—At a meeting held on Sunday, September 5, it was resolved to form a committee for the purpose of establishing an International Club, the objects of which are to be the promotion of solidarity among the persons of various nationalities residing in Dublin and the establishing of the Socialist movement upon a firmer basis. Membership will be open to all persons of advanced opinion, Radicals, Democrats, Secularists, etc. Our temporary address is 50, Dawson Street, where we shall be glad to see all *bond fide* enquirers and sympathisers, and where all subscriptions, presents of books and papers, etc., will be thankfully received. Several of our members are assisting in the formation of the Saturday Club for the coming season. All friends of progress, lovers of free speech and free discussion, no matter what their political creed, should support this useful club. We are in hopes of being able to push a very effective propaganda here this winter.—K.

GLASGOW.—Owing to unfavourable weather our outdoor meetings had mostly to be abandoned last week. On Saturday, a band of our members went to Motherwell, where a large demonstration of miners and ironworkers was being held. The attraction of M.P.'s, brass bands, and holiday exuberance, however, militated against the efforts of our comrades, and but little propaganda work was done.—On Sunday evening in our Rooms, 84, John Street, owing to Mavor being out of town there was no lecture, but an interesting discussion on "Socialism and Politics," took place.—J. B. G.

HULL.—On Tuesday, August 31, Kropotkin's 'Appeal to the Young' was read by Mrs. Teesdale. The simple and eloquent style of the address was much appreciated by the audience. J. L. Mahon afterwards spoke on the Free Speech struggle, and a collection was made towards paying Mainwaring's fine.—E. T.

LEEDS.—We held our usual open-air meeting on Hunslet Moor on Sunday morning. Comrade Maguire spoke to a large and attentive audience on the



conduct of the English delegates at the Paris Congress, and showed that English workmen could hope for nothing from their so-called leaders and representatives; that their only thought was how quickly to get out of the ranks of the workers into those of the idlers. Comrade Hunter, an old trades-unionist, who followed, said that although trades' unions may have done good work in the past, they would not be able to raise the workers from the depths to which they had fallen, and that the only hope for the workers was through Socialism. The audience took the points well, and when we left they were discussing the question in groups. Sale of *Commonweal* two quires.—We have not yet got a meeting room, and have to transact the Branch business in a comrade's house kindly lent for that purpose, but we are endeavouring to procure a room for the coming winter.

MANCHESTER.—On Sunday morning, a very good open-air meeting was held on the brick-field, Ashton Old Road. Unwin spoke of the robbery of labour by landlord and capitalist; comrade Prince followed with a very good speech, in which he dwelt on the international character of our movement. Our able salesman, comrade Cadle, disposed of a quire of *Commonweals*. Two or three promised to come up to the club-room and join.—R. U.

NORWICH.—No meeting Sunday morning on account of rain, but we held two very successful meetings, one in the Market Place at three o'clock, also one on St. Martin's Palace Plain at 7.15 p.m. Speakers were comrades Mowbray and Thixton of Lowestoft, who was over on a visit to our Branch. The audiences in both cases were very sympathetic, a few questions being asked which were satisfactorily replied to. The enquiries about Socialism being so earnest and numerous, we have no doubt when our comrades Morris and Sparling come to Norwich they will be gratified to find that Socialism has made some little progress here.—T. M., joint sec.

INTERNATIONAL WORKING-MEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB, 40, Berner Street, Commercial Road, E.—The following resolution was passed unanimously at the weekly meeting of the members of the above club on Saturday, September 4:—“Considering that the American Government pronounced a sentence of death, which means eightfold murder, on our Chicago comrades, although the only crime proved during the whole infamous trial was their sympathising with the oppressed, therefore be it resolved, that we express our utmost abhorrence against the American legal murderers; furthermore, we appeal to the workers of all countries to heed such bloody deeds of the capitalistic tyranny, and call upon them to combine for bringing about speedily the Social Revolution which alone will put an end to such base and murderous deeds, and will secure happiness and harmony for the whole of Humanity.”—W. W., sec.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communitic Club, 49 Tottenham Street, W. Friday September 10, at 8 p.m. P. Webb on “Foreigners in English Socialism.”  
**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday September 12, at 7.30 p.m. H. Charles, “The Dawn of Happiness.” Wednesday 15, at 8.30. William Morris, “Education.”  
**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7.30 p.m. H. A. Barker on “The Poor's House.”  
**Dublin.**—50 Dawson Street. Every Sunday at 11.30 a.m.  
**Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every alternate Tuesday at 9, for the enrolment of members and other business.  
**Hammersmith.**—26, Upper Mall, W. Sunday, at 8 p.m., A. K. Donald.  
**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday at 7.45 p.m.  
**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.  
**North London.**—32 Camden Road. Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m.

### Country Branches.

**Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.  
**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.  
**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. On Saturday afternoon, September 11, open-air meeting at Rutherglen (near Town Hall) at 5 p.m.—On Sunday afternoon, at 4.30, open-air meeting on Glasgow Green.—At 7 p.m., in our Rooms, a lecture on “Mr. Bradlaugh's Criticism of Socialism,” by J. Bruce Glasier.—On Monday evening open-air meeting at Parkhead Cross.—On Friday evening open-air meeting at Govan (Cross).  
**Hull.**—Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street. Every Tuesday at 8 p.m. September 14. E. Teesdale, “The Times of Wat Tyler.”  
**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 8 p.m. On Monday evening, September 27, William Morris will lecture in the Ardwick Temperance Hall, Pin Mill Brow, Ashton Old Road. All our members are urged to muster on Saturday evening, September 25, to meet comrade Morris in our club room.  
**Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Monday at 8. Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.  
**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.  
**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

### LONDON.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 11.	Harrow Road (“P. of Wales”)	8	T. E. Wardle	N. London.
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7	H. H. Sparling	Clerkenwell.
S. 12.	Croydon—Cross Roads,	11	H. A. Barker	Croydon.
	Canterbury Road			
	Marylebone—corner of Salis-	11.30	The Branch	Marylebone.
	bury St. and Church St.			
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	J. Lane	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—Beacon Rd.	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	W. C. Wade	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	Somerville	Mile-end.
	Mitcham Fair Green	11.30	H. H. Sparling	Merton.
	Regent's Park	11.30	D. J. Nicoll	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	Chambers (Debate)	Bloomsbury.
	Walham Green, opposite Station	11.30	Tochatti	Hammersmith.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30	Henderson	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	Mainwaring	Hackney.
	Clerkenwell Green	7	W. Chambers	Clerkenwell.
Tu. 14.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7	The Branch	N. London.
	Mile-end Waste	8	The Branch	Mile-end.
	Soho—Broad Street	8	The Branch	Bloomsbury.
W. 15.	London Fields—Broadway,	8.30	H. H. Sparling	Hackney.
	opposite “Sir Walter Scott”			
Th. 16.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	H. Davis	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	8.30	H. Graham	Mile-end.

### PROVINCES.

**Bradford.**—Corner of Godwin St. and Sunbridge Road, every Sunday, at 6 p.m.  
**Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.  
**Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m., Sundays.  
**Manchester.**—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road, every Sunday, at 11 a.m.; Gorton Brook, every Sunday afternoon, at 2.45.  
**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

PECKHAM REFORM CLUB, Queen's Road, S.E.—On Sunday, September 26, at 8.30 p.m., C. W. Mowbray will lecture on “Woman, Her Place under Socialism and To-day.”

### FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Already acknowledged, £16, 3s. 2½d. Clerkenwell Branch, 1s. 10d. Hull Branch and Com. Arb. Bild. Ver., 10s. 6d. T. B., 6d. N. London Branch, 3s. 10d. Clerkenwell Branch, Sept. 5, 3s. 0½d. E.S.S., 1s. Total, £17, 3s. 11d. F.H. WEBB, Treasurer, Sept. 6, 1886.

## A BENEFIT CONCERT

WILL BE HELD AT

FARRINGDON HALL, 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.,

ON

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18th, AT 8 O'CLOCK,

For the purpose of raising Funds to pay the Fine (£20) imposed on SAMUEL MAINWARING at the Middlesex Sessions.

Admission by Programme only. . . Sixpence Each.

Which can be obtained from WM. BLUNDELL, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.; H. G. ARNOLD, 6, Little Carlisle Street, W.; E. POPE, 6, York Street, Church Street, Bethnal Green, E.; and T. E. WARDLE, 9, Charlotte Street, Bedford Square.

The Committee requests that early application be made for Programmes by all who can help to sell them.

### International Congress of Glass-Bottle Makers.

The International Congress of Glass-Bottle Makers, already mentioned in these columns, will take place on Saturday October 16, at Farringdon Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

### THE VIERZON STRIKE.

OUR comrades engaged in the struggle at Vierzon are in urgent need of help. We, the English Socialists, as a token of solidarity with our French comrades, open herewith a subscription on behalf of their wives and children. All amounts to be sent to the Secretary of the League, who will duly forward it to *Le Cri du Peuple* for administration.

## LITERATURE OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and Wm. Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 16pp. crown 8vo. . . . . 1d.  
**For Whom Shall We Vote?** Addressed to the Working-men and Electors of Great Britain. 8pp. cr. 8vo. For distribution, 2s. per 100. . . . . ½d.  
**Art and Socialism.** By William Morris. Bijou edition. . . . . 3d.  
**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. 16 pp. crown 8vo. . . . . 1d.  
**The Labour Question from the Socialist Standpoint.** By William Morris. 32 pp. cr. 8vo. . . . . 1d.

### THE SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

1. **Trades' Unions.** By E. Belfort Bax. 16pp. crown 8vo. . . . . 1d.  
2. **Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By Wm. Morris. 24 pp. . . . . 1d.  
3. **The Factory Hell.** By Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling. . . . . 1d.  
4. **The Commune of Paris.** By E. B. Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 24pp. . . . . 2d.  
5. **Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 16 pp. . . . . 1d.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE OFFICE, 13, FARRINGDON ROAD, LONDON, E.C.

### THE

## PRACTICAL SOCIALIST.

AN EXPONENT OF EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM; BUT DISCUSSION OF ALL ASPECTS INVITED.

EDITED BY THOMAS BOLAS.

MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

W. REEVES, 185 FLEET STREET.

SOCIALISTS should read BRONTERRE O'BRIEN'S great work—“THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND PHASES OF HUMAN SLAVERY: How it came into the World, and how it shall be made to go out.” 148 pp., demy 8vo, cloth lettered. Published, 1885, at 3s. 6d.; now offered post-free, 1s. 3d.—Geo. STANDRING, 8 Finsbury Street, E.C.

### REVOLUTIONARY RHYMES AND SONGS FOR SOCIALISTS.

Contains: The Marschallaise; Song of the “Lower” Classes (Ernest Jones); Song of Labour (Andreas Scheu); Song of the Social Democratic Band (Carl Weiser); Hymn of the Proletariat (Johann Most); A Last Appeal (E. Nesbit), etc. 16 pp. cr. 8vo, 1d. To the trade and for distribution, 7½d. per doz.; 1s. 1d. per quire; 4s. per 100.—*Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

BOMBAY, INDIA.—The *Commonweal* and other Publications of the League can be obtained of D. Gostling, 47 Apollo Street, Bombay.

Socialist Headquarters, New York.—Library and Reading-room open daily (Sunday included) from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. *Commonweal* always on the table. Gifts in books and papers thankfully received. Address “Free Socialist Library,” 143 Eighth Street, New York City, U.S.

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 36.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

The Trades' Union Congress appears to show conclusively that unionists are very wide awake to the interests of the working-classes, and further, that many of the leaders are quite up to date on many important questions of the day. It has been very often repeated that the rank and file were in advance of the leaders. After the, in many respects, most admirable speech of Mr. Maddison, this idea is quite exploded. The whole gist of Mr. Maddison's speech was, to use Socialist phraseology, that unionists should endeavour to lessen the amount of surplus-value taken from them by their employers. He advocated an eight-hours' bill, international action on the part of the working-class, free education, the boycotting of objectionable employers, and in one passage of his speech he says he believes that those who do not work should not be allowed to eat. The only point of importance in the speech that I should find fault with is the three-acres-and-a-cow idea. This, which by the way was not put forward as a final one, Mr. Maddison may see reason to modify. It must be exceedingly gratifying to Socialists to learn that there was at least one avowed Socialist a delegate, and he in speaking in favour of the President's address, very rightly remarked that were they to accept the principle of Socialism all the above points were contained in it. To be logical, it must be conceded that the outcome of Trades' Unionism is Socialism.

It will reward Socialists to reason with such men as Mr. Maddison, and those that he represents, very patiently, and at last, I feel sure, they will be rewarded by turning the Trades' Unions into a powerful organisation to take possession of the capital of the country to work it for the benefit of the community. For signs of this change we need only consider the way the motion for the nationalisation of the land was received. It was an amendment really to a land-law reform and emigration motion. On the first vote being taken 41 voted on each side. The chairman asked them to vote again, as he did not want to give the casting-vote, and this time seven more votes were recorded, one for and six against the amendment, so it was lost by five votes. This proceeding and the tone of the President's speech and the Congress generally, has led the *Times* to make some ominous reflections. English trades' unionists are becoming imbued with Socialism. It is a bad thing for them, the writer says in the usual oracular style. We venture to say that it is a good omen, and the quicker they fully assimilate Socialism the sooner the time will come when, to use Mr. Maddison's words, the badge of servitude so long worn by the worker will be cast off, and the place of honour given to the honest citizen and not to the drone in the hive.

Several interesting papers were read at the British Association in the department of Economics. Two papers call for special notice, one by Mr. Fred. Impey, advising the adoption of the Small Holdings and Allotments system; and one by Lady Verney on Peasant Proprietorship. Mr. Impey tells us that in the period 1710 to 1845, 10,000,000 acres of common lands were enclosed: that means in plain English that the peasantry of England were robbed in a most impudent manner of this enormous portion of their land by the aristocracy. He continues that it would be almost impossible to find a labourer who had saved a sovereign, and not one in a thousand will save enough to keep him from the poor rates when old age causes him to cease working. This very sad state of affairs is partly accounted for by the impudent theft by the aristocracy of the common lands; and on account of this Mr. Impey proposes to restore them the land stolen from them? Oh, no! only "to interfere with our land system on their behalf;" to, in fact, allow them the option of hiring land at nearly the same rate for an acre or two as farmers pay for their farms. This is not a very revolutionary proposal. Landlordism continues to be acknowledged, and a substantial tribute is to be rendered to Cæsar. No sensible person would object to the proposal simply because it was not revolutionary; I object on the ground that I fail to see that the peasantry will be benefited by it. We are told how excellent it would be if every English labourer could keep a cow. So it would, but let the fact "that it would be almost impossible to find a labourer who had saved a sovereign" be kept in mind, and we are obliged to say that the land, supposing he could find the rent, would be useless unless we supplied a cow, and Mr. Impey has not proposed that. Again, let us take for granted that he procured a cow and can find money to pay the rent, will he be benefited so long as there are other labourers without employment and not encumbered with the possession of a cow? The

three-acres-and-a-cow man will be in a more favourable position to get work, because he will be able to work for less, the cow making up his wages to the old level. Pensioners are seldom much benefited by their pension, they are able to work for less than if they had none, and competition is continually acting to bring their wages and pension together to a bare subsistence. The labourer's allotment would act simply like a pension, and he would have, after slaving all day for his master on his master's farm, to go home and really slave away for his master again another hour or two on his allotment. That is what the allotment system practically comes to, and to think that sane people should continue year after year to propound it is very depressing. A consideration which Lady Verney lays stress upon in her paper is the fact that agriculture is fast becoming, if it has not entirely become, a manufacture, and as such has to be carried on on a large scale, with costly machinery, to get good results.

Lady Verney restates in an effective manner the overwhelming arguments from a national-economic point of view against Mr. Chamberlain's and some of the Tories' scheme of peasant proprietorship. The picture Lady Verney draws of the small owners in France is heartrending, and their condition is generally the same in other countries where peasant proprietorship exists. Most of us know that the scheme is not brought forward to benefit the community; the real object is to have an increased number of men interested in the protection of the property institutions of this country. It is thought that the stupid peasant with his two or three acres, perhaps of mortgaged land, will get it into his stupid head that he is a proprietor and that his interests are the same as those of the exploiting classes. It becomes very necessary for Socialists to make this clear and prevent the peasants being deceived. Good work has been done for Socialism by this very opportune paper showing the hollowness of this vaunted scheme for solving, or at any rate partially solving, the social question.

In Mr. Joseph Thomson we have another witness of the harm done to Africans owing to the greed for gain on the part of the white trader. In our papers and in our pulpits there is always to be found manifestations of delight at the spread of the white man in Central Africa and other barbarous regions. Some in their ignorance really believe what they say. Unfortunately they are in the position of not knowing what they are talking about; but Mr. Thomson is a man who has seen with his own eyes the effects of the white man's proceedings, and he says for every negro that is influenced for good a thousand are driven into deeper degradation.

Mr. Samuel Morley has been called to his fathers. The usual tribute of praise to deceased philanthropists has been awarded without stint. We have no desire to trouble him in his grave. Often when he was alive we have used him as a striking example of that predatory animal the British capitalist. One word on the departed. He was a successful plunderer, but was distinguished from others of his kind by not spending all the proceeds of his cunning on himself. Many a divine and many a secretary of a Y. M. C. A. will bless the memory of Samuel Morley, as in the one case he gave a church and in the other a permanent job. Whether the girls, some of whom received for a week's hard labour the not over-large sum of 10s., will hold his memory in similar manner may at least be doubted. A. K. DONALD.

## THE QUESTION OF TITHES.

AMONG the questions agitating the public mind in England and Wales, and to which it is necessary to pay some little attention, is the tithe question. Not only is this a question for the farmers, it is a question for the people, and which the people will have to settle not by a mere modification of the evils of tithes, but by sweeping away the whole system, of which the payment of tithes is only a part.

We are told that tithes are the result of the free and voluntary gifts of our pious ancestors, and that to interfere with them in any way would be an act of sacrilege. But we shall be able to show a very different foundation for the payment of tithes than the free and voluntary gifts of our ancestors, whether pious or not. It is true, and we shall not deny it, that gifts were made to the Church, and to an enormous extent, but both lands and tithes were given in very many cases as an expiation of crimes of a monstrous character. We give the following as samples: Ethelston, King of the West Saxons, gave to

the Church tithes for the pacification of the soul of his brother Edwin, whom he had murdered; Edgar (967), who was a most heartless tyrant, cruel to the people, who took delight in violating young virgins, and who had Ethelwald killed that he might possess the latter's wife, gave tithes to the Church for the above crimes. Then there was Canute (1008), who gave tithes to the Church in expiation of the murder of Edward and Edmund, sons of Ironside. It is quite true that in the early ages many persons did give their earthly goods to the Church, but the following passage from Father Paul Sarpi (pp. 117, 118, of 'Ecclesiastical Benefices and Revenues') speaks for itself. He says: "It had been prohibited by the ancient canons to accept any donations or legacies from divers kinds of public sinners, such as sacrilegious persons, courtesans, and those who were at variance with their brothers. But all these difficulties were entirely removed. All gifts, from whatsoever hand they came, were indifferently received, and it is even evident in practice that the greatest part of legacies and donations bestowed on the Church are owing to the bounty of infamous public women, or of people who are gratifying that way their own particular quarrels with their relations."

Again, the belief inculcated by the Church, and which was generally, if not universally accepted, as Hallam points out, was that those who had anything to give, had to give, or were doomed to purgatory if not to hell, and tithes and other gifts to the Church were regarded as "The soul's ransom" from purgatory. Another source of income was what are now known as glebe lands. By the middle of the eighth century it became the rule that to every Church erected land must be attached sufficient to maintain the priest. According to the ecclesiastical laws of England (Johnson's 'Canons,' p. 188), "One entire manse be given to every Church without other service. For the tithes, oblations of the faithful, houses, churchyards, gardens near the Church, and for the manse before mentioned, let the priests constituted in them do no service but ecclesiastical."

But we have said that the Church did not depend on the free-will offerings of the faithful. In dealing with this part of the subject, we shall be as brief as we can, and will only refer to a few of the laws passed for enforcing the payment of tithes. We will take the Law of Edgar (967). That law provides that "if any one man shall refuse to pay his tithes in such manner as we have prescribed, then let the king's sheriff, the bishop of the diocese, and the priest of the parish come together, and let them by force cause the tenth part to be paid to the Church to which it was due, leaving only the ninth part to the owner, and for the other eight parts, the lord of the manor shall take four parts, and the bishop the other four." Not much of a free-will offering here. But what a system of plunder! How holy was the Mother Church! By the Law of Ethelred (1008): "We command that every man shall pay his scott and his tithes in full for the love of God and all the saints," etc. In 1032, the Law of Canute was very similar to that of Ethelred. But the Law of William the Conqueror is much more precise, and enumerates the articles on which tithes are to be paid. It says: "Of all corn the tenth part is due to God, and therefore is to be paid to him. Of colts, of calves, of lambs, of fleeces, of butter, of pigs, of the profit of bees, of woods, of meadows, of waters and of mills, of parks, of fisheries, of copse, of orchards, of gardens, of trade, and of all things" the tenth part. This Act (1068) we are told was a revival of the act of Edward the Confessor. But what a grand system of plunder, of wholesale robbery, and all in the name of God! We have another Act in the reign of Henry I., another in the reign of Stephen, and another in the reign of Henry II.

But the priests of those days, like the priests of every age and of every country, in the midst of their riches became careless of their obligations. Originally tithes were divided into four parts, but when the bishops were well provided for, a three-fold division took place. But there was a tendency among the clergy of those days to grasp the whole and neglect the poor. To compel them to carry out the three-fold division, the 15th Richard II., ch. 6 (1392), was passed, by virtue of which "a convenient sum of money to be paid yearly of the fruits and profits of the same churches by those who have the said churches in proper use, and by their successors, to the poor parishioners of the said churches, in aid of their living and sustenance for ever." Well, there is no mistaking these laws, and we only refer to them here to show that centuries before the Reformation the payment of tithes was enforced by the laws of the country.

We come to the Reformation, and by the 27 Henry VIII. c. 20 (1536), tithes were to be paid as previously. The next year another Act was passed to compel the payment of tithes on lands hitherto tithe-free. But a large part of the property of the Church having gone to the aristocracy, in 1541 an Act was passed to compel the payment of tithes to lay-impropriators. A beautiful law, that! Tithes that were given for the glory of God were now to be given to aggrandise a plundering aristocracy. In 1549 another similar Act was passed. But the grasping selfishness of the clergy knew no bounds. All that could be got from the land was not enough. In 1546 (37 Henry VIII. c. 12) all the citizens and inhabitants of London were to pay to their parsons, vicars, and curates, of every 10s. rent, 1s. 4d., and of every 20s., 2s. 9d. How the clergy loved the people!

We must now look at the subject from another standpoint. We have traced up the enforced payment of tithes to the time of the Reformation. But we must remember that the land under cultivation and subject to the payment of tithes was very limited at that time. According to Mr. E. Miall ('Title-Deeds of the Church'), in 1575 about six million acres were under cultivation. But the clergy knew that as population increased the land under cultivation would increase in the same ratio. Hence prospective legislation was necessary, and

hence was passed the 2 & 3 Edward VI. c. 13, section 5 of which provides that "All such barren or waste lands which before this have lain barren and not paid tithes by reason of their barrenness, now be or shall be improved and brought into arable or meadow," shall after seven years from the date of their improvement pay tithes. What an example of forethought! Let us see the result. In 1872, in England and Wales there were under cultivation 24,000,000 acres, 2,500,000 tithe-free and 21,500,000 acres subject to the payment of tithes. At an average of 6s. per acre the tithe would amount to £6,450,000. But the average is much higher than 6s. per acre. On the income of the Church and extraordinary tithes we will deal on another occasion.

One word here as to the "pious ancestor" theory. Suppose tithes were in every case granted voluntarily and had not been enforced by law, what would that have to do with the present generation? Tithes to-day come from the labour of to-day, and are a tax on the people of to-day for the exclusive benefit of a few thousands of white-throated black bats.

But there is one point to which I must here refer. Up to about the middle of the last century the common lands were generally open lands and free from tithe payments. But it became the rule, and in 1781 became the law, that of every 100 acres of arable land enclosed, the parson of the parish should have seven acres, and of every 100 acres of pasture land enclosed he should have nine acres. By a Parliamentary return issued in 1865, the total value of lands and money received by the Church under the operation of the Enclosure Acts was then no less than £28,040,000. That was in 1865, and the same thing is going on now. Nor does that include the whole. From many counties no returns were made. From Cumberland the Clerk of the Peace wrote: "Office, Carlisle, July 16, 1864. In reply to your circular of the 12th inst., . . . I have to state that there are above 100 awards enrolled at my office, comprising some thousands of skins of parchment, and therefore I am unable to prepare and furnish the return asked for,—J. A. Hodges." Over 100 awards made and no returns to be given, even to an order of the House of Commons! Well, in Cambridgeshire 132 awards had been made, and embraced over 23,000 acres. A few samples: The rector of Balsham, received 742 acres, and the rector of Elswick, 617. At Bassingbourn the dean and chapter of Westminster (as impropriators) received 697 acres, at Fordham the bishop of Ely (as impropriator) got 498 acres, at Fulbourn the rector of St. Vigors got 482 acres, and at Ickleton the dean and chapter (as impropriators) received 640 acres. If we turn to Derbyshire we find numbers of the aristocracy as lay-impropriators profiting largely by this wholesale system of robbery under the Enclosure Acts. Thus at Beeley the Duke of Devonshire received 147 acres; at Youghreave and Middleton, 210 acres; at Dore, 278 acres; at Chelmorton and Flagg, 479 acres; at Barlaw, 8 acres; and Hathersage, 2046 acres. At Youghreave and Middleton the Duke of Rutland received 38 acres; at Stanton, 88 acres; at Bakewell and Hadden, 602 acres; at Baslow, 138 acres; and at Holmesfield, 1381 acres. The Duke of Portland came in for 18 acres at Barlaw, and for 1113 acres at Bolsover. We will refer only to one other county—viz., Warwick. At Coleshill the incumbent got 644 acres and £7, 2s. 6½d. in money. At Erdington and Witton the incumbent got no land but £352, 13s. 8½d.. At Harbury the impropriators got 510 acres and the incumbent 164 acres. At Kenelworth the former received 137 acres and the latter 50; and at Priors-Marston the impropriators received 942 acres and the incumbent 101 acres.

I have said enough to show the utter rottenness of this "State Church," and the wholesale manner in which the people are plundered—and all in the name of religion. What can free the people from this curse of robbery and hypocrisy? How get rid of this scourge of clerical vultures? The State and the Church, the priest and the soldier, the throne and the altar, make war on mankind. And this is only one of the curses by which the people are crushed to the very earth—by which they are robbed of the wealth produced by their labour.

J. SKETCHLEY.

(To be continued).

There is great distress in the hop country just now owing to the overplus of labourers who have flocked there in the hope of getting employment. Immense numbers of the very poor have left London during the last few days, most of whom will have to return without having obtained any work.

**A MISTAKE.**—In the evidence of the weavers for Macclesfield before the Royal Commission on Depression in Trade, Mr. Robert Clark, who recently left Macclesfield for America, stated that the wages paid at the shirt-factory in Cumberland Street, Macclesfield, owned by Mr. Cameron, were exceedingly low. He said he had a daughter aged sixteen who worked at a lately-established shirt-factory. She worked a machine, and earned 3s. 1d. per week, she earning three farthings for making a man's shirt, or 9½d. per dozen. This statement is said to be incorrect, and likely to convey a wrong impression to the public, and injure Mr. Cameron's reputation. A statement has been issued giving particulars of the work of the shirt-factory in this town. The factory was started about two years ago, and Mr. Cameron has already 110 employes in the mill, and he also employs 100 outside. It appeared that the wages earned by Mr. Clark's daughter for ten weeks ending August 21st were as follows: 5s. 5d., 5s. 2d., 6s., 4s., 4s. 4d., 5s. 5d., 5s. 2d., 6s., 6s., and 5s. 2d. Another girl, the same age as Mr. Clark's daughter, for the month of August earned 8s., 9s. 5d., 7s., 7s. 7d. respectively. Mr. Clark stated that his daughter earned three farthings for making a man's shirt, or 9½d. per dozen. This statement also was misleading as the shirts in question were not of an ordinary make; the shirt was of a very thin cotton material of the most flimsy character, and was made for the negroes in South America. Some of the hands, however, are able to earn from 9s. to 10s. per week. The rate of wages was exactly the same as that in Manchester and Londonderry.

[This explanation ought to delight the wearers of the shirts. Mr. Cameron probably atones by spending part of his gains in bibles for "the niggers."]



### CRIME UNDER SOCIALISM.

INDIVIDUALISTS make this a test question, and assert there is no satisfactory answer. Is not the answer to be found in their own camp? Let us see how they keep discipline. On August 25, a petty sessional court of Hertfordshire magistrates sat upon a boy 13 years of age for taking apples and pears from trees in the garden of the person for whom his father worked; the police prosecuted, supported by the employer, who asked the "bench" to send the boy to a reformatory because they could do nothing with him at home, and he had "stolen" on more than one previous occasion. This was a fairly complete confession of a breakdown. The "resources of civilisation" in the village of about 140 inhabitants, of which the offender is one, are a church with a resident clergyman, a landlord not resident, two large farmers, a resident gamekeeper, and the occasional visits of a police constable stationed two miles off. The resources of Nature are 950 acres of land of average fertility, all under agricultural cultivation, except that occupied by roads, dwellings, etc. The present "landlord" and his father will have received about £30,000 as rent since the "estate" was purchased by them, out of which sum it appears that two complete cottages and a school have been built; the other cottages are such as should be condemned by humanity, they are of less value by about two-thirds than the stables which an average landlord's saddle horses occupy; they have gardens, but two common apple trees would overshadow their whole space. The wages of some of the men are twelve shillings a week, and they say the farmers have been kind to them since the last election (December, 1885), because they think the men helped them to secure the success of the aristocratic candidate. The gross produce of the 950 acres is about £4,500 a year.

The magistrates said they could not send the boy to a reformatory because he had not been convicted of crime before, and as the father was too poor to pay a fine they sent the boy to jail and hard labour for 14 days.

This is a pattern of the present system of existence in rural England; such a village as this is capable of supporting from 400 to 500 persons in tolerable comfort. Should not the justice's jurisdiction extend further than to the boy with a handful of apples?

No! it is the capitalist system that cannot manage its "schemers;" those who *will not* work have usually the best of it; their equals do not care to interfere with them, and their "betters" are powerless to restrain them; if it be true that nine-tenths of the offences against the present laws apparently result from drink, it will be found upon examination that even a larger proportion really result from the statutes of an effete Society.

CHARLES WALKDEN.

### "WEALTH."

"The will and codicil of Mr. John Robert Augustus Oetzmänn, of Hampstead Road and 104 Haverstock Hill, who died on April 18, have been proved by Mrs. Hannah Oetzmänn (his widow), Mr. Samuel Newman Miller, and Mr. John Robert Bedwell (the executors)—the value of the personal estate amounting to over £40,000. The testator leaves his residence, 104 Haverstock Hill, with the furniture and effects, horses and carriages, and an annuity of £300, to his wife during life or widowhood. Certain annual payments are to be made for the maintenance and education of his children, and to his sons in his business; and legacies to his executors. The residue of his real and personal estate is to be held upon trust for accumulation until his youngest child attains twenty-one, and then for all his children in equal shares."—*City Press*.

£40,000—that's a neat little sum for one man to come in possession of by the exploitation of labour.

To those who study social problems the published wills and codicils of the employers of labour who accumulate such enormous wealth is simply heartrending, for those of us who go a little below the surface of things can see that *wealth* can only be created by unpaid labour; and Mr. John Robert Augustus Oetzmänn is a typical instance. It may be a startling fact to some to be told that *wealth* can only be made by unpaid labour, and that there is *no* other way of making it; this is even a hard fact to drive into the workman himself, who creates this wealth for other people. By unpaid labour I do not only mean that the labourer is paid insufficiently, but also that he is made to do the work of three men for the wages of one badly paid workman. Who of us who have hearts at all, whether making or trying to make fortunes by unpaid labour, and who may have had our houses furnished by this or any similar large establishment, have not been struck by the paucity of men who are sent to load and unload and generally take down and fix up a wagon-load of household goods, according to size of house. One instance I can call to mind, when two men and a boy were sent to do duty in loading, unloading, etc., etc., for an eight-roomed house. They toiled till nearly midnight. Certainly six men should have been sent, in all humanity. I was simply filled with horror at such a system, and asked the workmen if it ever struck them that this was the reason their masters grew wealthy, while they were poor and made old long before their time and then cast off to the tender mercies of the workhouse, because unfit for work. I was not a Socialist then, neither had I heard of Socialism; but when I did the phantom of those workmen came up before me, and I felt the only hope for the world was Socialism. Individually I felt that I could do nothing to improve the state of society; the only hope for a more just and equal right to live was in destroying the existing system. S. S. G.

Socialism proposes that labour shall be a noble, healthful, and elevating duty, not an unhealthy, degrading and slavish drudgery.

### DRUM SONG.

(By KARL BECK. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

The troopers are marching—lo there now, a gun  
Or a sword or a banner ablaze in the sun!  
Loud rattle the carts; they are loaded with lead;  
Oh, gay is the nodding cockade on each head.  
The riders are curbing their steeds till they rear,  
For in order of march comes the grenadier.  
Trarum, Trarum, Trarum.

Wide open all windows that instant are thrown;  
The beggar forgets his professional moan;  
The tools are left idle, all work's at a stop;  
The shopman comes hurrying out of his shop,  
And nurse-maids and servant-girls eagerly come  
To greet the fine fellows who rattle the drum.  
Trarum, Trarum, Trarum.

And proud is the schoolboy to see them go by;  
He shouts and he tosses his cap to the sky;  
He fancies them armed with invincible might,  
Like the heroes of Homer with squadrons in fight.  
Blow, trumpeter, blow; and rattle thy drum,  
Thou drummer, till elbow and fingers be numb.  
Trarum, Trarum, Trarum.

The sentinel curses the rotten old box,  
Wherein he must stand like a wretch in the stocks;  
Wherein he must linger and loiter and stamp,  
While his comrades are marching away to the camp;  
And still as they go in a concourse are rolled  
Thick thronging behind them the young and the old.  
Trarum, Trarum, Trarum.

Ye troopers, what is't on your march that ye bring?  
O would it were bread, and no deadlier thing!  
Of their silk and their satin the wealthy may brag,  
But we must go naked for want of a rag.  
Nay, touch not your triggers, no foe is in view;  
Nay, beat not, ye drummer, so fierce a tattoo.  
Trarum, Trarum, Trarum.

Nay, knew ye not straightway that hunger and woe  
Had pinched the pale faces that met ye a-row?  
Nay, load not your rifles, load only your ears  
With the heart-breaking tale of our troubles and tears.  
Nay, now ye are with us in heart and in soul;  
At the granary gates your drum-thunder ye roll.  
Trarum, Trarum, Trarum.

Ye too have the badge of our poverty worn;  
In the huts of the hungry like us ye were born.  
In the eyes of the masters whose yoke ye endure,  
Ye are nought but the sons of the down-trodden poor.  
At the shivering drummer they scornfully laugh,  
As he beats his tattoo on the hide of a calf.  
Trarum, Trarum, Trarum.

Nay, let the day dawn not, whereon ye shall meet  
The People in arms in the blood-stained street,  
When with fiery eyes and in fury loud  
Shall come storming against you the desperate crowd;  
When armed with your swords and your sabres they come,  
And their own hands are rousing the growl of the drum.  
Trarum, Trarum, Trarum.

James M'Guffon, a clerk, aged fifty, an intelligent-looking man, was charged at Marylebone Police Court last week with throwing stones, to the common danger. The prisoner, it appears, had thrown stones at the police-station window, and on being arrested had stated that he wished to be locked up. He told the magistrate that he was destitute. He had just come out of prison, after serving three months. When he first went into prison, he found it made his soft hands very sore to perform the hard work allotted to him; but he had become inured to it, and the best thing the magistrate could do for him would be to give him six months. Mr. De Rutzen asked the prisoner why under these unfortunate circumstances he did not get workhouse relief, to which M'Guffon replied that he would rather suffer anything than do that; "things would be better in a month or two." Unfortunately he had partially lost his hearing, his memory was failing him and he suffered from writers' cramp in the hand. The humane magistrate discharged him on his own recognisances in £10 to be of good behaviour for six months, and recommended him to go to the Prisoners' Aid Society. What will become of this poor old victim of the capitalist, worn out in his masters' service and then cast aside to shift as best he can? This is not the only case; it happens to every man whose labour is no longer profitable to his master.—D. N.

TOWER HAMLETS RADICAL CLUB, 13 Redman's Road, Mile-end.—Tuesday Sept. 21, at 8.30, Mr. Standing will lecture on "Why I am not a Socialist."

PROGRESSIVE DEBATING SOCIETY, "Beehive," Warner St., New Kent Rd., S.E. September 19. R. A. Beckett, "Wealth." 26. W. A. Chambers, "Teachings of Socialism."

CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—A Special Meeting of members of this Society will be held in the Industrial Hall, Clark's Buildings, Broad Street, Bloomsbury, on Wednesday Sept. 22, at 7.30 p.m.

PECKHAM REFORM CLUB, Queen's Road, S.E.—On Sunday, September 26, at 8.30 p.m., C. W. Mowbray will lecture on "Woman, Her Place under Socialism and To-day."



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance should be attached to them because of the position they may occupy in these pages. None, therefore, are to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s., six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

W. R. (Halifax).—Our reason for asking you to communicate by post was that we needed a correspondent in your town. We should still be glad if you will open correspondence with the editor, who will esteem it as in strictest confidence.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 15.

ENGLAND	ITALY
Justice	Reggio—La Giustizia
Norwich—Daylight	
Club and Institute Journal	SPAIN
Bristol Mercury	Madrid—El Socialista
Southport Visiter	El Grito del Pueblo
Leicester Co-operative Record	HUNGARY
The Dynamiter	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Freethinker	
INDIA	NORWAY
Madras—People's Friend	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
Allahabad—People's Budget	
Bombay—Times of India	PORTUGAL
	O Campino
CANADA	HOLLAND
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Recht voor Allen
UNITED STATES	AUSTRIA
New York—Volkszeitung	Brunn—Volksfreund
Freiheit	SWITZERLAND
Truthseeker	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Der Sozialist	
	FRANCE
	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)
	Le Socialiste
	Guise—Le Devoir
	Lille—Le Travailleur
	BELGIUM
	Brussels—Le Chant-Clair
	Liege—L'Avenir
	Antwerp—De Werker

RECEIVED.—"The Poor's House"—"The Division of the Spoil"—"Samuel Morley."

### "WOMAN'S WORK."

No doubt a good many more than the writer of the following letter, which I received the other day, have not quite understood the side of the question from the Socialist point of view. I would be glad, therefore, if by publishing part of my correspondent's letter to me on the subject of my letter in *Commonweal* of Aug. 21, and my reply to him, it would help to explain the true state of the position of men and women who are compelled to compete against each other in the scramble for existence. My friend, you will see, like Dr. Moore, is a sentimental Socialist, who shuts his eyes to the fact that women must work while the present system of society exists. I quote the letter: "I am not at all surprised that Dr. Moore's paper should have come under your notice, and that you should have taken him to task so in it. I have been expecting sooner or later to find the views you adopt on the question put forward, and having them now before me I cannot help feeling that were I a woman my feelings on the matter would be much in the direction you have pointed out. At the same time there is a great deal to be said on the other side (Dr. Moore's); and although I am not quite certain that Dr. Moore has any reliable statistics to go upon, from a strictly scientific point of view, for the views and suggestions he has enunciated, still there appears to me, on the face of it, more than the proverbial grain of truth in the conclusions he arrives at—viz., for women to pursue to too great a degree the studies and occupations of men (or what are considered so by society as now constituted), is in a degree to unsex them. I hold with you, however, to this extent, that women should not wholly devote themselves in all instances to mere household drudgery."

My reply is as follows: The point of my letter has been rather missed. What I aim at is to show that it is simply impossible under our present economic conditions of society to have anything else but a

fearful struggle for existence; and there is no use shutting our eyes to the fact that women have to earn a living as well as men, and that both have to toil far too much to have either sound minds or bodies, no matter whether they be of the lower or the middle classes. The proper thing, then, we Socialists say, is to go to the root of the evil and destroy the horrible society which produces these evils. What benefit would there be to society or to those women themselves who are mentally capable of higher studies should they give them up? They must simply then either starve or do manual labour, for which they are more unfitted. I hold that the present conditions of society necessitates labour, whether mental or physical, far beyond the capabilities of either sex, and that both men and women are consequently deteriorating; and this simply means that sooner or later society will destroy us, unless we destroy society. There is no use harping only on the harm that study may have on women when we have the same terrible results going on with men. The following appeared the other day in the *Family Doctor*; the article is headed "Our Boys":

"A remarkably successful man of the present day, the leading spirit in the project for taking the sea to Manchester, on being asked the secret of his success, replied: 'I had the physical constitution to begin work at six o'clock in the morning and keep on till eight, nine, and ten at night, and that for twenty years.' On visiting Owens College, Manchester, I asked the professor how many of those young men who were studying so diligently would leave their mark on the sands of time. He replied, 'Only about two or three. The majority would break down at about thirty years of age, because they had not the stamina to carry them through the battle of life.'"

I think we have abundant evidence to prove that public attention should be drawn to the man question as well as to the woman question: both questions are becoming serious ones, and need attention. There is no way out of the dilemma but one, and that is to revolutionise the terrible system under which we try to exist, so that people may be able to study and learn for the love of learning itself, not for the sordid object of profit; and when this obtains we will have neither mental or physical toil. Don't for a moment think that this will make people indolent, for there is no doubt that all like work; but it is the incessant toil we now have makes people detest it. And with regard to mental energy, you simply cannot suppress genius; it will come out, only with this difference, that in a better state of society it will have a better chance.

SARAH S. GOSTLING.

### THE TRADES' CONGRESS.

THE Nineteenth Annual Congress of the Trades' Unions has been held in Hull during the past week. The first day (September 6) was taken up by a two hours' sitting at which the report of the Parliamentary Committee was read and some preliminary tomfoolery gone through, including a speech of welcome from the sheriff of Hull. This gentleman, instead of confining himself to the empty words usual from his kind and appropriate to the occasion, recklessly plunged into a series of general remarks which included this extraordinary assertion: "Time was when it was held to be an axiomatic principle that one half of the world should live in ease, luxury, and indulgence, while the other half was doomed to perpetual toil and ignorance; but happily *this state of things has passed away*, and, I hope, for ever (applause)." Applause, indeed! A bad beginning, to applaud such an obviously untrue and stupid remark; but in charity it should be assumed that the delegates were not attending to the words uttered, and cheered as a matter of form more than in approval of the remark itself. The Parliamentary Committee's report had nothing of interest in it save for particular trades. It was in itself a strong proof of the contention that the trades-union movement has hitherto devoted itself merely to promoting the interests of a few trades, without thought, much less action, on behalf of the workers generally. After it was read the Congress adjourned to attend a pleasure excursion on one of Mr. Wilson's (M.P.) steamers. The Edinburgh delegate (Scott) sensibly protested against pleasure-seeking until the business of the Congress had been finished; but he protested in vain. The trip on the Humber was a gay affair, provided at the expense of a big firm of capitalists, whose head is an M.P. A sumptuous banquet was set out on board, including costly wines, and was followed by choice cigars and indifferent speeches. Mr. C. H. Wilson, M.P., rejoiced that few of the working men of this country were Socialists, and with a sly humour—so sly that the delegates missed it—complimented them on their great adherence to the proverb, "hasten slowly; and concluded with, "I and all my firm owe all we possess to the working men"—but this was not taken in the strictly literal sense that it should have been.

Next day came the president's address. Mr. F. Maddison is a compositor, president of the Hull Trades' Council, and a locally well-known worker in the trades-union movement. He is not a paid leader of trades-unionism, as is suggested by a Socialist contemporary. His address remains the most interesting of all that was said by the orthodox section of the Congress; but it was distinctly orthodox. It was chiefly remarkable for its unaffected and vigorous style, its warm and genuine sympathy for the workers outside, or rather under, the trades' unions, and its straightforward hitting at the greed and cunning of employers. The allusions to remedies were much less inspiring. Land nationalisation was referred to with bated breath, the usual timid trimming reforms such as an eight-hours' bill, Factory Act legislation, etc., were trotted out again. Labour representation was dwelt on as if it were the next great cause the working-class should strive for; and, lamentable to relate, Mr. Maddison was not above referring to the government posts given to Burnett and Broadhurst as "honours"

conferred upon the union movement. The reference to political economy was shaky and uncertain. On the whole, the address was remarkably advanced for a trades-unionist, and remarkably backward for a Socialist. Mr. Maddison is neither an ordinary trades-unionist nor a Socialist as yet, and time only can affirm whether he will continue his advance to the one or retreat again to the other. After the address, G. J. Marks of the London Compositors got up, and astonished his audience by suggesting that Socialism would abolish all the evils and include all the cures referred to by the president. At this point Marks was ruled out of order, and his interesting speech was nipped in the bud. The bud promised well, but being prevented from flowering, only brought looks askance at the dangerously advanced man from London. Discussion on the parliamentary report was disallowed by a small majority, and the Congress placed in the ridiculous position of not allowing a large minority of its members to discuss the past action of their chief committee, and this in spite of the fact that one of the delegates (Mr. Hughes) expressed his dissatisfaction. Some important Factory Acts were then discussed, and a windy resolution of regret at Samuel Morley's death. Then ensued a discussion on labour representation, with nothing fresh or interesting in it; and after passing about a dozen votes of thanks the Congress adjourned.

On Wednesday the discussion on labour representation was resumed. C. L. Biggins commented on the silence of the labour M.P.s at the time of the February riots, pointing out that the significant thing about them was that after the London disturbances riots occurred in many provincial towns where there was no provocation by Socialists, and that therefore this showed the thorough and widespread destitution which existed and which surely had some claim on the labour representatives. Mr. Joseph Arch answered this in a curious way: "If the labour candidates were silent, millionaires were silent, and if they were not silent it was his humble opinion that they found some of the money to kick up some of the rows." From which it is plain that labour representatives will not do their duty unless millionaires are honest and above board in their political dealings. Or perhaps Mr. Arch meant that he and the rest of the twelve apostles were justified in their cowardly silence by a suspicion that the originators of the meeting from which the riots ensued were in the pay of a political party. Whatever Mr. Arch meant he got very badly out of the corner in which the question put him, and he would not have escaped criticism had the delegates been less of blind followers. In raising this most important point Mr. Biggins was ruled out of order for, like Mr. Marks, alluding to the social question. Indeed, people began to think that in the labour parliament all reference to the social question was strictly prohibited.

On this day Mr. Hughes of Liverpool started a somewhat heated discussion about the distribution of pamphlets giving a one-sided view of Socialism and opposed to trades-unionism, as he erroneously put it. Evidently this gentleman thought that the delegates were not to be trusted to read and form their own opinions upon Socialism, and that a paternal supervision should be exercised on the literature put within their reach. Happily his efforts were futile, and he only managed to give the local Branch of the Socialist League a useful advertisement. The facts are simply these. The Socialist League issued a pamphlet this year, as they did last, specially for the Trades' Congress. It is entitled "Organised Labour," and was written by a member who is a trades-unionist as well as a Socialist. The Hull Branch of the League undertook its distribution, and addressed a copy under cover to each delegate by name. Thus it was the business of the officials of the Congress to see that these were delivered to the persons addressed just as if they had been private letters. Communications from the temperance party were sent in this way and promptly taken round to the delegates; but the missives sent by the Socialists were detained for more than a whole day, and then were not all delivered. The officials of the Congress showed unwarrantable meddlesomeness by enquiring into the nature of enclosures sent to delegates by name, and it should not have been necessary for the president to give a formal ruling that communications sent under cover would be delivered.

The discussion on land nationalisation was brief, and the division close, resulting first in a tie, and on a second division in 42 votes for and 47 against. During the discussion the speeches were of the most paltry character, and it seemed as if the land nationalisers were afraid or ashamed to speak out the whole question. In short, it looks as if the land nationalisation party had gradually divided, one part going back to practical land-law reform and hypothetical nationalisation, while the other part have gone forward to Socialism.

J. L. MAHON.

(To be concluded.)

Civilisation and enlightenment! Why both have been monopolised by the greedy and insatiable idling classes; and art and science are forbidden to ameliorate the condition of the working-classes.—W. Harrison Riley.

EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION.—These two words, Evolution and Revolution, closely resemble one another, and yet they are constantly used in their social and political sense as though their meaning were absolutely antagonistic. The word Evolution, synonymous with gradual and continuous development in morals and ideas, is brought forward in certain circles as though it were the antithesis of that fearful word, Revolution, which implies changes more or less sudden in their action, and entailing some sort of catastrophe. And yet is it possible that a transformation can take place in ideas without bringing about some abrupt displacements in the equilibrium of life? Must not Revolution necessarily follow Evolution, as action follows the desire to act? They are fundamentally one and the same thing, differing only according to the time of their appearance. If, on the one hand, we believe in the normal progress of ideas, and, on the other, effect opposition, then, of necessity, we believe in external shocks which change the form of Society.—*Elisée Reclus.*

## AN OLD STORY RETOLD.

It is told of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary—the Alfred the Great of his time and people—that he once heard (once *only*?) that some (only *some*, my lad?) of his peasants were over-worked and under-fed. He took the matter to heart, being, as kings go, a just man, besides being more valiant than they mostly were, even in the old feudal days. So he called together such lords and councillors as he deemed fittest, and bade busk them for a ride; and when they were ready he and they set out, over rough and smooth, decked out in all the glory of attire which was the wont of those days. Thus they rode till they came to some village or thorpe of the peasant folk, and through it to the vineyards where men were working on the sunny southern slopes that went up from the river: my tale does not say whether that were Theiss, or Donau, or what river. Well, I judge it was late spring or early summer, and the vines but just beginning to show their grapes; for the vintage is late in those lands, and some of the grapes are not gathered till the first frosts have touched them, whereby the wine made from them is the stronger and sweeter. Anyhow there were the peasants, men and women, boys and young maidens, toiling and swinking; some hoeing between the vine-rows, some bearing baskets of dung up the steep slopes, some in one way, some in another, labouring for the fruit they should never eat, and the wine they should never drink. Thereto turned the King and got off his horse and began to climb up the stony ridges of the vineyard, and his lords in like manner followed him, wondering in their hearts what was toward; but to the one who was following next after him he turned about and said with a smile, "Yea, lords, this is a new game we are playing to-day, and a new knowledge will come from it." And the lord smiled, but somewhat sourly.

As for the peasants, great was their fear of those gay and golden lords. I judge that they did not know the King, since it was little likely that any one of them had seen his face; and they knew of him but as the Great Father, the mighty warrior who kept the Turk from harrying their thorpe. Though, forsooth, little matter was it to any man there whether Turk or Magyar was their over-lord, since to one master or another they had to pay the due tale of labouring days in the year, and hard was the livelihood that they earned for themselves on the days when they worked for themselves and their wives and children. Well, belike they knew not the King; but amidst those rich lords they saw and knew their own lord, and of him they were sore afraid. But nought it availed them to flee away from those strong men and strong horses—they who had been toiling from before the rising of the sun, and now it wanted little more than an hour of noon: besides, with the King and lords was a guard of crossbowmen, who were left the other side of the vineyard wall,—keen-eyed Italians of the mountains, straight shooters of the bolt. So the poor folk fled not; nay, they made as if all this were none of their business, and went on with their work. For indeed each man said to himself, "If I be the one that is not slain, to-morrow I shall lack bread if I do not work my hardest to-day; and maybe I shall be headman if some of these be slain and I live."

Now comes the King amongst them and says: "Good fellows, which of you is the headman?"

Spake a man sturdy and sunburnt, well on in years and grizzled: "I am the headman, lord."

"Give me thy hoe, then," says the King; "for now shall I order this matter myself, since these lords desire a new game, and are fain to work under me at vine-dressing. But do thou stand by me and set me right if I order them wrong: but the rest of you, go play!"

The carle knew not what to think, and let the King stand with his hand stretched out, while he looked askance at his own lord and baron, who wagged his head at him grimly, as one who says "Do it, dog!"

Then the carle lets the hoe come into the King's hand; and the King falls to, and orders his lords for vine-dressing, to each his due share of the work: and whiles the carle said yea and whiles nay to his ordering. And then ye should have seen velvet cloaks cast off, and mantles of fine Flemish scarlet go to the dusty earth, as the lords and knights busked them to the work! So they buckled to; and to most of them it seemed good game to play at vine-dressing. But one there was who, when his scarlet cloak was off, stood up in doublet of glorious Persian web of gold and silk, such as men make not now, worth a hundred florins the Bremen ell. Unto him the King with no smile on his face gave the job of toing and froing up and down the hill with the biggest and the frailest dung-basket that there was; and thereat the silken lord screwed up a grin, that was sport to see, and all the lords laughed; and as he turned away he said, yet so that none heard him, "Do I serve this son's son of a whore that he should bid me carry dung?" For you must know that the King's father, John Hunyad, one of the great warriors of the world, the Hammer of the Turks, was not gotten in wedlock, though he were a king's son.

Well, they sped the work bravely for a while, and loud was the laughter as the hoes smote the earth and the flint stones tinkled and the cloud of dust rose up; the brocaded dung-bearer went up and down, cursing and swearing by the White God and the Black; and one would say to another, "See ye how gentle blood outgoes churls' blood, even when the gentle does the churl's work: these lazy loons smote but one stroke to our three." But the King, who worked no worse than any, laughed not at all; and meanwhile the poor folk stood by, not daring to speak a word one to the other; for they were still sore afraid, not now of being slain on the spot, but this rather was it in their hearts: "These great and strong lords and knights have come to see what work a man may do without dying: if we are to have yet



more days added to our year's tale of lords' labour, then are we lost without remedy." And their hearts sank within them.

So sped the work; and the sun rose yet higher in the heavens, and it was noon and more. And now there was no more laughter among those toiling lords, and the strokes of the hoe and mattock came far slower, while the dung-bearer sat down at the bottom of the hill and looked out on the river; but the King yet worked on doggedly, so for shame the other lords yet kept at it. Till at last the next man to the King let his hoe drop with a clatter, and swore a great oath. Now he was a strong black-bearded man in the prime of life, a valiant captain of that famous Black Band that had so often rent the Turkish array; and the King loved him for his sturdy valour; so he says to him, "Is aught wrong, Captain?"

"Nay, lord," says he, "ask the headman carle yonder what ails us."

"Headman," says the King, "what ails these strong knights? Have I ordered them wrongly?"

"Nay, but shirking ails them, lord," says he, "for they are weary; and no wonder, for they have been playing hard, and are of gentle blood."

"Is that so, lords," says the King, "that ye are weary already?"

Then the rest hung their heads and said nought, all save that captain of war; and he said, being a bold man and no liar: "King, I see what thou would'st be at; thou hast brought us here to preach us a sermon from that Plato of thine; and to say sooth, so that I may swink no more, and go eat my dinner, now preach thy worst! Nay, if thou wilt be priest I will be thy deacon. Wilt thou that I ask this labouring Carle a thing or two?"

"Yea," said the King. And there came, as it were, a cloud of thought over his face.

Then the captain straddled his legs and looked big, and said to the Carle: "Good fellow, how long have we been working here?"

"Two hours or thereabout, by the sun above us," says he.

"And how much of thy work have we done in that while?" says the captain, and winks his eye at him withal.

"Lord," says the Carle, grinning a little despite himself, "be not wrath with my word. In the first half-hour ye did five-and-forty minutes' work of ours, and in the next half-hour scant a thirty minutes' work, and the third half-hour a fifteen minutes' work, and in the fourth half-hour two minutes' work." The grin now had faded from his face, but a gleam came into his eyes as he said: "And now, as I suppose, your day's work is done, and ye will go to your dinner and eat the sweet and drink the strong; and we shall eat a little rye-bread, and then be working here till after the sun has set and the moon has begun to cast shadows. Now for you, I wot not how ye shall sleep nor where; nor what white body ye shall hold in your arms while the night flits and the stars shine; but for us, while the stars yet shine, shall we be at it again, and bethink ye for what! I know not what game and play ye shall be devising for to-morrow as ye ride back home; but for us when we come back here to-morrow, it shall be as if there had been no yesterday and nothing done therein, and that day's work shall be nought to us also, for we shall win no respite from our toil thereby, and the morrow of to-morrow will all be to begin again once more. Therefore, if ye are thinking to lay some new tax or tale upon us, think twice of it, for we may not bear it. And all this I say with the less fear, because I perceive this man here beside me, in the black velvet jerkin and the gold chain on his neck, is the King; nor do I think he will slay me for my word since he hath so many a Turk before him and his mighty sword!"

Then said the captain: "Shall I smite the man, O king? or hath he preached thy sermon for thee?"

"Smite not, for he hath preached it," said the King. "Yet when another hath spoken our thought, other thoughts are born therefrom, and now have I another sermon to preach; but I will refrain me as now. Let us down and to our dinner."

So they went, the King and his gentles, and sat down by the river under the rustle of the poplars, and they ate and drank and were merry. And the King bade bear up the broken meats to the vine-dressers, and a good draught of the archer's wine, and to the headman he gave a broad gold piece. But when the poor folk had all that under their hands, it was to them as though the kingdom of heaven had come down to earth.

In the cool of the evening home rode the king and his lords. The king was distraught and silent; but at last the captain, who rode beside him, said to him: "Preach me now thine after sermon, O king!"

"I think thou knowest it already," said the king, "else hadst thou not spoken in such wise to the Carle; but tell me, what is thy craft and the craft of all these whereby ye live, as the potter by making pots and so forth?"

Said the captain: "As the potter lives by making pots, so we live by robbing the poor."

Again said the king: "And my trade?"

Said he "Thy trade is to be a king of such thieves, yet no worse than the rest."

The king laughed.

"Bear that in mind," said he, "and then shall I tell thee my thought while yonder Carle spake. 'Carle,' I thought, 'were I thou or such as thou, then would I take in my hand a sword or a spear, or were it only a hedge-stake, and bid others do the like, and forth would we go; and since we would be so many, and with nought to lose save a miserable life, we would do battle and prevail, and make an end of the craft of kings and of lords and of usurers, and there should be but one

craft in the world, to wit, to work merrily for ourselves and to live merrily thereby."

Said the captain: "This, then, is thy sermon. Who will heed it if thou preach it?"

Said the King: "They who will take the mad king and put him in a king's mad-house, therefore do I forbear to preach it. Yet it *shall* be preached."

"And not heeded," said the Captain, "save by those who head and hang the setters forth of new things that are good for the world. Our trade is safe for many and many a generation."

And therewith they came to the king's palace, and they ate and drank and slept, and the world went on its ways.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### "MARSHALL & CO."

Mr. J. L. Mahon misunderstands my short statement. I do not at all "complain" of the article for which he is responsible; nor do I "come forward to defend a system or champion a class." Neither do I "wish to discuss" any matter with any one who uses such language as Mr. Mahon's. I only claimed, as the article in question referred to personal matters, to warn any one who may have read it not to believe an absurd compilation of falsehood. You have given me the opportunity of doing this, and there I will leave the matter.

JOHN MARSHALL.

### VEGETARIAN DIET.

Let not the progress of humanity be stayed, not by a floating straw; but stay, will vegetarianism help or hinder? Admitting all that can be said of employers' greed, and, in fact, being in a position to prove the keenness of that greed in this matter, yet I am hopeful that the shark has not much bite here.

Truly the cost of meal is small, but meal does not make a tolerable food alone, "groceries" of various kinds have to be substituted largely for butchers' goods, and the cost of fuel to cook farinaceous foods is larger; the cooking utensils are also a very considerable item of cost. I would suggest that any Socialist who hears a capitalist recommend vegetarianism, should ask him to supply a suitable cooking range so that it may have one fair trial, and I think the ingenious capitalist will climb down.

But I think vegetarianism is a very powerful agent for us; the teeming millions cannot have vegetarian diet, and live, until the land is municipalised, for the present cultivation is too stupid to produce what is wanted to sustain life. Take the example of celery, a hardy plant if you know how to handle it; and a bolted and barred iron door against rheumatism, lumbago, and sciatica, if you know how to eat it; it can be grown for a halfpenny a "head," but the stupid way of doing everything brings the price up to two or three pence in towns. A cultivator growing such crops as celery gets his rent raised by the perfumed seigneur who calls himself landowner, which has two effects, first it restricts cultivation, and second it increases the price. Again, a grower of this class of food is helped by having a greenhouse: if he builds one it becomes the property of the landlord from the simple fact of being built upon his ground! Be these thy gods, O Israel!

Vegetarianism may help Socialism, but it cannot be generally adopted until the capitalist (want-of) system has been swept away. It is desirable in itself, for, beyond the circumstance of prohibiting gout, it keeps the young children from restlessness and other troubles.

CHARLES WALKDEN.

### SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

I took a good long walk to-day, and met with various small adventures. 1. A boy of seven or eight, with whom I talked. He was close to the cottage where he lived, on the top of Barbury Hill, where is a British camp. As I had walked a good way I asked him if his mother could give me a drink of milk. He said "No, he never had milk to drink." After some talk he said they only drank tea, and then with a gleam in his eye he added: "I had a cup of milk a month since at the farm!"

2. Salvation Army at Chiseldon. I was talking with a man after the sermon was over (I happened to get to the village as the service was ending), and after a few words he volunteered that he didn't know which were worst, Liberals or Tories, and that he wished all of them turned out.

3. Labourer in train. He began to pitch into Arch, so I asked him what he would do, and after a bit of grumbling against the masters, I further asked him why he and his pals didn't put the masters into the poor-houses and keep them there, and then set to work and till the ground for themselves. To which he responded readily that if they had any one to lead them they would set about it to-morrow.

These things show in a curious way how widely ideas of revolution are spreading. This village of Chiseldon is deep in the country, far away from towns, and yet the only two countrymen I talk to are ready for anything, if "anyone will lead them."

C. J. FAULKNER.

Marlborough (Wilts).

### THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL ON THE LATE TRADES' UNION CONGRESS IN PARIS.

The *Freeman's Journal*, referring to the International Trades' Union Congress lately held in Paris, takes occasion to ridicule its "Socialism of a very red hue indeed," and states "foreign artisans would make the State a kind of fairy god-mother to the children of toil. Yet with all the visionary schemes of which the Congress gravely approved, some practical and commendable proposals were mingled. For instance, the prevention of the employment of children under fourteen years in factories, the liability of employers for accidents, the independent inspection of all workshops, and making the same thoroughly sanitary for the workers. All these," it adds, "have been recognised by British law."

As regards the employing of children, the law is quietly passed over by getting the children to declare they are fourteen years of age. This was

systematically done in a mineral-water factory I was employed in. As regards the employer's liability for accidents, all the workers were required to contract themselves out of the Act, although the trade was very dangerous, bandages being always ready for lacerated wounds caused frequently by the bursting of the bottles while charging or afterwards. As regards the inspection of workshops, every one with any experience of factory life knows the Factory Act only "applies to workshops where the workers are women or young persons." I am in an establishment now where these predominate; there is no water-closet for the men, and their department is so unsanitary as to excite the commiseration of every outsider that visits it, including a gentleman belonging to the *Freeman's Journal*.

The *Freeman's Journal* condemns the resolution referring to the fixing of a fair wage to enable the worker to live and thrive and support his family, although it supports the fixing of a rent by the State that will let the peasant farmer do so, and which really amounts to the same thing.

Notwithstanding the article in the *Freeman's Journal*, Socialism will continue to advance like a prairie-fire. The tyranny, cruelty, greed, and inhumanity of commercialism has lighted it. When the revolution has passed, there will rise out of the ashes of the old order a grander, nobler, and happier society, in which men will be helping brothers not bloated masters and starving slaves as we find them to-day. J. E. MCARTHY.

R. F. E. WILLIS (Liverpool) writes asking: 1. "How can I obtain a report, in French or English, of the Workmen's International Conference (Paris)? 2. Can you refer me to a good Socialist romance in French? State publisher and price."

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES.

### FRANCE.

The smaller ways of exploiting the labourer by evading payment of wage, by delaying and so forth, are many, ingenious, and lamentable, and now and then worthy of record. Note, for instance, a case which came up among others before the "Council of Prud'hommes" the other day in Paris. A certain brickmaker with four of his children had worked during seven weeks for his employer at the rate of 5 francs per 1000 bricks. He earned for this 316fr. 85c., towards which an instalment of 170 francs was made for the seven week's labour so generously and confidently advanced. Several times is this petty exploiter summoned before the prud'hommes. He with a pious belief in the traditional, almost heaven-vested power and "rights" of the beneficent Labour Organiser, firmly refusing further payment. The Council then authorised the maker of bricks to distrain for the money. To this the man of ingenious ways retorts by a dramatic *coup*, bringing his wife by the hand and presenting her to the Council as the sole owner of his goods and possessions. Madame further develops the comedy by claiming of the luckless worker an indemnity of 500 francs for damages and annoyances caused by the distraint. More farcical delays. Meanwhile, what does the too-trusting maker of bricks with his family live upon? "Of the camelion's dish" perchance, "eating the air, promise-crammed." These are all very trivial and wearisome details, no doubt, but they all form part of the story of the Great Mill, which has for its legend, "Grind, or be ground." A turn of the wheel, the maker of bricks atop, and see him grinding away contentedly enough.

CIGAR-MAKERS IN PARIS.—At a cigar manufactory in the Rue de Charenton three years ago, the workwomen could earn an average of 2 fr. to 2 fr. 25 c. a-day, but thanks to the inventor of a machine for rolling the cigars the wage is now reduced to about 1 franc. Out of this meagre salary the women have to pay 1 fr. 50 c. to a Mutual Help Society, and 1 fr. 50 c. to a Superannuation Fund, from which latter they can only claim help after 30 years' sojourn in the factory. The brutality of overseer and director, and the triumph of exploitation of the women in their power can easily be conceived.

To judge from the numerous little anecdotes in the *Cri du Peuple*, the Parisian police are truculent and arbitrary to a quite unparalleled extent. We read of quiet citizens mildly applying to the police depots for the redressment of some wrong, and being received by covert sneers or frank and brutal insult. We read of women fainting, and the good-natured passers-by stopping to offer their assistance, being maltreated by gendarmes and threatened with arrest (for obstruction?); and finally we read of studious citizens being "moved on" in vigorous language on being discovered in the crime of pausing for a moment or so to peruse a newly-purchased number of the *Cri*. (When will the *Commonweal* reach the proud position of being capable of rousing such evil passions in the breast of a British gendarme?)

POISSY.—In a recent number of the *Cri* are printed the rules of the Delille foundries at Poissy, which merely form a long list of penalties to be imposed on the workmen for any omission of duty, or conduct that the powers that be choose to consider undesirable. I quote one or two: "Art. 4. The newly engaged workman can be dismissed at any hour . . . he is also at liberty to leave when he wishes, but will be subject to penalties under the rules." That is the employer's usual notion of "liberty" for his workman. "Art. 5. Every workman who misses work without leave, to pay the following fines: For the half-day, 75 centimes; for the whole day, 1 franc 50 centimes," etc. "Art. 9. For singing, whistling, shouting, fine of 50 centimes." Article 16 clenches the lot with a pretty symmetry, "Workers who manifest any disobedience, intriguers, and agitators will be subject to a fine of 20 francs, and to be immediately dismissed." That is natural enough, but is interesting as a concise expression of the general attitude of distrust between master and man; showing a certain feeling too that so well-ordered an establishment could scarcely be without an agitator or intriguer or two—might possibly coin some from the midst of those obedient and silent toilers!

The stay-makers at the Salomon establishment in Paris that I mentioned last week, after a short strike and a lively manifestation of dissatisfaction outside the workshop, have gone back to work on their own terms, i.e., the new rules and tariff presented to them for signature to be suppressed, and the old condition of work to remain unchanged. Apprentices make at this atelier 6 to 9 francs, skilled hands make about 16 francs, from which has to be deducted the cost of silk and thread, etc. The ingenious M. Salomon would have reduced this riotously high wage a good deal by the obnoxious tariff.

SAINT-QUENTIN.—A strike of 100 weavers has taken place near here, on the reduction of 15 per cent. of an already frequently reduced wage.

"The bath in which the infamous Marat was when Charlotte Corday rid the world of him, has been sold by a priest of the diocese of Vannes to a Paris wax-works showman. The price was 1000 dols., which will be devoted to the uses of a religious school." These lines, which I copy from an advanced Boston paper, form an epitome of latter-day sentiments; the price, always an interesting subject, the unhealthy sight-seeing passion, the religious touch of the worthy priest ministering to that passion and consecrating the proceeds to religious purposes, and finally the sweeping condemnation of the "infamous Marat," calmly regardless of his strange character, the time when he lived, the work he did; in every phrase, superior and "advanced." Humanity reveals its character for the instruction of "him that would be admonished."

### BELGIUM.

LIEGE.—The Belgian workers will pay for their boldness in coming before the Enquiry made by the Commission of Labour last week in Liège. Already one girl has been dismissed from the factory where she worked for exposing the tyranny and abuses which took place there. A subscription has been opened in the *Réforme* for the benefit of the workers who are certain to be boycotted. At one of the sittings of the Commission, in answer to some delegates who asked the President to declare that the Commission would take those workmen who came before them under their protection, M. Saintellette could of course only vaguely reply that he should hope that "no act of vengeance or oppression would come to add to the difficulties of the task of the Commission."

At a later sitting of the Commission a delegate of the bootmakers deposed that the most serious competitors of their trade were the prisons and reformatories; the contractor pays 20 centimes at a prison for a pair of boots for which he would have to pay an ordinary worker 1 fr. 70 c. He considered association among the workers very important, but the tyranny of the police made it almost impossible.

HUY.—The workers at the sheet-iron factory complain of their wages; they work 12 hours for a sum varying from 1 fr. 80 c. to 3 fr. 25 c. The fines also are very heavy and of course arbitrary. One dodge is, not to post up the rules about the workshops, so that the men are often fined for infringements of rules of which they are ignorant. Fines reach to 5, 10, and even 20 francs.

### HOLLAND.

There is very great distress in Holland. The state of things at Zell, the largest of the manufacturing towns there is heart-rending. Out of a population of 13,000 to 14,000, of whom a large portion are occupied in agriculture, 1300 workpeople are without work, that is four thousand human beings are without bread. In the market-place in front of the church, the poverty-stricken people gather by hundreds, men, women and children, and seat themselves against the wall, hopeless, emaciated and clothed in rags. It is no longer mere poverty but *hunger* that oppresses them. This is not all. Those who are in work only earn eight or nine shillings a-week, whilst six years ago their wages were from 18s. to 24s. In addition to this provisions are very dear. The peasants have helped the sufferers as much as they can, but they can help no longer.

### SPAIN.

BARCELONA.—A strike of masons took place here lately, the workers demanding a reduction of the working-day. The strike seems to be spreading to other localities, among them San Martin de Provensal. It is also said that the carpenters of Barcelona intend to demand fairer terms of their employers.

HAVANNAH.—The strike in the tobacco factories will most likely spread further. The labour movement in Cuba is an important one, especially among those employed in the tobacco industry.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

### Executive.

At their usual weekly meeting on Monday the Council voted the following resolutions:—1. "That in future the chairman of Council meeting be allowed to vote." 2. "That arrangements be made for an early formation of a Sunday school at Farringdon Hall." 3. "That the Socialist League taking into consideration the evil consequences of unscrupulous importation of foreign labourers into this country, appoints a committee to consider this important question and to find out the best means to counteract this evil." A deputation was received from the Metropolitan Open-air Temperance Mission, and an amicable understanding arrived at as to mutual forbearance and aid under certain circumstances. W. A. Chambers took his seat as a member of the Council.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Croydon, to May 31. Mile-end, to June 30. Dublin, Hammersmith, North London, to July 31. Birmingham, Bloomsbury, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Hackney, Leeds, Merton Abbey, Norwich, to August 31. Manchester, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Marylebone, Oxford, to September 30. Branches not mentioned here have not paid to date, and some are months in arrears. This laxity on the part of Branches is one of the greatest hindrances to the propaganda of the League.—PH. W., Sept. 14.

### BRANCH REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, September 10th, at 49, Tottenham Street, W., we held our first sociable chat. P. Webb opened the discussion on "Foreigners in English Socialism." A good debate followed. We trust that many of our people will come next Friday to hear Sparling on "Palliative Measures," that we may make the next meeting as successful as the last.—W. A. C.

CLERKENWELL.—Our usual Wednesday and Sunday evening indoor meetings were held, addressed by Barker and Charles. A large meeting was also held on Clerkenwell Green. Literature has sold well during the week. Collected for Propaganda Fund, 2s. 7d. The secretary requests those comrades who can play string or wind instruments to communicate with him at 13, Farringdon Road, with a view to forming a band.—W. B.

CROYDON.—Last Sunday, we held a capital open-air meeting at the Cross Roads, Canterbury Road, when H. A. Barker delivered a stirring address on "Socialist Morality," in which he criticised adversely the current bourgeois morality. The

audience was very attentive and sympathetic.—In the evening he lectured at the Royal County House to a well-filled room on "The Poor's House," and pictured the wretched hovels into which the poor are herded in the East End. There was a discussion at the close of the meeting, to which the lecturer replied. Collection good; sale of literature fair.—A. T., ast. sec.

MARYLEBONE.—On Sunday morning, comrades Arnold, Henderson, and Burcham addressed a large meeting at the corner of Salisbury Street.—In the afternoon Arnold, Burcham, and Wardle addressed a good audience in Hyde Park at a new spot, but the meeting was not so successful as it would have been owing to the commotion caused by an individual near us, and was drawn to a close rather early. Burcham and Arnold afterwards addressed another meeting, which was being carried on by Home Rulers. We have decided to meet in the Park not later than three o'clock for the future.—H. G. A., sec.

MERTON.—Last Sunday, we held a large and enthusiastic meeting upon Mitcham Fair Green, addressed by F. Kitz and H. Sparling. The latter gave an able exposition of our principles, and held the increasing crowd together to the close of the meeting, whilst he described the various political dodges resorted to to bamboozle the people. 39 *Commonweals* and 18 pamphlets sold. We are taking steps to form the Mitcham Branch, afterwards we shall turn our attention to Streatham.—F. Kitz, sec.

NORTH LONDON.—A large meeting was held at Ossulton Street on Tuesday evening by Nicoll and Henderson. Opposition was offered by a Colonial, who advised emigration, but he was effectively replied to by a working-man, who knew from experience in his own family what emigration means to the worker.—On Saturday evening a successful meeting was held at Harrow Road by Nicoll and Henderson. Comrade Wardle closed the meeting, and told the audience that he had just received a summons for speaking there a fortnight ago.—At Regent's Park, on Sunday morning, Cantwell, Charles, Nicoll, and Chambers spoke; 7s. 9d. collected for the Defence Fund. Comrades are asked to come to Harrow Road on Saturday.—F. H., sec.

BRADFORD.—On Saturday and Sunday, September 11th and 12th, we had comrade R. Unwin, from Manchester, in our midst. We succeeded in holding an open-air meeting on Sunday morning opposite the Midland Station. Comrade Boothroyd acted as chairman, and read "Why are the many Poor?" which attracted a crowd of working-men to the spot. Comrade Unwin then addressed the meeting in a very able speech, in which he pointed out the causes of our present miserable state of things and the Socialist remedy. The audience listened attentively, but no opposition was offered. We distributed a good number of leaflets and back numbers of *Commonweal*, and also sold a small amount of literature.—C. H.

GLASGOW.—On Friday evening, September 10th, an open-air meeting was held at Govan Cross. Despite the unfavourable weather there was a fair audience of working-men, who listened to comrades Greer and Glasier with earnest attention.

On Sunday afternoon, comrade Glasier addressed a meeting of the Young Ireland Society, on "Patriotism and Poverty," where the principles of Socialism were received with warm approval.—On Sunday evening in our Rooms, comrade Glasier lectured on "Mr. Bradlaugh's Recent Criticism of Socialism;" a discussion followed, in which Mavor, Maxwell, Warrington, Kennedy, and Bernstein joined. Our meeting at Parkhead, on Monday, had to be postponed on account of the weather.—J. B. G.

HULL.—On September 6th, J. L. Mahon lectured on "Trades' Unionism and Socialism." Notice of this lecture had been sent to each delegate to the Trades Congress, along with a copy of Binning's pamphlet, but the counter attractions of festive gatherings, Peace meetings, etc., prevailed, and only a limited number of delegates attended. There was a good and enthusiastic audience, however. C. L. Biggins (delegate) took the chair. G. Marks (a London delegate), Maltman-Berry, and Derlin took part in the discussion.—On Sunday the 12th, a business meeting was held, and amongst other things it was arranged to have a series of meetings for discussion, amongst the members only, of different subjects, with a view to bringing out our speakers and preparing ourselves generally.—E. T.

MANCHESTER.—The weather was not in favour of open-air work on Sunday, nevertheless, a meeting was held on the Brick Croft, Ashton Old Road, which was addressed by comrades Prince and Cadle. Papers sold well, considering the numbers present.—R. U.

NORWICH.—Last Monday evening, comrade Mowbray lectured at the Offices on "Socialism," to a good audience.—On Thursday, at 8 p.m., a good meeting was held at the Green Hill.—On Sunday, September 12, two very good meetings were held in the City, on St. Mary's Plain at 11 a.m., and in the Market Place at three o'clock, both meetings being well attended and the audiences very much interested. 60 *Commonweals* were sold.—In addition to the above meetings in the City, six of our comrades went to the village of St. Faith's, and held a meeting on the Green at 3.30. Some little opposition was shown, but was satisfactorily replied to by comrades Barker and Houghton, the latter giving some important figures in connection with the ever increasing powers of machinery, and the increasing poverty side by side with the increasing wealth already held by the over-gorged classes.—T. M., joint sec.

BRIGHOUSE AND DISTRICT RADICAL ASSOCIATION.—On Sunday afternoon, comrade Unwin, from Manchester, lectured to this Society on "Early Communism and what it teaches." In the evening the subject was "Socialism and Happiness," in which the lecturer sought to show that Socialism was the only way to put happiness within the reach of all; some good discussion was called out by the evening lecture, and considerable interest in the subject was shown.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

- Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, W. Friday September 17, at 8 p.m. H. H. Sparling on "Palliative Measures." A business meeting will be held half an hour before the lecture; members are earnestly requested to attend.
- Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday September 19, at 7.30 p.m. A Lecture. Wednesday 22, at 8.30. G. Bernard Shaw, "Why we don't act up to our Principles."
- Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7.30 p.m. W. A. Chambers on "Tory, Whig, and Radical."
- Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every alternate Tuesday at 9, for the enrolment of members and other business.
- Hammersmith.**—26, Upper Mall, W. Sunday September 19, at 8 p.m. W. B. Robertson, "Over-Production and Over-Population."
- Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday at 7.45 p.m.
- Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.
- North London.**—32 Camden Road. Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m.

### Country Branches.

- Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.
- Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
- Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8 p.m.
- Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. On Saturday afternoon, September 18, open-air meeting at Rutherglen Cross at 5 o'clock.—On Sunday, at 4.30 p.m., open-air meeting on the Green.—On Sunday evening, at 7, in our Rooms, lecture on "The

Currency Question," by James Mavor.—On Monday evening, at 7.30, open-air meeting at Parkhead Cross.—On Friday evening, 24th, meeting at Govan Cross at 7.30.

**Hull.**—Sunday September 19, at 2.30 p.m., members' meeting at the Communist Club, Blanket Row; J. L. Mahon will speak on "The Study of Political Economy."—Tuesday Sept. 21, at 8 p.m., public meeting at the Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street. Wm. Morris's lecture on "The Aims of Socialism" will be read and discussed.

**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 8 p.m. On Monday evening, September 27, William Morris will lecture in the Ardwick Temperance Hall, Pin Mill Brow, Ashton Old Road. All our members are urged to muster on Saturday evening, September 25, to meet comrade Morris in our club room.

**Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

### LONDON.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 18.	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales")	8	D. J. Nicoll	N. London.
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7	H. A. Barker	Clerkenwell.
S. 19.	Croydon—Cross Roads,	11.30	W. Chambers	Croydon.
	Canterbury Road			
	Marylebone—corner of Salisbury St. and Church St.	11.30	T. E. Wardle	Marylebone.
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	H. A. Barker	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—Beardon Rd.	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	J. Lane	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	F. Henderson	Mile-end.
	Mitcham Fair Green	11.30	Mainwaring	Merton.
	Regent's Park	11.30	The Branch	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	Somerville	Bloomsbury.
	Walham Green, opposite Station	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3	W. Chambers	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	J. Lane	Hackney.
	Clerkenwell Green	7	R. A. Beckett	Clerkenwell.
Tu. 21.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7	T. E. Wardle	N. London.
	Mile-end Waste	8	The Branch	Mile-end.
	Soho—Broad Street	7.30	W. A. Chambers	Bloomsbury.
W. 22.	London Fields—Broadway, opposite "Sir Walter Scott"	8.30	F. Henderson	Hackney.
Th. 23.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	W. A. Chambers	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	8.30	D. J. Nicoll	Mile-end.
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7	W. H. Utley	Bloomsbury.

### PROVINCES.

- Bradford.**—Corner of Godwin St. and Sunbridge Road, every Sunday, at 6 p.m.
- Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m., Sundays.
- Manchester.**—Corner of Gorton Lane and Ashton Old Road, Sundays at 11 a.m.; Gorton Brook, every Sunday afternoon, at 2.45.
- Norwich.**—St. Mary's Plain, 11 a.m.; Market Place, 3 p.m.—Sundays.
- Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

## FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Already acknowledged	£17 3 11	North London Branch, collected Sept. 12	£0 7 8½
Merton Abbey Branch	0 2 6	Sympathiser, Sept. 5	0 0 5
Marylebone Branch	1 10 0		
" Hyde Park, Aug. 21	0 8 2½		
" " Sept. 4	0 1 1½		
		Ph. W., Treasurer, Sept. 14.	£19 13 10½

Remember the Benefit Concert in Farringdon Hall To-night (Saturday) at 7.45.

## "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

In response to an Appeal for Special Donations to a Fund being raised for the support of this Paper, the Treasurer has received the following sums since the beginning of August this year:

Anonymous	£0 8 0	Collected by W. Morris	£0 10 0
Hammersmith Branch (weekly contribution 10s.)	2 10 0	C. Bicknell	2 0 0
Miss J. Morris	1 0 0	Collected by Ph. W.	0 10 0
W. O., Oxford	0 10 0	Walter Crane	1 0 0
Hoxton Branch	0 2 6		£8 10 6
		Ph. W., Sept. 14.	

## THE VIERZON STRIKE.

We, the English Socialists, as a token of solidarity with our French comrades, open herewith a subscription on behalf of their wives and children. All amounts sent to the Secretary of the League will be forwarded to *Le Cri du Peuple*.

Wm. Morris, 5s. May Morris, 5s. H. H. Sparling, 1s. Webb, 6d. Fersenheim 1s. Charles, 3s.—15s. 6d.

THE COMMUNISTISCHER ARBEITER BILDUNGS VEREIN (1st Section), London, passed unanimously, at their meeting on Saturday last, September 11th, two resolutions expressing full confidence in Victor Dave and repudiating the charges made against him in the *Anarchist* and in a recent pamphlet.

## THE PRACTICAL SOCIALIST.

AN EXPONENT OF EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM; BUT DISCUSSION OF ALL ASPECTS INVITED.

EDITED BY THOMAS BOLAS.

MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

W. REEVES, 185 FLEET STREET.

SOCIALISTS should read BRONTERRE O'BRIEN'S great work—"THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND PHASES OF HUMAN SLAVERY: How it came into the World, and how it shall be made to go out." 148 pp., demy 8vo, cloth lettered. Published, 1885, at 3s. 6d.; now offered post-free, 1s. 3d.—Geo. STANDRING, 8 Finsbury Street, E.C.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 37.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

MR. Parnell must have been in some anxiety lest his Bill, cut down so fine as it was, should be accepted by the Tory Government. But the master of the Government, Lord Hartington, has a sort of wooden Whig courage, and was not likely to allow them to revolt, and the so-called Unionist-Liberals were still less able to give him trouble; so that Mr. Parnell's victory in the form of a defeat was pretty safe from the first. He has shown his sympathy with the Irish peasant, he has re-established his party in its position of being worth dealing with, even by a government so strong as this one of the Whig in the Tory's skin; nay, it may even come to a matter of necessity with them to deal with him; and finally he will be able to say, "You see how moderate my Bill was, so much so that the very Tories were almost ready to accept it, and here is my Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain who wouldn't let them." Not a bad arrangement on his part, certainly; but then the risk of it! Suppose the Bill had to pass, what *would* he have done then?

Parliamentary leaders must get used to be dragged through the dung-hill of lies and intrigue, or they will be of little service to their party; and clearly Mr. Parnell has a quite philosophical indifference to such trifles. If he can keep it up to the end he will deserve canonisation as a Parliamentary saint; and in sober earnest such toughness and steadiness of purpose are worthy of commendation, even if there is little else in the man. But a pity it is that the end aimed at is just a parliament in Dublin, where all will have to begin again—with Mr. Parnell on which side, the right or the wrong?

All this while, does it ever strike the many progressive politicians who are so anxious about the welfare of the Irish peasants (as they certainly should be) that their interest in the sufferings of people who are turned out of house and home because they cannot pay their rents should not be limited to the other side of St. George's Channel or to "interesting" people like the Highlanders of the west and the islemen? Might not suspension of evictions become an English, nay, a London question, before long? I invite gentlemen who think these matters can have nothing to do with "prosperous England" to stand before some broker's shop in a poor neighbourhood, and see if their imaginations will carry them far enough to fit some tale of sordid misery to a few of the wretched wares that are hung up there for sale.

There have been some useful articles in the *Pall Mall Gazette* lately. The doughty champion of the Ten Commandments (whoever he may be) appears to be taking a holiday just now, and the semi-Socialist writers on the staff are taking advantage of that fact. The article on the Scotch miners will probably be laid aside rather hastily by the optimist bourgeois if he comes across it, for the facts given in it have a very threatening look even to the most short-sighted. It is true that its writer deplors that the worst features of the Socialistic faith are finding acceptance among the workmen there, with their noble earnings of 12s. 6d. a-week for the privilege of working in a slice of hell; but he does not seem astonished at that fact, but rather looks upon it as a matter of course that when men are much ground down they should be inclined to turn towards Socialism as their hope. So curiously have the times changed since Socialism was, as we used to be told, a very few years ago, quite unknown among the British working classes.

"A Month in Search of Work" will be another discomfort to our optimist bourgeois friend, if he should stumble on it, especially if he has read any article that hints at the number of men out of work even now before the winter comes on, and exercises the multiplication-table a little. Mr. Hyndman and Mr. Champion, also, have both been allowed a run in the columns of the *Pall Mall*; and there has been a paragraph on the street-speaking question which is not without intelligence, though the writer perhaps looks through religious spectacles on the subject.

Our readers will have noticed several letters amongst our correspondence on the subject of Vegetarianism, one or two of which were written in a somewhat aggrieved tone, apropos of attacks by Socialists on that doctrine, if one may call it so, though several comrades and friends of ours are vegetarians. It seems to me that there is no need either to attack a vegetarian or to confer a vote of thanks on him, so long as he is one because he chooses to be so on any grounds that please him-

self, whether he makes it a matter of health, or economy, or sentiment. But a man can hardly be a sound Socialist who puts forward vegetarianism as a solution of the difficulties between labour and capital, as some people do, and as one may think very severe capitalists would like to do, if the régime were not to be applied to themselves; and again, there are people who are vegetarians on ascetic grounds, and who would be as tyrannical as other ascetics if they had the chance of being so. I do not mean to say that Socialist vegetarians are likely to fall into these traps; they only make themselves liable to the sneer of an anti-Socialist acquaintance of mine, who said to me one day "All you Socialists have each of you another fad besides Socialism."

The first number of *Freedom* has appeared, published by the English Anarchist-Socialists, and is to appear monthly. In spite of its small size, it is well worth a penny, as the matter is very well written and thoughtful, and must interest all Socialists, whatever their opinions may be.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## TITHE AND TITHE RENT-CHARGE.

### II.

As tithes form the chief source of income of the regular clergy, our object is to show that with very rare exceptions tithes are not the result of the free-will offerings of our pious ancestors; that before and since the Reformation, their payment has been enforced by law, and in most cases by laws of the most stringent character. We have seen further that the great bulk of the land now paying tithes has been brought into cultivation since the Reformation, and made subject to the payment of tithes by the 5th sec. of the 2 and 3 Ed. VI., ch. 13. By the 5th sec. all corn and hay were to be subject to the payment of tithe, and the clergy had the right to go on to the lands and there claim the tenth part of the produce.

But the farmers began to cultivate hemp, and flax, and madder, as well as different kinds of corn, and the clergy at once claimed tithe on those articles. The tithe, however, was very difficult to determine, but the tithe must be paid. How to solve the difficulty was not so easy. The Government stepped in to the aid of the clergy and against the public, and the 3 W. and M., ch. 3, and the 11 and 12 W. C., ch. 16, were passed to solve the difficulty, by fixing a ground-rent charge of 5s. per acre of all land sown with hemp, flax, or madder. In the reign of Geo. II. an Act was passed (31 Geo. II., ch. 12) for encouraging the growth of madder and ascertaining the tithe thereon. It is not our intention to attempt to enumerate all the various Acts passed to enforce the payment of tithe, but we may here observe that Mr. Leonard Shelford, of the Middle Temple, in his explanatory Notes to the Tithe Commutation Act, states at p. 272 that from 1757 (30 Geo. II.) to 1830, over 2000 Acts were passed affecting the payment of tithes.

By the year 1830 tithe was paid on the following articles: wheat, barley, oats, rye, mullet, peas, beans, tares, sapporn, hemp, flax, hay, turnips, every kind of garden produce, fruit of every kind, wood and underwood, hops, potatoes, etc.; milk, wool, the young of animals, fowls, eggs, barren cattle, the honey of bees, mills, pasture land, etc. The tenth part of all these had to go to the parson for the glory of God. But whether for the glory of God or not, great discontent prevailed, and thousands refused to pay their tithes. In every part of England there was one general feeling of indignation at the rapacity of the clergy. From 1820 that indignation increased from year to year, till the refusal to pay tithes became almost universal. In 1833, in the parish of Abbey Holm, Westmorland, 300 prosecutions for tithes took place. In Leyland, Lancashire, 488 prosecutions; in Standish and Eccleston, same county, the numbers were 362 and 245 respectively. In Lancashire alone the prosecutions reached in that one year 1319. In the parish of Kendal hundreds of prosecutions took place, and had the rector succeeded in making good his claims his income would have been increased by £10,000 a-year. In the county of Glamorgan thousands of prosecutions took place, and the Solicitor-General for England estimated the cost of the prosecutions at £2,000,000 sterling. Agitation ran high, and the greatest indignation prevailed. The parson must have his tithe as Shylock had his pound of flesh. It is the law of the land, a part of our glorious constitution, that tithes must be paid, and the law must be obeyed. In Ireland the tithe-war became more fierce than in England. Thousands of prosecutions there took

place. When in 1833 the collection of tithes was no longer possible, Parliament stepped in. In that year the clergy of England and Wales were ordered to send in a return of their incomes, based on the average of the three years ending December 31, 1831. In those returns we see the true character of the clergy.

To the order of the House of Commons Committee many of the clergy made no return. The Bishops of Bangor, Carlisle, Exeter, Gloucester, Bristol, St. David's, Oxford, Rochester, St. Asaph, Winchester, and Worcester, sent in no returns. The Bishop of Exeter denied the authority of the House of Commons to demand to know his income. The Bishop of Lincoln wrote to say that he was unable to state the income of his see; the same with the Bishop of Chichester. But the returns, defective as they were, were sent in and laid before the House of Commons, June 22, 1835. As soon as those returns were examined it was known they were not correct. The total gross income is stated at £3,757,513, and the net income £3,045,361. The general impression had been that the income was not less than seven or eight millions per annum, yet here was a return, and by the clergy themselves, representing it at less than four millions. Everybody knew the returns were not truthful, yet who dare accuse the clergy, those holy men, of having made false returns?

As we have stated, those returns were laid before Parliament, June 22, 1835. In 1836, the Act was passed for the commutation of tithes. And now the truth with regard to the income of the Church began to appear. As the tithes were commuted into a rent-charge, the claims of the clergy assumed very different proportions to their stated incomes in 1835. In the return to the House of Commons they had made their incomes as small as possible. In some cases these holy men had no income at all; but as the commutations were made their incomes were found to be very handsome ones. But we must give a few samples, and for convenience we do so in tabular form:

Benefice.	County.	Income as returned in 1835.	Tithe Rent-Charge claimed.	Difference.
		£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Northorpe ...	Lincoln	48	418 2 3	370 2 3
Membury ...	"	83	380 0 0	297 0 0
Coverley ...	Gloucester	320	465 0 0	145 0 0
Stow-Cum-Guy ...	Cambridge	52	530 0 0	478 0 0
Wisbech ...	"	1779	2354 0 0	575 0 0
Aston-Inghan... ..	Hereford	84	340 0 0	256 0 0
Bridstow ...	"	276	585 15 0	309 15 0
Great Milton ...	Oxford	198	850 0 0	652 0 0
Minster Lowel ...	"	Nil.	119 0 0	119 0 0
Kingsbury ...	Middlesex	46	500 0 0	454 0 0
Little Stanmore	"	267	451 5 0	184 5 0

It is hardly necessary to offer one word of comment on the above. The difference between the returns of 1835, purporting to represent the total income, and the tithe rent-charge claimed, is so great that it could not have been accidental. And the tithe-rent charge is only one, though the principal, source of their income. The returns of 1835 were an unblushing attempt to deceive and gull the public, and stamp the clergy with a meanness which one could hardly have thought possible.

The above commutations were made within a few years of the passing of the Act of 1836. We must, therefore, give a few samples of a later date. We take the following from the Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for 1878, pp. 87, 99:—

ECCLESIASTICAL PREFERMENT, the value of which has been certified for the purpose of the Stamp Duty, pursuant to the 33 and 34 Vic., ch. 97, Nov. 1, 1876, to June 11, 1877.

Benefice.	County.	Return of 1835.	Net Income, 1877.
		£	£
Aberdare ...	Glamorgan	108	200 — 300
Bacup ...	Lancaster	113	250 — 300
Benenden ...	Kent	108	300 — 400
Farringhoe ...	Northampton	Nil	700 — 800
Glaston ...	Rutland	200	400 — 500
Ilminster ...	Somerset	200	500 — 600

From the Ecclesiastical Commissioners Report for 1881, pp. 43, 44, we take the following cases:—

Benefice.	County.	Return 1835.	Rent Charge.	Date of Commutation.
		£	£ s. d.	
Alton Pancras ...	Dorset	25	212 0 0	Nov. 13, 1879.
Tarring, West ...	Sussex	Nil	445 10 0	Dec. 4, 1879.
Port Slade ...	"	171	239 19 4	Mar. 11, 1880.
Ribchester ...	Lancaster	128	215 0 0	Aug. 12, 1880.
Spittle ...	Pembroke	79	152 0 0	April 15, 1880.

Taking the returns of 1835, with the tithe rent-charge claimed in lieu of the payment of tithes in kind, there is but one conclusion possible—that the returns were deliberately falsified to make the income of the Church appear as small as possible. And but for the passing of the Tithe Commutation Act, by which the tithe was to be converted into a rent-charge, the attempted fraud might not have been discovered for years yet to come. Those returns were infamous, especially coming from men professing to be the servants of the Most High, whose words should be true and whose deeds should be pure and holy. Yet those returns were an outrage on the common-sense of the nation. But disrespectful as were the returns of the ordinary clergy, those of the highest dignitaries of the Church were far worse. To some of those returns we must now refer.

In 1830, the Archbishop of Canterbury wanted authority to borrow, and his counsel, Dr. Lusington, stated the income of the Archbishop at £32,000 per annum. In making his returns in 1835, on the average of the three years ending December 31, 1831, the Archbishop declared his income to be £19,181, being a difference of £12,819. What an astounding statement! But his Grace declared that the future income of the see would only be £17,060. The commissioners believed him.

His income was fixed at £15,000 a-year, besides two palaces with splendid gardens attached. The excess of receipts over his income he was to hand over to the commissioners yearly, and to make his returns to Parliament every seven years. When his septennial returns for the seven years ending 1843 were laid before Parliament, it was found he had pocketed £28,000 above his legal income. There was not much said about that little item. £28,000 on the part of an archbishop was not so much as would have been 28 pence on the part of a workman. But when his second septennial returns were made for the seven years ending 1850, both in and out of the House a great noise was made. For the edification of my readers, and as a relic of clerical honour and integrity, I give a summary of the second septennial returns to Parliament, only adding the fourth column:

Date.	Receipts.	Salary.	Payments to the Commissioners.	Surplus not paid to Commissioners.
1844 ...	£25,353	£15,000	£5,944	£4,409
1845 ...	29,957	15,000	6,428	8,529
1846 ...	40,663	15,000	7,143	18,520
1847 ...	39,892	15,000	6,952	17,940
1848 ...	30,053	15,000	7,650	7,403
1849 ...	27,234	15,000	8,848	3,386
1850 ...	21,959	15,000	12,925	(£5,066 Deficit)
	£215,111	£105,000	£55,800	£60,187
			Less Deficit,	5,066

Received over and above his income ... £55,121  
Add the sum pocketed in his first septennial return ... 28,000

And his Grace kept in 14 years the nice little sum of £83,121

During the same period the Archbishop of York kept £47,161 over and above his income of £10,000 a-year; the Bishop of London no less than £77,455 above his income of £10,000 a-year; the Bishop of Winchester, £29,513; and so the game went on. The return of the Bishop of Durham we must say a few words about.

The Bishop's salary was fixed at £8000 a-year. But how could Bishop Maltby live on £8000 a-year? It was not likely; hence he was tempted to do wrong. He returned his income, gross, £21,000 a-year; his net income £19,000. And he assured the commissioners that in future the income would decrease. Bishops are always truthful, and the commissioners believed the Bishop. But as in other cases, the income of the see did not decrease. The Bishop paid over to the commissioners every year so much, and all went smoothly along till the first septennial returns were sent in. It was then found there was a discrepancy of £45,000. But that was excusable on the part of a bishop. As we gave the second septennial return of the Archbishop of Canterbury we will do the same with the Bishop of Durham.

Date.	Receipts.	Salary.	Payments to the Commissioners.	Surplus not paid over.
1844 ...	£24,558	£8,000	£13,800	£2,758
1845 ...	22,366	8,000	13,534	832
1846 ...	27,031	8,000	13,823	5,208
1847 ...	39,108	8,000	14,829	16,279
1848 ...	35,124	8,000	13,364	13,760
1849 ...	20,755	8,000	14,364	(£1,609 Deficit)
1850 ...	38,619	8,000	14,256	16,363
	£207,561	£56,000	£98,451	£55,200
			Less Deficit	1,609

Surplus not given up ... £53,591  
Add the sum pocketed first septennial return ... 45,000

Grand total in 14 years ... £88,591

It is stated that in the fourteen years the Bishops took over half a million above their legal incomes.

It will be noticed that as the time drew near for the septennial returns to be made, as with the Archbishop of Canterbury, so with the Bishop of Durham, he paid over more than he should have done, thereby leaving a deficit. We will not do either of them the injustice to say that it was the result of the "pricks of conscience," because we cannot assume that either of these "fathers in God" was conscious he was doing wrong in keeping what did not belong to him.

Looking at the whole matter, what are we to think of the system that renders such abuses possible? There were fiery debates in the House of Commons, discussions in the press, and a good deal of indignation—and there the matter ended. Yet in the case of Canterbury, London, or Durham, enough was pocketed to have sent a thousand ordinary men into penal servitude. One good thing resulted from the debates in the House. An Order in Council was issued in September 1851, commanding all bishops appointed subsequent to 1847 to send in their returns every six months. None were to be trusted in future for seven years. Also no one was to be allowed to renew a lease where the fine to be paid exceeded £100 without the consent of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

But what a state of things! The great dignitaries of the glorious Protestant Church of England, those holy men, those "fathers in God," with the "grace of the Holy Ghost" to boot, not to be trusted for more than six months at a time! But the delinquents were to keep what they had got. And those great lights of the Church sat in the Upper House all those years—sat there as law-makers, while they were pocketing tens of thousands that did not belong to them! Oh, well may it be said that venal are the sins of the great, but mortal the sins of the poor!

J. SKETCHLEY.

(To be continued).

## THE POOR'S HOUSE.

It may be surmised from the title above, that it is my intention to describe those huge buildings known as "workhouses," places in which a medley mass of unfortunates eke out life's closing day, and oft, too, where the unfortunate mother ushers into the world the poor little infant, who, the chances are, will, after having spent his labour-force in the service of the community, come back here again to die in the place of his birth. That youth of labour and age of ease of which Goldsmith wrote a century ago, is so rarely realised by the toiler that it is safe to say that instead of his having increasing ease with increasing age, more often than not comes increasing want and hardship. Outside the "union" there are huge masses of starved, diseased, and corrupted beings, who, despite their more than miserable surroundings, are not yet debased enough for modern civilisation to obliterate what remains in them of the love of liberty. The fight and struggle for existence they have fought and barely won; and though they have spent all their force fighting their life almost through to overcome poverty, their efforts have been futile and the weaker among them have in despair as a last resource been compelled to seek refuge in the "union." Here we will leave them, for it is not of them that it is my purpose to speak, but of those who live outside.

During the last few years writers, reformers, and capitalists have been busily engaged with pen, tongue, and money, investing in and writing and speaking of those mighty monuments of ingenuity and wisdom—"Model Dwellings." Great clearances of old rookeries have been effected for the purpose of finding "sites" for their erection. The dishousing of the inhabitants consequent upon the demolition of these places has materially increased the overcrowding in those slums as yet untouched by the destroyer's hand. This, however, is not the fault of the Model builders, who, if they are to be believed, are desirous of supplying the dishoused slum-dwellers with good healthy dwellings in place of their dilapidated and unsanitary ones. But in spite of their benevolent intentions, the dishoused poor very rarely find their way into them. A process is adopted by which the most respectable applicants are filtered out, and the result is that a financially stronger class of persons inhabit them in place of those for whom they were supposed to be erected. In construction the Model is somewhat like that other monument of nineteenth century civilisation—the Model Prison. Huge piles of bricks and mortar they are, slung together in the most barbarous fashion, floor on floor, five, six, and seven storeys high, with dirty balconies and with no pretence to architectural beauty. Nasty gloomy interiors, with ceilings and walls whitewashed and coloured in the rudest manner, as though Art had never been born or was long since dead. From a sanitary standpoint they may be superior to that of the dwellings they replace; but the penning of such large numbers up together must ultimately intensify the evils they were designed to obviate. The necessity for these concentrated dwellings is largely due to the enormous migration from the rural districts to the large towns, and the migration is primarily due to the iniquitous land system of this country. This migration has enormously increased the population in the towns. During the present century the population of London has increased from one to five millions, including suburban area, and at the same rate of increase it will reach twenty or thirty millions at the close of the next. Of course this is not wholly due to the migration from the rural parts, but that it is largely so is, I think, indisputable. We have on the one hand huge tracks of land falling out of cultivation and decreasing in value, and on the other small spaces in towns enormously increasing in consequence of the competition for them. This competition is brought about by the centralisation of population, and this gravitation towards and multiplication of numbers within the centres themselves, has made it necessary to house them together in the smallest possible space. The Model has been designed for this purpose. Let this centralisation go on long enough, and despite improved sanitation the Model will become a manufactory of disease terrible to contemplate. So much for the Model, the work of the modern reformer. Now for the slums, as yet untouched by his improving hand. The slums consist of old houses, some of them two hundred years old. Of two, four, and six rooms, they were originally built to house one family, but now afford accommodation for four, six, eight; and even as many as four families in one room. In numbers of them the occupants carry on their business and perform every function of nature, without exception, in one room. In some, where there is a scarcity of water, those engaged in "rabbit-pulling," for which water is required to loosen the fluff, supply the deficiency with their own urine. The stench resulting from this is abominable. The floors cannot be scrubbed, because the stench arising from this process is so overpowering that the filth has to remain, gradually becoming worse. The water-closet accommodation is shocking. In a house in a certain part of Holborn there was one water-closet for the use of two hundred persons. In one house (same place) there was an open cesspool, and the place so swarmed with rats that the terrified mother had to remain constantly on the watch for fear that they would devour her baby, the rats making their appearance twenty and thirty at a time.<sup>1</sup> In 'Social Notes' for 1879, an article was reprinted from *Lloyd's News* dealing with the homes of the poor. It was based upon the report of a reporter of the *Holborn Guardian*. The locality was Baldwin's Gardens, Grays Inn Road. "The poor inmates complained loudly of the authorities pulling down their homes and compelling them to

live in rookeries. In the back yard the sink was blocked up and the water-closet choked. The dust, the people said, had not been removed for four months certain. The water supply to this house, in which there are over thirty persons living, is kept over the closet; and one of the occupants amongst all this filth was washing potatoes to sell baked in the evening to the public. Decency prevents any description of the disgusting state of this yard, caused by the condition of the closet. In the back room on the ground floor the ceiling was tumbling down, the place quite damp, the husband in bed with rheumatics (had been so four months), and a child lying dead on the table opposite. The rain pouring down the stairs, so much so that it was said the collector, when he came for the rents, had to put up his umbrella if it rained before going up-stairs. There were five living in this room, for which they paid 3s. 6d. per week. In the first floor back five persons lived. Great patches of the ceiling were gone and the water was coming through right from the roof two floors above. 4s. 6d. per week was paid for this room. On going up to the second floor, eight persons were found in the front room, the paper hanging down through damp and the rain coming through the ceiling. 5s. was the rent of this hole. In the third floor front there were four large tubs in a row to catch the water. The room stunk with damp and the sky could be seen through the holes in the ceiling, about six square feet of which was gone. Four lived in this room, and the rent per week was 4s. There are eight rooms in the house, for which the landlord receives 35s. a-week." This is truly described as a sickening picture of wretchedness and misery. In the demolition of Tyndall Buildings, Grays Inn Road, the swarms of vermin were so great that the workmen, although used to this kind of work, "struck" and would not start again until a fire-engine had been sent for and pumped them out of existence. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners are the ground-landlords of some of the very worst slums; and from the Middle Ages down to the present time the Bishops of Winchester have leased from them the very worst about Redcross Street and the Mint. "By their fruits ye shall know them"

The less fortunate of the slum-dwellers take up their abodes in cellars of the most foul kind. There is a case recorded in which the common sewer and pipe from above were open, the filthy sewerage from those overhead constantly pouring down into it, being inhabited by a family, who from habit and the nature of their lives took no notice of its existence.

Bad as are the slums of London, it appears from an extract published in *Tit Bits*, and taken from the *Berlin Echo*, that those of Berlin are if anything worse: "There are about 40,000 houses in the Prussian capital. A small number are inhabited by one or two families, but the great majority are divided into several distinct lodgings. Two thousand five hundred contain from sixteen to twenty lodgings; 20,000 from twenty to thirty lodgings; and 10,000 over thirty lodgings each. Seventy-five thousand of these lodgings are composed of one room only, and inhabited by no fewer than 270,000 persons, which is an average of nearly four persons per room; 75,000 other lodgings are composed of two rooms, and occupied by 360,000 inhabitants; while the remaining 30,000 lodgings are formed of three rooms, inhabited by 140,000 people. These figures will suffice to show the promiscuous way in which the masses of the Berlin population are lodged. The houses in the poor quarters are often five or six storeys high, and are built so close to one another that they are nearly totally devoid of both light and air."

Such are the homes of the poor; nice places truly. The "appydosser," the Embankment outcasts, homeless though they be, are better off in an hygienic sense. But let the poor console themselves. Though in this terrestrial realm they dwell in disease-breeding hovels, when they have left this world of pain and sin "in the mansions of the sky they shall dwell eternal-ly." Meanwhile, they must rest content in the position in which God (?) has placed them, be submissive and humble to their superiors, serve and obey their masters, and above all refrain from coveting their neighbour's goods. This is the hypocritical cant that is preached by the hirelings of the plundering class, preached too in the name of law and order!

Deluded workers, will you for ever remain the slaves of a class? Will you never strike the blow that shall free you from its domination? It is true you are disorganised and ignorant, know not your own needs and how demoralised you are. Until you are educated and organised, Freedom's blow can never be struck. In seeking to emancipate the toiler the Socialist has set himself a gigantic task, and whatever means are employed to accomplish it, the end, its accomplishment will justify. The use of physical force, dynamite, and the like, are however only justifiable when all other means have failed, and in working for the "Social Revolution" the most available weapon should be used first—the force of Reason!

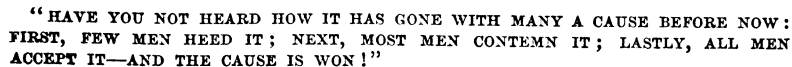
H. A. BARKER.

**Police Interference.**—Wardle appeared at Marylebone Police-court on Thursday the 16th, on a charge of obstruction at Harrow Road, and was committed for trial at Middlesex Sessions on Monday, 27th inst.

**TYRANNY.**—At the boot manufactory of Anderson Bros. there has just occurred one of the most shameless instances of capitalistic greed that we have heard of lately. One of the brothers was about to get married; a foreman told the employés that a wedding-present was due from them to him; and that they must subscribe half-a-crown each to it. Many of them refused and were at the close of the day ordered to pack up their kit and be off. Surely, one would think, this loathsome tyranny would make the fruit of it—that "voluntary testimonial to his goodness"—blister the eyes of its recipient every time he looked at it!—S.

<sup>1</sup> The statements contained in this article are based chiefly upon the minutes of evidence taken by Royal Commission on the Housing of Working Classes.





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RECEIVED.—"The Great Trial in Chicago"—"A Theory of Life"—"What are the Churches Doing?"—"The Unlearned Lesson."

The capitalist granaries are not far to seek. In the National debt, the various local debts, the railways, foreign and colonial bonds, etc., etc., the employer of labour finds—or rather creates—convenient reservoirs into which to pour his ill-gotten gains—gains wrung every farthing out of the toil of the workers. The devices of the capitalist are many and various. When he has made his fortune, as it is called, either out of the factory or the land, he does not go and spend it all again in buying goods, for he could not use them all if he did. Oh, no; he is far too 'cute for that. What he virtually says to the workers is this: "My dear friends, all this wealth which I own but you have produced, and which I cannot possibly use myself, I will lend to you on certain conditions, although it really belongs to you. You can have it back, but in return you must dig canals for me, make railways, build houses and ships, which will then belong to me. These will make it much easier for my children to make their fortunes too, if they want; but as I am tired of fleecing you myself, and as some of my children will be too proud to meddle with trade, there is one more little thing I shall ask you to do in return. For the use of these houses and ships,

Ponder well on these figures, you workers, and prepare to take into your own possession and under your own control all this wealth which you have made by the labour of your hands. Prepare to sweep away the cursed system which permits the idle to take more than two-thirds of what you earn. To repudiate all debt, abolish all interest, take over all land and capital, and to force the idlers to become workers,—such is the task we Socialists have set ourselves. Let us not waste our time in idle jarring; rather let us sink all our differences and work shoulder to shoulder for the cause we love, and which shall triumph, as surely as day will follow night.

W. H. UTLEY.

W. H. UTLEY.

ON Thursday came a discussion on Co-operation. A resolution of vague friendliness towards the co-operative movement was proposed, and a deputation from the co-operators introduced. The deputation said nothing worth remembering, and neglected to reply to Mr. Holmes, of Manchester, who very plainly said that the workers employed in the co-operative movement were "mere wage-slaves and nothing more." C. L. Biggins proposed an amendment in favour of universal co-operation, which was plainly understood and taken to mean Socialism. He was unfortunately prevented from speaking in support of his amendment on the excuse that a question asked by him earlier in the discussion had exhausted his right to speak. In making this ruling it would perhaps be too much to say that the president was unfair. But if he was technically right he was obviously wrong in spirit. And

seeing that so much time was wasted by people who had less interesting things to say than Mr. Biggins had, and knowing also that the Socialist party in the Congress was in a slender minority, he might not have prevented the proposer of so important an amendment from speaking in favour of it. G. J. Marks seconded the amendment, and pointed out that at present the so-called co-operators were making profit out of the non-co-operators, and that if they passed this amendment all the rest of their work would go to the winds and their reputation be saved. Ten votes were given for the amendment and 56 against. Thus fared the first attempt of Socialism to make its way into the Congress. The rebuff is not enough to discourage it, but just enough to make the Socialists a little more active in preparing for the next Congress, by which time the minority should have at least doubled itself.

On Thursday night came the great event—greater than the Congress itself—the banquet. Not the only banquet, for the Congress had complimentary banquets beyond number, at least beyond the number of regular honest meals a man ought to have in a week. But this is *the* banquet, because they pay for it themselves, whereas the others are given by patronising capitalists, town councillors wheedling into popular favour, and thoughtful M.P.'s who, no doubt, put it down in their private accounts as part of their election expenses. There is always a deal of trouble and dispute about "balancing the political parties" in the invitations. The simple and perfect way of effecting this would be to keep them both out. This plan would also, as a matter of course, raise the tone of the company, but the trades' leaders have not yet risen above the stupid and servile idea that a cluster of M.P.'s is an honour to a working-men's meeting. The toasts included the Queen, the clergy, the Corporation, the Congress, the M.P.'s, the ladies, the Press, and the President. The chief speech was by Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., and a weak, wandering, water and milk affair it was. His boast of what trades'-unionists had done was a sorry one, as it must be, since they have only worked for their own interests and nearly always been heedless of the interests of the workers "below" them. He also took occasion to water down the remarks on employers in the president's opening address: "He was quite sure that their president had never intended a single word he had used to be unkindly applied to the large body of employers in this country." Mr. Broadhurst told them plainly not to dispute with their masters about wages, but to turn their attention against the landlords. A pretty piece of advice. Mr. Broadhurst very strangely argued that ground rents rose without the least relation to the rate of wages or the depressions of trade, and if this be so it is difficult to see why wage-earners should bother themselves about ground rent. Superficial and opportunist talk of this kind went down with the delegates, although of course it raised no enthusiasm.

On Friday there was more discussion, Factory Acts and other comforting legislation for particular trades. Mr. Broadhurst was also re-elected Secretary to the Parliamentary Committee, from which it seems that this office is to be kept as a cozy retreat for an individual when his political patrons are out of office. Mr. Mawdsley brought up the report of the Paris International Congress. Mr. John Burnett got up to warn the Congress that if they approved the Paris programme (and surely it is meek and mild enough!) they would be endorsing the French Social Democrats. C. L. Biggins pointed out, in spite of renewed attempts to deprive him of a hearing, that all their business was at least tending towards Socialism; but this was met with expressions of dissent. The programme was rejected except the last clause, which provides for an International Trades' Union Congress.

The last day of the Congress was taken up with minor matters, chiefly amendments to Acts of Parliament, which are discussed every year and seem never to go forward at all. At the wind up there was, of course, a huge string of votes of thanks to all kinds of persons, companies, officers, corporations, etc.

A number of meetings were held during the week in consequence of the Congress sitting. Radicalism, temperance, religion, international arbitration, Socialism, and heaven knows what else, all had their fling. The first and sorriest of them was a meeting on the Sunday before the Congress, to discourse on the "Religious aspect of Trades'-Unionism." It was popularly supposed that this title was a mere cloak for covering a meeting to promote trades'-unionism. There were seven speakers, and as the first four in succession announced themselves local preachers and Sunday-school teachers, and then delivered tame, dreary, spiritless discourses befitting such people, a feeling of disappointment and even dismay spread over the audience. The meeting has been reported as enthusiastic. I beg to say that that report is a lie. There was no enthusiasm and nothing to call forth any. The speakers drawled out a small sermon each and the chairman cautiously spun out another. It was not without some absurd touches either. One speaker began to brandish quotations from Shakespeare—"All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players" grandiloquently chirruped forth the speaker, and then came the application. "We are players on the field of labour," profoundly continued the orator, and the audience sleepily applauded, while the smothered laughter went unnoticed. The meeting finished with the doxology, at which I fled.

The Congress cannot be said to be hopeful for the cause of the people, at least not directly. But if it was not infected with the spirit of the new cause, at least it was not foolishly enthusiastic about the old apology for one. Everything went on like a meeting of railway shareholders. There was none of that heartiness and hopefulness which is to be seen in even the smallest body of men who think they are fighting in a great social movement. The whole affair passed off in a callous official kind of way that, however repulsive in itself, suited

the business in hand. The delegates freely abandoned themselves to the feasting and flattery and conventional nonsense offered them by the dignitaries of the town. They put up with intrusions of commonplace cant from patronising bigwigs and suffered without a murmur. In return they passed resolutions complimentary, congratulatory, commiseratory, with a lavish readiness and recklessness that showed how little they valued them. Votes of thanks were indiscriminately chucked at every person and every society that had favoured them with a nod of welcome or approval. No "conference" of promoters of middle-class fads, nor lionising committee, could have done the empty honours and compliments with more profuseness. The workman's aping his betters was raised to the pitch of an organised art and carried out with a zeal that would have done credit to a drawing room of army officers and old ladies.

But in spite of all this there is no reason for grave discouragement. The very completeness and listlessness with which the show was gone through is encouraging, as showing that the delegates have no interest in, but merely indifferent toleration for, all this trivial tomfoolery. The plain fact is that they are led into it, and through it, by the old stagers who figure as their leaders. The first thing is to pitch into and show up these, Broadhurst and Burnett and Burt and the other trimmers. If a few thoroughly earnest and business-like Socialists be on the next Congress they will find it an easy task to shake the foundation of the old supremacy and narrow bigotry in a single session. Plenty of the delegates are ready for a new departure, but none of them have spirit enough to lead the way. Let it be our duty to push our propaganda right into the heart of trades'-unionism, heedless of the cool or angry reception we may get at first, and confident in the ultimate success of our cause. Let us point out the inevitable decline and failure of trades unionism if it persists in its present antiquated and reactionary methods, and picture the vast and noble work before it if it will but enter into the work of abolishing this state of masters above and slaves below, and organising the future community of labour and equality of rights.

J. L. MAHON.

## THE REWARD OF "GENIUS."

It is a very common incident at a debate on Socialism for an opponent or doubter to take up the cudgels on behalf of "brain-work" as opposed to hand-work. Even before you avow yourself a Communist (as I have to do), such a questioner is anxious about the future of brain-work in the transitional stages of Socialism. Though this subject has been ably treated before in these columns, I will nevertheless venture on a few plain words in addition to what has been said; which I hesitate to do the less because I have had some small experience of hand-work, though not of the most laborious kind, and abundance of experience of "brain-work," so-called.

Our objectors dwell upon diverse aspects of their anxiety for the future of the brain-workers. Some, for instance, seem most exercised on the question of what is to become of the men of genius when Socialism is realised; but I must beg them not to let this anxiety destroy their appetites or keep them awake at night, for it is founded on a perhaps popular, but certainly erroneous, conception of that queer animal the man of genius, who is generally endowed with his full share of the predatory instincts of the human being, and can take remarkably good care of himself. Indeed, I can't help thinking that even under a Socialistic condition of things he will pull such long faces if he doesn't get everything that he wants, and will make matters so uncomfortable for those that he lives amongst if he falls short of his ideal of existence, that good-natured and quiet people will be weak enough to make up a purse (or its equivalent) for him from time to time to keep him in good temper and shut his mouth a little. I must further say, though, that they *will* be exceedingly weak if they do so, because they will be able to get out of him all the special work he can do without these extra treats. For the only claim he has to the title of a "man of genius" is that his capacities are irrepressible; he finds the exercise of them so exceedingly pleasant to him that it will only be by main force that you will prevent him from exercising them. Of course, under the present competitive system, having been paid once for his work by getting his livelihood by it, and again by the pleasure of doing it, he wants to be further paid in various ways a great many times more. Neither under the circumstances can I blame him much for this, since he sees so many people for doing nothing paid so much more than he is, except in the matter of pleasure in their work. But, also of course, he won't venture to claim all that in a Socialist society, but will have at the worst to nibble at the shares of those who are weak enough to stand it. So I will in turn dismiss *my* anxiety, with the hope that they will not be so weak as to coddle him up at their own expense, since they will have learned that so-called self-sacrifice to the exactions of those who are strong in their inordinate craving and unmanliness does but breed tyrants and pretenders.

But furthermore, I do not see, and never could see, why a man of genius must needs be a man of genius every minute of his life. Cannot he work as well as ordinary folk in some directions, besides working better than they in others? Speaking broadly, all men can learn some useful craft, and learn to practice it with ease. I know there may be exceptions; just as there are cultivated people who cannot be taught to write (the late Dean Stanley was one, for instance); but they must be considered as diseased persons, and the disease would die out in a generation or two under reasonable conditions of life. In short, the "man of genius" ought to be able to earn his livelihood in an ordinary way independently of his speciality, and he will in that case be much

happier himself and much less of a bore to his friends, let alone his extra usefulness to the community.

As to the comparative wear and tear of "brain-work"—the work of the man, for instance, who is occupied in the literary matters—the theory of our objectors, apart from their strange ideas of the usefulness of this craft, is that he works hard—harder, they will often say, than the hand-worker. Well, if he works under bad sanitary conditions, doesn't get fresh air or exercise enough, no doubt that does exhaust him, as also if he works too long or is harassed in his work by hurry and anxiety. But all these drawbacks are not special to his craft; all who are working otherwise than in the open air work under the first of these disadvantages, and all wage-earners work under the last of them. There is any amount of humbug talked about the hard work of the intellectual workers, which I think is mostly based on the fact that they are in the habit of taking regular and, so to say, socially-legalised holidays, which are supposed to be necessary to their health, and we may admit are so, but which the "non-intellectual" workers have to forego, whether they are necessary to them or not. Let us test the wear and tear of this intellectual work very simply. If I have been working at literary work for, say, eight hours at a stretch, I may well feel weary of it, although I have not felt it a mere burden all along, as probably I should have done if I had been carrying a hod of bricks up and down a ladder; but when I have knocked off, I can find relaxation in strong physical exercise—can, for example, take a boat and row for a couple of hours or more. Now let me ask is the hodman after his eight hours' work fit for a couple of hours of mental work as a relaxation? We very well know he is not so fitted, but rather for beer and sleep. He is exhausted, and I am on the look out for amusement. To speak plainly, I am only changing my amusement, for I have been amusing myself all along, unless I have added disadvantages to my work which are not essential to it.

And again, has not the hodman's work dealt in some way with his brain? Indeed it has. I have been using my brain, but not exhausting it; but though he has not been using his, he has been exhausting it by his hand-work done at a strain, or else he ought to be able to take the mental relaxation corresponding to my bodily relaxation. In truth, whereas at present the hours of the intellectual worker are really always shorter than those of the hand-worker, the very reverse ought to be the case, or in other words the wear and tear of the hand-labour is far greater.

But our objectors have not as a rule got so far as to consider this matter from the wear and tear side of it. They think that the superior workman should have extra reward because he is superior, and that the inferior must put up with being worn and torn in the service of this divine right. That is their superstition of divine right in this business; but also from the economical point of view they consider that it is necessary to bribe the superior man, for fear that you should lose his talent. What I have said of the man of genius being compelled to work by his genius applies to all superior workmen in greater or less degree, and disposes of the need of a bribe. You need not bribe the superior workman to be superior, for he has to work in any case (we must take that for granted), and his superior work is pleasanter, and indeed easier, to him than the inferior work would be: he will do it if you allow him to. But also if you had the need you would not have the power to bribe, except under a system which admitted of slavery—i.e., tormenting some people for the pleasure of others. Can you bribe him to work by giving him immunity from work? or by giving him goods that he cannot use? But in what other way can you bribe him when labour is free and ordinary people will not stand being compelled to accept degradation for his benefit? No, you will have to depend on his aptitude for his special work forcing him into doing it; nor will you be disappointed in this. Whatever difficulties you may have in organising work in the earlier days of Socialism will not be with the specialists, but with those who do the more ordinary work; though as regards these, setting aside the common machine-work, the truth of the matter is that you can draw no hard and fast line between the special workman and the ordinary one. Every workman who is in his right place—that is, doing his work because he is fit for it—has some share in that "genius" so absurdly worshipped in these latter days. The "genius" is simply the man who has a stronger speciality and is allowed to develop it; or, if you please, has it so strongly that it is able to break through the repressing circumstances of his life, which crush out those who are less abundantly gifted into "a dull level of mediocrity." It is a matter of degree chiefly.

I am afraid, therefore, that our anti-Socialist objectors will have in the future—I mean under a social arrangement—to put up with the misery of not having more than they need forced on them in return for their occupying themselves in the way which pleases them most, and with the further misery of seeing those who are not so intellectual as themselves doing their work happily and contentedly, and not being deprived of their due food and comforts because their work is less pleasing and exciting than that of their luckier fellows. No doubt this will be hard for the geniuses to bear (though harder still, I suspect, for the prigs or sham geniuses); but if there be any truth in the old proverb that "other peoples' troubles hang by a hair," the rest of the world—i.e., all except a very few—will bear it with equanimity. Indeed they well might, if they consider in those happier days what enormous loss the world has suffered through the crushing out of so much original talent under the present system; for who can doubt that it is only the toughest and strongest (perhaps the highest, perhaps not) of the geniuses that have not been crushed out. The greater part of genius, shared in various proportions by so many millions of men, has been just wasted through greed and folly. WILLIAM MORRIS.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE FRENCH LABOUR DELEGATION AND LONDON SOCIALISTS.

*Le Courier de Londres*, a French paper published in London, finds it opportune to censure the French working-men delegates who recently visited England, because while in London they frequently visited Socialistic working-men's clubs. With an odious anger the editor of the above paper attacks our French comrades for having visited the German Communistic Working-men's Club, 49, Tottenham Street, and asks passionately: "Have the French delegates so soon forgotten the deeds of 1870-71, that they are now able to shake hands with those accursed Germans?" This question shows clearly the mean spirit and historical ignorance of the writer, otherwise he would not make the working class responsible for the deeds and crimes of the ruling classes or their servants; but it is more than mean and ignorant to fling such a reproach at a body of Socialistic working-men, because it is well-known and has become an historical fact that the Socialistic working-men of both countries (France and Germany) loudly protested against the massacres of 1870-71 and their consequences, but they protested in vain, because the ruling classes and their servile newspaper editors did their utmost to stir up national spite between the two nations and so made themselves partners in the crimes committed by the Governments of Germany and France.

We think it well at the present moment to bring these historical facts again to the memory of the editor of *Le Courier de Londres*, and of the people at large, because at the present moment the ruling classes and their servants of the Press again try very hard to prepare the different nations for a new massacre against each other, only for the purpose of strengthening the tottering thrones of European monarchs, and the position of the capitalistic class. In the face of these facts we are very glad to see that the workers of different nations take every occasion of shaking hands with each other and exchanging their ideas about Socialism or Communism. We are very glad to say that it is our conviction that these proofs of international and fraternal harmony are increasing day by day among the working classes of all countries.

This was clearly shown at the entertainment given by the German Communistic Working-men's Club in honour of our French visitors, when the speakers of all nations pointed out the necessity of international union, and especially cautioned the working-men against being tools in the hands of the ruling classes in getting up a new murderous war and fighting against their fellow workers who accidentally speak another language.

In conclusion, we may say that we very much enjoy such spiteful expressions from our antagonists as we have quoted above, because for us it is a sure sign that we are on the right road, and that before long we will lead our noble principle to victory in the struggle between the proletariat and their oppressors.—For the Com. Arb. Bild. Verein.

H. CROESSEL, II., Secretary.

### A FRATERNAL GREETING FROM NEW YORK.

We have received a telegram from comrade Rosenberg, saying that a Socialist mass-meeting of 10,000, addressed by Aveling and Liebrecht, unanimously resolved, "That this meeting at Cooper Union assembled, declares its full accord with the principles so ably advocated by the orators of to-night, and sends a message of sympathy to the Social Democratic party of Germany and the Socialist League of England, who sent over to us their three ablest representatives to spread the noble principles of Socialism among the working-men of America."

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES. GREAT BRITAIN.

The lace makers of Nottingham are proposing to reduce the wages in some branches of the lace industry to the extent of 50 per cent. A general lock-out is feared.

The Staffordshire chainmakers who are out on strike, have succeeded in wresting an advance in wages from some of the employers, and have allowed the men to return to work in these shops. A victory, but how small a one. How long is this intestine strife, where the losses are all on the side of the workers, to last? When will they learn that it is not a paltry advance in wages to which they have a right, but the whole of the produce of their labour.—U.

HULL.—A meeting of the Trades and Labour Council was held on Thursday last to receive reports from the delegates to the Congress. Mr. Maddison repudiated the claim of Mr. Hyndman in the *Pall Mall Gazette* that he was a "Social Democrat." C. L. Biggins remarked upon the tone of the Congress towards Socialism, and criticised their timidity in rejecting the Parisian programme. J. L. Mahon objected to the conduct of some members of the Council in denouncing the French Socialists while they were admittedly ignorant of their aims. He pointed out that the Congress only represented a part of the working-class, and that the progress boasted of in the condition of the people only applied to the trades' men: the condition of the poorest workers, such as needlewomen and common labourers, being worse now than it was before. He warned them against giving too much attention to reforms in our present system, as such reforms only affected the better-off part of the working-class and left the condition of the poorer untouched. He also alluded to the attempts of the middle-class to fawn upon the trades'-unionists, and to split the workers into two sections—a higher and a lower; the higher to play the game of the middle-class and assist in keeping down the lower. The short speech was well received by most of the Council, but one old member rose to protest against Socialism being talked in the Council, and threatened his resignation if it were continued. He also complained about Socialistic literature being given to the members, and refused to withdraw his threat. The local Radical papers complain about the attention given to Socialism by the Council.—J. L. M.

PRESTON.—The prospects of the workers for the coming winter are gloomy, and those of the manufacturers—as those who do not spin are oddly called—are even darker. Many mills will give insufficient employment, and others will run without "profit" to avoid the more serious loss of idleness. The



state of trade is curiously anarchical. Different rates of payment obtain in various towns, but the workers do not combine to sustain the higher rates, and the various groups of workers, weavers, spinners, etc., act without any co-operation towards a common interest. A proposal to reduce wages five per cent. in north-east Lancashire has failed, owing to a want of union among the employers. A proposed demand for an increase will fail owing to a want of union among the "hands." A local strike led on Friday to a demonstration, that came near ending in riot. A crowd which assembled near the mill for the purpose of burning an effigy of an unpopular "master" was dispersed by the police, but subsequently re-assembled and accomplished its purpose on a piece of waste land in the neighbourhood. The prevailing desire among both capitalists and men is for a "good bloody war." The modern way to prosperity is through destruction and death. Yet our brothers in Chicago are doomed to the hangman, and the "good bloody war" men are Christians bound for heaven!—W. S.

LIMERICK.—The Congregated Trades of Limerick and Messrs. Hayes, builders, are at variance, owing to the latter employing non-society men. The trades have decided to boycott Messrs. Hayes in every possible way.

A great mass meeting of the Scotch miners was held at Motherwell on September 11th, attended by about 20,000 men, to discuss their grievances and to organise for their remedy. The miners in Scotland number nearly 70,000, and are miserably paid; 12s. 6d. per week has been the highest wage during the summer. The miner gets from 8d. to 1s. for every ton of coal raised, whilst the landlord of the ground on which the mine is sunk, who never did a stroke towards the work, gets from 1s. to 1s. 6d. as royalty on every ton, and yet people are astonished that Socialism is spreading amongst the miners.

### AMERICA.

NEW YORK.—The quarrel between the Cigarmakers' Unions, "Progressive" and "International," has now resulted in lasting peace, and in the amalgamation of the two societies under the name of the "Cigar-makers' International Union of America." We have received an official circular from the National Executive Board of the C.M.P.U.A., declaring it dissolved, and requesting its members everywhere to merge in the local International Union.—S.

Henry George has been nominated by the Labour Party as a candidate for the position of Mayor of New York at the next election in that city. He has accepted the nomination on condition that it is backed up by an address with at least 30,000 signatures. It is rumoured that one of the Vanderbilts will run against him, but this seems too good to be true.

At Chicago three more Anarchists have been arrested, Jehl, Batzel, and Kloth. It is said that cannons (?), swords, and fire-arms were discovered in Kloth's house. The prisoners will be prosecuted for conspiracy.

The fisheries at Labrador have failed utterly this year, the result being that sixty-five thousand people are destitute. Unless the Government aid them, thousands will starve in the coming winter. It is feared that the Newfoundland fishermen are in almost as deplorable a condition.

### FRANCE.

Duc Quercy and E. Roche have been released from their imprisonment after undergoing more than five months of their term. This is truly a generous "free pardon."

BORDEAUX.—We are informed of a serious agitation among the working-tailors here; the outfitters are taking advantage of the crisis in the trade to lower the price of work one-third, wages being thus reduced to such an extent that the workers are scarcely able to live however miserably.—*Cri du Peuple*.

DÔLE (Jura).—We have from this place a grisly story of a tin-plate worker being burnt alive in the municipal "lock-up," where he was thrust for having been found by the police in a mild and amiable stage of intoxication. On seeing flames issue from the lock-up, and hearing unmistakable cries, the officials on duty set to work to look for the key of the place, which had been mislaid! The discovery of it came too late for the victim of a meddlesome and arbitrary police.

VIERZON.—The glass-engravers at Vierzon-Forges, 90 in number, have left work in consequence of the iniquitous fines to which they have been subjected. They have sent a delegation to parley with the master; the place is very quiet.

Jacques Charlemagne, master of a porcelain-factory at Vierzon, has been exploiting his men to such an extent as to make them protest by a general strike. Now, Charlemagne (it reads like a Bab Ballad), was once on a while a guileless worker himself, and among the first founders of the "Chambre Syndicate" in 1869, and an ardent defender of the vindication of the rights of man. But Charlemagne looked around him and thought it would decidedly be better fun to grind than be ground, so he set to work and raised himself to his present estate. "To what base uses may we come, Horatio!" Here is a big name lying in the dust, and the mighty aspirations of a "defender of the rights of man" shrunk and shrivelled away indeed!

RONCHAMPS.—The mining company made their last month's payments, contrary to custom, three days before they fell due, and distributed the money to miners in the pit instead of at the central bureau. The company thus shows itself much disquieted by the attempts at meetings among the men; in one of the pits a speech was made on the payment of wages, in which they were bidden to drink if they must drink, in some other café than the one where the obnoxious Rondet was to be found (who is there for the purpose of organising some kind of society among the men); they were also forbidden to hold meetings and consultations among themselves. This is very open and frank on the part of the masters, and the miners answered as openly and frankly by holding a meeting the same evening.

LE HAVRE.—The sanitary conditions of the prison of this town and the food supplied to the prisoners are alike detestable. We have been informed that a wretched woman, condemned to several months' imprisonment for some insignificant offence, has gone mad after being kept for some while in a punishment-cell. Public opinion is up in arms and demands an enquiry.—*Cri du Peuple*.

### BELGIUM.

VERVIERS.—Fines are a considerable item in the incoming of monies to the owners of a wool-spinning factory here, one would think, to judge by their number and the frivolity of them. One woman had to pay 3 fr. at the end of a week, out of a wage of 2 fr. a-day (in which she works 13 hours). These women have only 10 minutes stoppage of machines allowed them in which to clean the same. This not being sufficient, they are obliged to continue while the machines are in motion, a dangerous proceeding, which of course results in frequent accidents.

### HOLLAND.

The Court at Amsterdam has sentenced the Dutch Socialist Belderock to a year's imprisonment for insulting the king. Anseele, of Ghent, is also in prison.

The appeal of Domela Nieuwenhuis, editor of *Recht voor Allen*, against the sentence of a year's solitary confinement passed upon him for insulting the king, came before the Court of Appeal at The Hague on Sept. 16th. It was shown that Nieuwenhuis was not the writer of the incriminated article, but Boelens of Amsterdam. Judgment will be delivered next week.

### BOHEMIA.

The trial of the revolutionists from the neighbourhood of Reichenberg and Tannwald, most of them being workmen at the glass factory there, has just been concluded at Prague. One of the prisoners was acquitted, the others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment ranging from 14 days to four months.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

### Notices to Members.

General Meeting.—Monday 27th, at 9 p.m.

Reading Room.—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.

Library.—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Croydon, to May 31. Mile-end, to June 30. Dublin, Hammersmith, North London, to July 31. Birmingham, Bloomsbury, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Hackney, Leeds, Merton Abbey, Norwich, to August 31. Manchester, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Marylebone, Oxford, to September 30. Branches not mentioned here have not paid to date, and some are months in arrears. This laxity on the part of Branches is one of the greatest hindrances to the propaganda of the League.—P.H. W., Sept. 14.

### BRANCH REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, September 17th, we held a business meeting. Members of the Branch are earnestly asked to come to our open-air stations to sell literature and help the appointed speaker.—W. A. C.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, September 15, Wm. Morris lectured to good audience on "My Education;" an animated discussion followed; fair sale of literature, and 2s. 7d. collected for Propaganda Fund.—On Sunday evening, September 19, T. E. Wardle and B. Somerville addressed a large meeting on the Green. A further meeting was held in the hall, addressed by T. E. Wardle, on "Terrorism and Classes v. Sexes"; good discussion; one quire of *Commonweal* sold, and 1s. 10d. collected for Propaganda Fund.—W. B.

CROYDON.—Last Sunday morning, W. A. Chambers spoke at the corner of Canterbury Road to an attentive audience. In the evening he lectured to a well filled room on "The Teachings of Socialism." Good collection and sale of literature.—A. T.

MARYLEBONE.—On Sunday morning, Arnold and Utley addressed a large meeting at the corner of Salisbury Street. A constable insisted on taking the names and addresses of both speakers, and it is quite evident that the police have determined to stop our meetings at this spot.—In the afternoon, Arnold and Wardle spoke to a large and sympathetic audience in Hyde Park, and 8s. was collected for the Defence Fund. We appeal to all lovers of free speech to support us at our open-air meetings.—H. G. A., sec.

MILE-END.—On Sunday, September 19th, Henderson gave a vigorous lecture to a large audience on the Waste on Socialism. Van der Hout, who acted as chairman, exposed the capitalistic cry of "foreigner," which Socialists are so often met with. A resolution condemning the police authorities in interfering with our speakers was unanimously carried.—H. DAVIS, sec.

MERTON.—On Saturday, we visited Wandsworth and gave away back numbers of *Commonweal*.—On Sunday, we held our usual open-air meeting on Mitcham Fair Green, addressed by F. Kitz, who gave a sketch of the "History of Our Old Nobility," and the means whereby they have robbed the people of these islands of their land, violence and organised brigandage in the past had bred the landlordism of to-day, the effects of which are a miserable peasantry, and overcrowded cities and towns, wherein the dispossessed scramble at the factory gate for a subsistence. We met with an enthusiastic reception. 49 *Commonweals* and fair amount of pamphlets sold. In the evening we held a parade, and gave away a large number of leaflets, and returned to the club-room, when comrade Mainwaring delivered a short address, criticising Bradlaugh's allegations against Socialism. He (Mainwaring) disputed Bradlaugh's title to be a leader of the working-men when he says that the margin of profit to employers is too small, whilst miners are only getting 8s. per week; and as to Socialists only seeking notoriety, he had only incurred prosecution which nearly lost him his employment. Mr. Bradlaugh, of course, as every one knows, "never" has sought notoriety or filthy lucre. Comrade Blundell closed the meeting with music and song.—F. KITZ, sec.

NORTH LONDON.—At Ossulton Street, on Tuesday, Allen, Wardle, Henderson, and Nicoll spoke. Sale of *Commonweal* improved.—At Harrow Road, on Saturday, Henderson had scarcely spoken ten minutes before a body of police surrounded him, and, as he refused to stop, took his name and address. The following resolution was immediately put and carried unanimously:—"That this meeting denies that any real obstruction whatever is being caused, and condemns the action of the police in endeavouring to stop free speech here." After an hour's meeting the crowd quietly dispersed, in spite of the efforts of the police to make a row by rushing in amongst the people as soon as the speaker stopped.—At Regent's Park, on Sunday morning, Cantwell and Nicoll addressed a good audience. Three new members, and sale of *Commonweal* increased one quire during the week.—F. H., sec.

GLASGOW.—On Friday evening, September 17th, an open-air meeting was held at Golden Cross, where Adams, Watson, and Glasier spoke to an exceedingly sympathetic audience. Sunday evening in our Rooms, Mavor gave an excellent exposition of "The Currency Question." A discussion followed.—Monday evening a successful meeting was held at Parkhead Cross. Owing to some misunderstanding of arrangements, speakers did not turn up on Saturday at Rutherglen, or at the Green on Sunday afternoon, and although many of our comrades were at both those places at the appointed time, no meeting was held. Care will be taken that no such misunderstanding will occur again.—J. B. G.

HULL.—On Tuesday, 14th inst., a reading was given, dealing with the "Peasant's Revolt" of 1381, and the causes which led up to it.—On Sunday the 19th, J. L. Mahon spoke to the members on "The Study of Political Economy."—E. T., sec.

IPSWICH.—A meeting was addressed on Sunday, 19th, at 11 a.m., by Barker, of Norwich, about 800 persons being present; one quire of *Commonweals* were sold, together with a number of pamphlets. In the afternoon another meeting of about 1500 was addressed by Barker and Bailey (of Ipswich), and 6s. was collected to defray lecturer's travelling expenses. This is a splendid field, and only needs a few more like Bailey (who is out of work at present through his views) to push Socialism. Both meetings were held on the Ship Launch. Twenty names have been given in as members, and leave is now asked to declare this a Branch of the Socialist League.—C. W. M.

LEEDS.—On Sunday morning, September 19th, we held our open-air meeting on Hunslet Moor. Maguire addressed a large and sympathetic audience on "Usury." Sale of *Commonweal* two quires, also fifty copies of Kropotkin's "Appeal to the Young."—In the evening we held a meeting in Vicar's Croft, when Maguire and Solitt addressed the audience on the "Morality of the Present System." After the addresses a small capitalist spoke a few words in opposition, which did not apparently suit the audience very much. He also asked our comrades if under Socialism the men with the best talents would come to the front. Maguire answered in the affirmative, and said that one great fault of the present system was that the worst instead of the best men were the most likely to succeed.—F. C., sec.

MANCHESTER.—We have had a good week-end of propaganda. On Saturday evening, McGrove, Parkinson, and Unwin went to Middleton, and held a meeting in the market-place. We soon collected a good crowd, which seemed interested. After about half-an-hour the passage of two bands rather broke up our meeting, and gave an opening for about half-a-dozen roughs, who managed to spoil the rest of the meeting by shouting and shoving. We sold some *Commonweals*, and evidently succeeded in rousing a good bit of interest in Socialism.—On Sunday morning we held our usual meeting on the Brick Croft; the weather was very fine, and the audience a good one. We distributed handbills of Morris's lecture for the 27th. In the afternoon, Mason, Parkinson, Cadle, and Unwin went to Ashton, it was drawing towards tea-time when we got there, but we managed to get a fair audience in the market-place, and much interest was shown. We announced that we should speak later in Henry's Square, and turned up there accordingly at 6.30. We began by singing "The March of the Workers," which soon drew an audience, and we recognised many of our afternoon listeners amongst them. We got a very large meeting before we had done, and sold a good few pamphlets, the *Commonweals* being sold out. There is good ground in Ashton, and we think a little propaganda work would soon result in a Branch.—R. U.

NORWICH.—Last Sunday, we held a good meeting at St. Mary's Plain, at 11 a.m. Twenty *Commonweals* were sold. Market-place at 3, and audience of about 800; thirty papers sold. A lecture was given in Branch meeting-place at 7.30 p.m. by Mowbray to a crowded audience, not even standing-room being left, on "Toryism, Liberalism, Radicalism, and Socialism: Which will Benefit the Workers?" Mowbray again lectured on Monday night on "The Blessings of Civilisation."—We had a meeting at a village called Drayton at 11 on Sunday morning; Houghton, Pitt, and Morley addressed the meeting, and 8 papers were sold, making a total for the day at all meetings of over four quires. We shall again visit Drayton on Sunday, October 3.—C. W. M., sec.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—An open-air meeting was held on Monday evening, the 13th inst., on a piece of waste ground at the corner of Fargate and Surrey Street. Though there was absolutely no obstruction to traffic, or impediment of any kind to the public, and though previous meetings have been perfectly orderly and quiet, a policeman interfered on the ground that leave must be asked of the borough surveyor before the meeting could be held. This, considering that the said piece of ground is commonly used by salvationists, band-organ men, and others, seemed rather too much, and it was determined to hold the meeting as usual. John Furniss, Edward Carpenter, and Mrs. Maloy addressed the meeting as Socialists, and Wallace Nelson as a Land Nationaliser. The police took the names and addresses of the speakers. The crowd was large, numbering 400 or 500, and though there was no disturbance, yet, owing to the action of the police, it was not so perfectly quiet as it had been on previous occasions.

PROGRESSIVE DEBATING SOCIETY.—On Sunday the 19th, Beckett lectured to a large and appreciative audience on "Wealth," giving rise to an animated discussion.—P. M. R.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, W. Friday September 24, at 8 p.m. P. Fersenheim will open the discussion upon "The Social Position of Women."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday September 26, at 7.30 p.m. Readings and Music. Wednesday 29, at 8.30. W. C. Wade, "Faith, Hope, and Charity."

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7.30 p.m. A. K. Donald on "Self-Preservation."

Hackney.—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every alternate Tuesday at 9, for the enrolment of members and other business.

Hammersmith.—26 Upper Mall, W. Sunday Sept. 26, at 8 p.m. a Lecture.

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday at 7.45 p.m.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m. On Tuesday September 28, at 8 p.m., a Concert will take place, to inaugurate the winter season indoor lectures of the Branch, and aid the Defence Fund of the League. Admission by Programme.

Mile-end.—Members of this Branch are requested to meet at 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, to-night (Saturday) at 8 o'clock for the transaction of important business.

North London.—32 Camden Road. Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m.

### Country Branches.

Birmingham.—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8 p.m.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. On Saturday afternoon, September 25, open-air meeting at Rutherglen at 5 o'clock.—On Sunday afternoon, at 4.30, open-air meeting on the Green.—On Sunday evening, in our Rooms, at 7 o'clock, lecture on "The Trades-Union Congress," by John Warrington.—On Monday evening, at 7.30 o'clock, open-air meeting at Parkhead Cross.

Hull.—Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street, every Tuesday at 8 p.m. September 28, "Socialism and Politics."—Communist Club, Blanket Row, on Sunday 26, members' discussion; G. Smith will speak on "Society v. State."

Ipswich.—Mrs. Garner's, "George Inn," Woodhouse Street.

Leicester.—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 8 p.m. On Monday evening, September 27, William Morris will lecture in the Ardwick Temperance Hall, Pin Mill Brow, Ashton Old Road. All our members are urged to muster on Saturday evening, September 25, to meet comrade Morris in our club room.

Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

Oldham.—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

### LONDON.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 18.	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales")	8	T. E. Wardle	N. London.
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7	W. H. Utley	Clerkenwell.
	Canning Town (Beckton Rd.)	11.30	Somerville	Clerkenwell.
S. 19.	Croydon—Cross Roads,	11.30	A. K. Donald	Croydon.
	Canterbury Road			
	Marylebone—corner of Salis-	11.30	F. Henderson	Marylebone.
	bury St. and Church St.			
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	H. Davis	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—Beacon Rd.	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	Westwood	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	J. Lane	Mile-end.
	Mitcham Fair Green	11.30	H. A. Barker	Merton.
	Regent's Park	11.30	R. A. Beckett	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	W. A. Chambers	Bloomsbury.
	Walham Green, opposite Station	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3	J. Lane	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	F. Henderson	Hackney.
	Clerkenwell Green	7	F. Henderson	Clerkenwell.
Tu. 21.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7	The Branch	N. London.
	Mile-end Waste	8	The Branch	Mile-end.
	Soho—Broad Street	7.30	Somerville	Bloomsbury.
W. 22.	London Fields—Broadway,	8.30	F. Henderson	Hackney.
	opposite "Sir Walter Scott"			
Th. 23.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	H. Graham	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	8.30	D. J. Nicoll	Mile-end.
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7	W. Chambers	Bloomsbury.

### PROVINCES.

Bradford.—Corner of Godwin St. and Sunbridge Road, every Sunday, at 6 p.m.

Ipswich.—Ship Launch, Sundays at 11 a.m. and 3.30 p.m.

Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m., Sundays.

Manchester.—Corner of Gorton Lane and Ashton Old Road, Sundays at 11 a.m.; Gorton Brook, every Sunday afternoon, at 2.45.

Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, 11 a.m.; Market Place, 3 p.m.—Sundays.

Oldham.—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

SOUTH-WEST HAM RADICAL ASSOCIATION, Congregational Schools, Swanscombe Street, Barking Road.—Wednesday October 13, at 8 p.m. W. Morris, a Lecture.

PROGRESSIVE DEBATING SOCIETY, "Beehive," Warner St., New Kent Rd., S.E. September 26. W. A. Chambers, "Teachings of Socialism."

ST. PANCRAS ARCHES.—Sunday Sept. 26, at 11.30, Debate, "Will Temperance or Socialism Benefit the Universe most?"—Mr. Smith; Thos. E. Wardle. Comrades, attend! attend!

PECKHAM REFORM CLUB, Queen's Road, S.E.—On Sunday, September 26, at 8.30 p.m., C. W. Mowbray will lecture on "Woman, Her Place under Socialism and To-day."

## FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Already acknowledged	£19 13 10½	N. London Branch, Sept. 19,
J. Waddington	0 1 0	Regent's Park
Marylebone Branch, Sept. 19,		Clerkenwell Branch
Hyde Park	0 8 0	Manchester Branch
Birmingham Branch	0 11 0	
		£21 11 9½
		Ph. W., Treasurer, Sept. 22.

## "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

In response to an Appeal for Special Donations to a Fund being raised for the support of this Paper, the Treasurer has received the following sums since the beginning of August this year:

Already acknowledged	£8 10 6	W. Barker, Lowestoft	0 5 0
Hammersmith Branch (weekly contribution 10s.)	1 0 0	Bloomsbury Branch (5s. weekly)	
Collected by W. Morris	5 0 0	—two weeks	0 10 0
T. Binning (weekly)	0 0 6		£15 6 0
			Ph. W., Sept. 21.

## THE VIERZON STRIKE.

We, the English Socialists, as a token of solidarity with our French comrades, open herewith a subscription on behalf of their wives and children. All amounts sent to the Secretary of the League will be forwarded to *Le Cri du Peuple*.

W. Morris, 5s.; May Morris, 5s.; Charles, 3s.; H. H. Sparling, 1s.; Webb, 6d.; Fersenheim, 1s.; Chambers, 6d.; Lerner, 6d.

## THE PRACTICAL SOCIALIST.

AN EXPONENT OF EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM; BUT DISCUSSION OF ALL ASPECTS INVITED.

EDITED BY THOMAS BOLAS.

MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

W. REEVES, 185 FLEET STREET.

SOCIALISTS should read BRONTERRE O'BRIEN'S great work—"THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND PHASES OF HUMAN SLAVERY: How it came into the World, and how it shall be made to go out." 148 pp., demy 8vo, cloth lettered. Published, 1885, at 3s. 6d.; now offered post-free, 1s. 3d.—Geo. STANDRING, 8 Finsbury Street, E.C.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE, at 13 Farringdon Road, London

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 38.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

**BRAVO, Metropolitan Radical Federation!** You are in the right track now! Veneration for "legal" means and respect for "constitutional" action you have thrown overboard. The method you now adopt is a great step in advance.

The great fault of Englishmen, and the great obstacle to progress hitherto, has been their blind adherence to the superstitious belief in the sanctity of the law, and their craven fear of unconstitutional action. If the Radical Federation helps to destroy this it will have done more real good than all the Radical agitation has done since it began.

Parliament has risen, another of its talking periods being ended. The prorogation is only until November 11th, so that the Government has perhaps a special session in view for the particular benefit of Ireland.

It can hardly be said that so 'cute a tactician as Lord Churchill will play into Mr. Parnell's hands by suppressing the National League. Yet to pave the way for this is the obvious purpose for which the rumours now going the round of the papers have been set afloat; but it is difficult to predict what may happen so long as Lord Hartington is "boss" of the ministry.

Can the Irish popular organisation be suppressed? Former experience furnishes little hope for a coercive policy. Some years ago, when the Liberal and Tory parties united almost to a man, their attempt to stamp out the Land League proved a dismal failure. Nearly 1,000 leaders of the people were imprisoned, but the cause went on as though not a man were missing. What will it be now with a good number of the Liberal party acting in unison with the Nationalists? A tough task, indeed, and pity the poor statesman who may be foolish enough to attempt it.

The fact is that the membership of the National League practically includes the entire Irish population, and a puny General Buller may as well not face the task—perhaps he won't?

It is quite clear now, in short, that if Mr. Gladstone has not realised Home Rule he has at least made coercion impossible, and it is only a question of how long the politicians can play with the question, and humbug the public, and waste time; all the while increasing the torture of the Irish people.

The *Standard* blandly suggests that during the winter the Irish M.P.'s should stump Ireland preaching peace to the people, and entreating them to respect law and order in spite of their sufferings. This paper is not often facetious, yet surely it can never have meant this as a practical suggestion. The likelihood is that the *Standard* is trying, rather absurdly, to be strategic, and is writing, not for present reading, but for future quotation. In a few months a bouncing leader will appear, in the "I told you so" strain, furbishing up the sage advice which, if taken in time, would have avoided all the trouble.

Labour representation has this year become an accomplished fact, and a sorry figure has been cut by the ex-working-men members. There are more people in this country suffering from trade depression than half the population of Ireland, and yet our "twelve apostles" have never even been heard on the subject. Their conduct has been contemptible in the extreme, and if any one was ever foolish enough to expect much independent or vigorous action from them their hopes must surely have withered away ere now. In spite of the deplorable distress in the country a whole year has gone by and the twelve apostles have sat sucking their thumbs, and said, never a word for the people they profess to represent. This is just what might have been expected by any one acquainted with the so-called leaders of the working-class. The labour M.P.'s have simply been boot-blacks to the Liberal party, as they must be, and have not even been as outspoken as some of the wealthy Radicals.

If Parliament could do any good, it would be from fear of social revolt outside, not by meek persuasion from a few spiritless lick-spittle politicians who shut-up at a Minister's frown, or timidly follow at his beck and call, as the exigencies of party warfare may demand.

The Bishop of Salisbury has been talking some practical common-sense to his congregation. "The vice and luxury of the rich," he tells them, "may be tolerated for a while by the poor, but it is not unobserved by them. Why should there be this measureless contrast, this unequal distribution of good things? If no sufficient reply is forthcoming, the bitter resentment of the people will one day break out in revolution." . . . So it seems the time has passed when at least the holy section of the hangers-on of the upper class can pooh-pooh the prospect of the class war becoming unveiled.

The marines sent to overawe the Scotch crofters have been recalled from one of the islands, and their departure was an interesting episode. It appears that the jolly seamen spent their time in flirting with the Highland lasses and making friends with the men, so that when the time of departure came the people were quite distressed at having to bid good-bye to their friends, the enemy.

However, it wasn't all a matter of love and friendship. There was some money in it as well. The expeditions sent to keep the crofters in order take trade with them, and thus are a practical commercial benefit to the people. Still the crofters are right in making friends with the marines and police, and their action furnishes a useful hint to Socialists.

The treatment of the Greek Gipsies at Hull has been scandalous, and only possible in such a society as ours. These poor people started from their native place to go to America with enough money to pay their way. They have been pitchforked from one place to another until their means have dwindled almost away. Railway companies, ship companies, and town councils have done the most that callous officialism could do to make them as miserable as possible. In two cases at least women have had to give birth to children under exposure to the weather, in one case actually in the raw, open night air. Private benevolence has at last stepped in, but in the usual tardy way, weeks after the affair had become a shame to the whole community.

Our Norwich comrades are getting on famously with the propaganda. The following from "Country Johnny," writing in the *Norwich Day-light*, shows how the local wits regard the movement:

"In 'Hoam Wards' parson got ontew the Socialists, bor, and no wunder neither, cos he must feel suffim like that black feller, Othello, that his occu-payshun is gon. The Socialists, bor, can fetch the peeples and that's more'n parson can dew. Why dew the Socialists fetch the peeples? Cos they're in touch wi' 'em, bor, and are men and bruthers. Parsons never can be men and bruthers tew the working clases, cos parsons allus stick up for the landlords and the marsters, hew suck the pith owten the labourer's boans, and when they hev sucked he dry they send he tew the Warkhus. Take larst Sunday, bor, for instance. When did parson ever hev sich a hearty congregashun as the Socialists got, hay, bor? It showed how weak his bloomin' case wos, cos he hed tew use low vulgar abuse, and called one of the Socialists a thief. Parson! parson! this wos werry onbecomin' in a sarvint ov Him hew when He wos rewiled answered not again. But cos yow called the young chap a thief, parson, bor, it dint make him wun. He wos a hard-working young fellar hew never eat his meals wi'out hev'n previously warked blarmed hard for 'em."

There are very general signs that Trades' unionists are wavering in their bigoted opposition and callous indifference to Socialism. The rank and file of the members are only too eager to hear anything more advanced than the dreary old hum-drum higgling for a few pence more wages. Unfortunately the officials of the unions—the governing gang—are timid and conservative in spirit, but this is true of all associations. Socialists who are unionists should persistently bring the subject up. A good opportunity is always to be had at the time for remarks after the reading of the monthly reports.

At a Provincial Trades' Council, an old and respected member was inveighing against Socialism. "I want no help from the State," he exclaimed, "I am an independent working-man and can rely upon my own efforts. I have always paddled my own canoe up the ladder of life, and I always will." It does not fall to the lot of every man to distinguish himself by paddling a canoe up a ladder—anyhow, even that feat is hardly an excuse for bigotry.

J. L. MAHON.



## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER XII.—THE PARIS COMMUNE OF 1871, AND THE CONTINENTAL MOVEMENT FOLLOWING IT.

IN dealing with the great event of the Paris Commune, we must take for granted a knowledge of the facts, which are in a brief form accessible to all since the publication by the Socialist League of its pamphlet on the subject.

As we have stated before, the International was founded in 1864, under the leadership of Beesley, Marx, and Odger. In 1869, at the Congress of Basle, Marx drew it into the compass of Socialism; and though in England it still remained an indefinite labour-body, on the Continent it became at once decidedly Socialistic and revolutionary, and its influence was very considerable.

The progress of Socialism and the spreading feeling of the solidarity of labour was very clearly shown by the noble protest made by the German Socialists<sup>1</sup> against the war with France, in the teeth of a "patriotic" feeling so strong in appearance that it might have been expected to silence any objectors from the first. The result of the war seemed to offer at least a chance for action to the rapidly increasing Socialist party, if they could manage to take advantage of it, to get into their hands the political power; and under the influence of the Internationalists, the French Socialists determined to take action if an immediate opportunity offered. Neither did the opportunity fail. The final defeat of the French army at Sedan brought on the fall of the Empire, when Republican France might perhaps have made terms with the invaders, whom the men of the Empire had challenged. But a resistance was organised by Gambetta, at the head of a stock-jobbing clique, whose interests, both commercial and political, forbade them to let the war die out, lest they should find themselves face to face with a people determined to be fleeced no longer. This resistance, sustained by the success with which this clique played on the sham patriotic or jingo feelings of the general population, was always quite hopeless from a military point of view, and brought the country to the verge of ruin. It also necessarily involved the German siege of Paris, the result of which was to throw a great deal of power into the hands of the city proletariat, since they at least were in earnest in their resistance to the foreign enemy, and the theatrical resistance necessary to the ambition of the political adventurers who posed as their leaders could not have a decent face to put upon it without their enthusiasm. In October, while the siege was still at its height, a rising headed by Blanqui nearly succeeded in overthrowing the bourgeois domination; and after the siege the possession of arms, especially cannon, by the proletariat, in the face of the disarmed and disorganised army under the bourgeois, afforded the opportunity desired by the Socialists. On the failure of Thiers' attempt to disarm Paris—whether he expected it to succeed, or only designed it as a trap to enable him to fall with mere force of arms on Paris—on this failure the insurrection took place, and the Central Committee, largely composed of members of the International, got into their hands the executive power, a great deal of which they retained during the whole of the existence of the Commune. Their position was strengthened by the fact that, apart from their aims towards the economical freedom of the proletariat, in their aspirations towards genuine federalisation they were, in appearance at least, in accord with the Radicals who wished to see an advanced municipalism brought about.

As the movement progressed, it became more and more obvious that if the resistance to Thiers and the attempt to establish municipal independence for Paris was to succeed, it must be through the exercise of Socialist influence on the proletariat: the Radicals, therefore, were forced by the march of events into alliance with the Socialists. The Socialist element therefore came to the front, and enactments of a distinctly Socialistic nature were passed, involving the suspension of contract and abolition of rents; and both in these matters and in the decentralisation which was almost the watchword of the Commune, the advance from the proceedings of the earlier revolutionists is clearly marked. Also, although the opportunity for the establishment of the Commune was given by the struggle against foreigners, the international character of their aspirations was shown by the presence of foreigners in the Council of the Commune and in command of its troops. And though in itself the destruction of the Vendôme Column may seem but a small matter, yet considering the importance attached generally, and in France particularly, to such symbols, the dismounting of that base piece of Napoleonic upholstery was another mark of the determination to hold no parley with the old jingo legends.

It should be noted that the risings which took place in other towns in France were not so much vanquished by the strength of the bourgeoisie, which at first found itself powerless before the people, but rather fell through owing to a want of fuller development of Socialism and a more vigorous proclamation of its principles.

The whole revolt was at last drowned in the blood of the workers of Paris. Certainly the immediate result was to crush Socialism for the time by the destruction of a whole generation of its most determined recruits. Nevertheless the very violence and excess of the bourgeois revenge have, as we can now see, tended to strengthen the progress of Socialism, as they have set the seal of tragedy and heroism on the mixed events of the Commune, and made its memory a rallying point for all future revolutionists.

However, the fall of the Commune involved that of the International. The immediate failure of its action was obvious, and blinded

people to its indestructible principles. Besides, a period of great commercial prosperity visited the countries of Europe at this time. The French milliards which Germany had won as the prize of war were being turned over and over by the German bourgeois in their merry game of "beggar-my-neighbour." England was at the height of its period of "leaps and bounds"—a period now called by the German middle classes themselves the "swindle period." Even France, in spite of her being the plundered country, recovered from the condition into which the war had thrown her with a speed which made the plunderer envy her. In short, it was one of those periods which prove to the bourgeois exploiter that he is positively right, in which the bettermost workman grows quite unconscious of the chain which binds him, and is contemptuously regardless of that which lies heavy on the labourer below him, to whom the prosperity or adversity of the rest of the world make little or no difference.

Internal dissensions, also, were at work within the International, and at the Congress of the Hague in 1872 it was broken up; and though it still existed as a name for the next year or two, the remaining fragments of it did nothing worth speaking of.

In Vienna, in 1871, the movement in sympathy with the Commune became threatening, but was repressed by the authorities, and several of the prominent members of the party were imprisoned for the part they had taken in a Socialist demonstration—amongst others, Johann Most and Andreas Scheu.

For a while after the fall of the Commune the interest in the active side of the movement turns to Russia and Germany. In 1878 Nobiling and Hödel shot at the Emperor William; which event gave the occasion for the attack by Bismark on the rapidly increasing Socialist party in October 1878, when the repressive laws were enacted which have been in force ever since. The result of these laws, which suppressed meetings, papers, and other literature, has been to drive the movement into a purely parliamentary course. In spite of the repression, the party has not only succeeded in holding itself together, but has grown to large dimensions, numbering, according to official statements, 650,000.

In Russia the Socialist movement was, on the face of it, mixed up with nationalist and political agitation, which was natural in a country in the bonds of the crudest form of absolutism. Nevertheless the ultimate aim of the party is unmistakable, and the propaganda has been carried on with a revolutionary fervour and purity of devotion which have never been surpassed, if they have ever been equalled. The slaying of the Czar on March 13, 1881, with the tragic scenes that followed it, has been the most dramatic event which the Russian movement has given to the world; and it must be said of it that it has marked and initiated a new revolutionary period. Since that time the elements of Revolution have gathered force and cohesion; a sense of insecurity has come over the authority of "law and order"; the sympathies of all people of honesty and good feeling have been attracted to the side of those suffering under mere open monstrous oppression; and men's minds generally have been opened to new ideas on the more insidious oppression under which labour groans in constitutionally governed countries.

The last stage of the great revolution inaugurated in France at the end of the eighteenth century seems destined to be reached at the end of the nineteenth—if, indeed, that thing of rags and patches called "Constitutional Government" can keep itself alive so long.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

## SAMUEL MORLEY.

ACCORDING to the newspapers one would imagine that a great benefactor of the human race had been removed from us in the shape of Samuel Morley. It never seems to occur to these worshippers of Mammon that our Morleys, Wrights, Goschens, Oetzmans, and Chamberlains are not benefactors at all, but are instead makers of most part of the poverty of the employed, and are also creators of the unemployed, and almost all the misery that surrounds us. Out of one million workers two-thirds are women, and women are employed because they work for lower wages; for the same reason children are employed; this means that men are thereby thrown out of work; and where men are employed one man has to do the work of three or four; the great increase in the productive power of machinery also assists to enlarge the number of unemployed. Of course this sort of thing in business circles is considered perfectly honest.

From the papers we gather that councils, clubs, and associations have all lost their heads over his so-called "unbounded generosity and large-hearted Christian charity." Would that these councils on the dwellings of the poor, the different operative associations, temperance societies, and young men's Christian associations, as well as our working-men's clubs, would see that this sort of charity only makes a show in subscription lists, but does not interfere with the causes of misery, and that it would be better even if they only brought their organising power to bear upon the wisdom of preventing this misery from arising by increased wages, and greater facilities for sustaining health. Large charities would then be unnecessary, for the need of them wholly arises from the conditions under which large masses of our working people are forced to live. When we look at the picture in this light, what utter twaddle the following appears in the *Daily News*—

"Samuel Morley was a barn merchant, with the instincts of commerce working strongly in him; and being also a Puritan by conviction and

<sup>1</sup> They also protested, at the end of the war, against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine.

mental habit, he treated his aptitudes as marking out his vocation in life. They were conferred talents which he was to 'occupy,' and by means of which he was to gain other talents to be employed for the good of his fellow-men. No one ever felt a keener delight in a bargain or was quicker to perceive a business opportunity, and naturally he appreciated the same qualities in others."

And also—

"Under him, too, the Wood Street house became a school of commerce in which there were opportunities for the teachable and rewards for the diligent, but no toleration of laxity, and little respect for the incompetent. Many who retired from business while Mr. Morley remained at his post ascribed a large measure of their success to the habits they acquired under the wholesome discipline which he maintained."

The whole thing reeks of injustice, cruelty, and dishonesty. For instance, what do these words mean from a purely business point of view: "No respect for the incompetent?" To be a "competent man of business," you must know the art of defrauding your customers, be able to get workers at starvation wages, and also be versed in the art of circumventing the different shipping companies who are competing for freight. The immorality of these proceedings never enters into the calculations of the "competent man of business," any more than does the fact that low freights mean sailors pent up in fore-castles equal to any black slum and fed in the roughest and coarsest manner. What are our Spurgeons and Parkers about? Their voices seem to be silent upon this great social problem, although they had a good deal to say a few months ago when some of the unemployed made their presence known. It would have been more befitting their pretensions had they waited and ascertained why there were and are so many unemployed. On looking over the pages of the *Daily News* of the 6th again, I find it stated that

"At first Samuel was in addition head of the flannel department, a branch which fell into a subordinate place with the growth of the staple hosiery, which comprised all the articles manufactured by the firm at Nottingham, as well as those made at Leicester, Loughborough, Hinckley, and other centres."

In the first part of my letter I mentioned that out of one million workers two-thirds are women. Since writing this, I have turned up pages 53 and 55 of Dr. Cornwell's 'School Geography,' and on page 53 we are told (in foot-note) that "the textile fabrics together (of cotton, silk, wool, mixed and hosiery), employ more than one million work-people, of whom nearly two-thirds are females." This corroborates what I put down from memory only. And now to draw particular attention to the paragraph quoted above from the *Daily News*, and which directs attention to Morley and Co.'s woollen and hosiery manufactory at Nottingham, Leicester, Loughborough, Hinckley, and other centres. Page 55 of Dr. Cornwell's 'Geography,' under the heading of "Hosiery in the towns of Leicestershire: Leicester, Loughborough, Hinckley, and also at Nottingham" (the very towns mentioned by the *Daily News*), shows that Morley and Co. monopolise all the hosiery factories, and that they therefore are largely responsible for the fact that by employing so many women they compel them to be the unconscious producers of unemployed men. The worst of it all is, that philanthropist or not, the capitalist is compelled to exploit his workers, and his workers to submit, by the present system. What is needed is Justice not charity, equity not philanthropy, and this means the Social Revolution.

SARAH S. GOSTLING.

## THE GREAT TRIAL IN CHICAGO.

### III.

I HAVE delayed my third and last letter upon this subject for two reasons—first and chiefly because I feared that my preceding communications had not been allowed to reach you (a very natural fear, considering my recent experience of post-office rascality), and secondly that I might embody in it an account of the occurrences after the verdict, and the general feeling manifested on all sides.

Of the verdict itself little need be added to what your readers already know. All the world listened with bated breath for the decision of the jury. Immense interests were involved; the whole bourgeois world felt its fate hanging upon the issue. Of course there could be but one result in such a case. The verdict was pronounced; whereat royalty, privilege, and rank rejoiced and clapped their hands. Bismark, Victoria, all the titled paupers and thieves of the Old World, and their sycophants of the New, congratulated each other and the Chicago authorities upon the "splendid result."

And how does the proletariat, the disinherited workers, regard it? Ah! centuries of oppression have made them stupid and dumb. The average working-man knows nor cares for little else beside hurrahing for this or that candidate at election-time, and an occasional strike for a few cents' increase in wages. To their eternal shame be it recorded, that led—as calves are led, by the nose—by notorious political "fine" workers, the trades' unions of Chicago have either openly endorsed the verdict or refused to condemn it. Only the Socialists have thus far *openly* and indignantly protested against it. Conservative (hateful word!) working-men are either too cowardly or too ignorant and self-glorified to raise their voices in public protest against this damnable decree of their masters. I say in *public protest*, for their private utterances are not consistent with their public actions. It is, in fact, difficult to find a person of the wage-earning or small trading class who will privately endorse the verdict. All who are not Socialists or sympathisers seem to agree that severe punishment should be meted out to the men who sought to destroy "this glorious government"; but they were not prepared for such a terribly severe verdict, and are a little inclined to murmur—though not very openly as yet—against it. Besides, one of the convicted is an American, with a very good record and highly respectable connections, and it goes against the grain to see a fellow-countryman strung-up with a lot of foreign wretches. One correspondent of a daily paper thinks it impossible that Parsons can hold such monstrous doctrines, and imagines that he has unwittingly fallen into bad company. The Socialists, however, have been bitter in their denunciation of the police, the judge, the jury, the prosecuting lawyers, and the public press. Those sepulchres of dead-men's bones, the newspapers, have especially deserved and received their condemnation. They are mainly responsible for the blind prejudice and passion of the people. The utterances of the Paris news-

papers after the fall of the Commune were well copied or imitated by the Chicago papers during the trial and since the verdict. "Death to the Anarchists" has been their 'constant cry, and they have demanded, and continue to demand, the arrest of all Socialists. Nothing will satisfy them, they declare, but the utter extirpation of Socialism in the United States. There is good reason, then, for the mutual hatred between Socialists and the daily papers. In three large public meetings—all held since the verdict was rendered—the newspapers have been denounced in unmeasured terms for their unfairness in reporting the trial, and their vindictiveness.

The closing scenes of the great trial were exciting. On Monday the 9th ult. the prisoners Spies, Schwab, and Parsons were put upon the stand in their own defence. The testimony of comrade Spies was clear and convincing, a powerful argument of propaganda and a succinct statement of his own connection with the Haymarket *emeute*. That of comrade Parsons' turned into one of the most powerful, eloquent, and logical speeches of the century. His manner was easy, and graceful, his delivery forcible and eloquent, the substance—well, that must be read to be appreciated; and yet the mere reading of it conveys but a very faint idea of its effect upon the assembled people. Judge, jury, lawyers, and spectators sat as if spell-bound. The prosecuting attorney was paralysed—so much so, indeed, that his cross-examination of our comrade was singularly weak and short. This address has since been published in pamphlet form, and is being sold at a small price, to assist in defraying the expenses of the trial.

Another great speech of the trial was the closing argument of Captain Black, attorney for the defence. The captain is a natural orator, is a deep student of Socialism, and, best of all, had his whole heart in his work. In his peroration he quoted Mill, Hugo, and the Bible. He likened our comrades to the great Socialist of old, and predicted the final triumph of our cause. For his "sacrilegious" utterances and comparisons the captain received a terrible "mauling" from the opposing counsel and by the capitalist press; but the words have been said, and nothing can wipe out their influence upon those who heard them.

The jury were out but a little over three hours. One of the jurymen afterwards said that but *half-an-hour* was consumed in disposing of the seven condemned to die—they had already made up their minds as to their fate—the time was mainly spent in fixing upon the severity of comrade Neebe's punishment, against whom, be it remembered, there was not a particle of evidence, except that he was a Socialist and "dangerous." When on Friday morning, the 20th ult., the jury entered the court-room to deliver the verdict, the scenes inside and outside the jail were deeply impressive. Suppressed excitement was visible upon the faces of the judge, the jury, and the lawyers. The prisoners were apparently the least excited of all. When the verdict was read not a sign of emotion marked their faces beyond an increasing paleness and a set expression about the lips of each. Most of them had expected the verdict, and those who did not would have died rather than show weakness then. Mrs. Parsons and the near relatives of the accused were present. The former showed no sign of the terrible struggle going on in her breast. One of the women (the wife of Schwab) uttered a piercing shriek and swooned. Outside thousands of people thronged the adjacent streets, but detectives and uniformed officers were out in large force, and there was no attempt at disturbance. The prisoners were at once removed to the jail. The seven men condemned to die were placed in different cells—a set of cells known as "murderer's row"—and a death-watch placed over them.

Since the rendering of the verdict the newspapers have been jubilant. All the "best citizens" were interviewed, and, as a matter of course, fully approved the verdict. Telegrams and letters of congratulation came pouring in upon the States' Attorney from "representative" men in this country, and from monarchs, princes, and potentates abroad. In short, the entire bourgeois world is in ecstasies over the result. It was publicly proposed to pay the jury one thousand dollars apiece, and to reward two of the prosecuting attorneys with public offices as a "slight testimonial of the public gratitude." These propositions, however, were finally abandoned, though it is pretty certain that all who had a hand in the conviction of our brave comrades will receive pecuniary benefits from private sources.

And what is all this for? The State utterly failed to prove murder against our comrades, and that was the indictment and the only one. The defence incontestably proved their innocence of complicity in the killing of the policemen or the throwing of the bomb, while the closing arguments of our lawyers were so clear and convincing, that even those of us who knew the terrible malignity of the police and the press, and had been expecting the worst, were filled with hope. What, then, were they convicted for? *Simply because they are Anarchists and Socialists!* Absolutely nothing else. For the great crime of preaching against the thieving murderous operations of Board of Trade gamblers, monopolists, and exploiters of labour everywhere, these devoted men are condemned to death. Nothing was wanting but an opportunity to wreak capitalistic vengeance upon the heads of the Socialists of Chicago. Some hasty individual burning with past wrongs inflicted by Chicago's sanguinary police (or it may have been an agent of some capitalist), threw a bomb and gave them the opportunity they desired—and this is the result.

And yet, strange as it may seem, few people, and *no Socialists*, believe the verdict will be carried out. There is a surprising unanimity of opinion that in some way the terrible fate which menaces these men will be averted. Little can be expected from the courts of justice (!). A motion will be shortly argued for a new trial, but not even the most sanguine has faith that it will be granted. An appeal will then be taken to the Supreme Court of Illinois, and if that fails, if it can be done it will be carried to the highest court in the nation. All these may fail to change the verdict (I, for one, have no faith in any of them, for the power of money is great); yet, depend upon it, *those men will never hang*.

Our devoted comrades are well, and maintain a cheerful demeanour that is remarkable under the circumstances. Twice a day (except Sundays) they are permitted exercise and to receive their friends. Two hours and a-half out of the twenty-four they have a certain degree of liberty; the rest of the time, including all day Sundays, they are confined in stone cells six by eight feet in size, with two armed men (the death watch) constantly pacing in front of them. And yet they are calm and cheerful. They are, indeed, the bravest set of men I ever saw. Only Fielden and Parsons have any hope, Spies and the rest of the Germans anticipate the worst. They receive a great many sympathetic visitors from all parts of the country. All are impressed with their fine bearing and unflinching spirit. Depend upon it, whatever may happen they will not waver. They are the stuff that heroes are made of.

The papers now boast that Anarchism is dead. Fools! the history of the past teaches them no lesson. The Chicago *Tribune* quotes the "blood and iron" saying of Bismark. Let them ask Bismark how his policy has turned out at home. Instead of the verdict stopping the agitation it has but just commenced. The *Arbeiter Zeitung* has more than doubled in circulation since its suppression by the police. Thousands of people who never gave the subject serious attention are now investigating Socialism. There will surely be a tidal wave of Socialism in the near future that will sweep over this part of the globe. We are ten years nearer the Universal Social Revolution than we were three months ago.

WM. HOLMES.

THE SOCIALIST PROSECUTIONS are still proceeding. On Monday the Grand Jury found a true bill against Thomas E. Wardle, and the case will be dealt with on Friday. A summons has been delivered to another member of the League for speaking at Harrow Road; so that there will be two cases to report next week.



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

*Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.*

*As all articles are signed, no special significance should be attached to them because of the position they may occupy in these pages. None, therefore, are to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.*

*Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.*

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*All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.*

## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

**NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.**—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

W. E. Axon, and others.—The controversy on Vegetarianism must now close.

Mr. TEBB (Regent's Park).—Unsuitable to our columns.

F. GOULDING.—Your letter has been sent to the secretary of the Social-Democratic Federation, for whom it was seemingly intended.

E. T.—A new edition of Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations,' edited by E. B. Bax, is in preparation, and will be ready in a month or so. If you cannot wait for it, the 1812 edition (8 vols.) is the best in many ways.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 29.*

<b>ENGLAND</b>	San Francisco (Cal.)—Truth	<b>BELGIUM</b>
Justice	Washington (D. C.)—National	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair
Norwich—Daylight	View	<b>SPAIN</b>
Hull Express	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	Madrid—El Socialista
Freethinker	men's Advocate	Cádiz—El Socialismo
Ploughshare	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	<b>HUNGARY</b>
Dean Forest Mercury	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Arbeiter-Weeken-Chronik
Freedom	Herald	<b>SWEDEN</b>
<b>INDIA</b>	Daily News	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Madras—People's Friend	Paterson (N. J.) Labor Standard	<b>NORWAY</b>
Allahabad—People's Budget	Salem (Oreg.) Advance-Thought	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
Bombay—Times of India	Detroit (Mich.)—Labor Leaf	<b>PORTUGAL</b>
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
New York—Volkzeitung	Newfoundland (Pa.)—La Torpille	Voz do Operario
Freiheit	Corning (Iowa) Revue Icarienne	O Campino
Truthseeker	<b>FRANCE</b>	<b>HOLLAND</b>
Der Sozialist	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Recht voor Allen
John Swinton's Paper	Le Socialiste	<b>AUSTRIA</b>
Boston—Woman's Journal	Le Revolte	Brunn—Volksfreund
Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	La Revue Socialiste	<b>SWITZERLAND</b>
Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Guisic—Le Devoir	Zurich—Social Demokrat
Toledo (O.)—Industrial News	Lillo—Le Travailleur	

RECEIVED.—“A Theory of Life”—“The Unlearned Lesson”—Commercial Cannibalism.”

## “FREE” EDUCATION.

THE action of the Metropolitan Radical Club in this matter is a novel and a welcome step in advance of their usual tactics. The law is to be coolly set at defiance, the people being advised to act in direct opposition to it. In this case the method is much more important than the end, for it betokens an awakening of this political party to the great doctrine of revolution—that law, at the best, is but a convenience, and that the people are in no way bound to obey it unless they think it to their advantage. Of course this is but a very thin edge of the wedge : but it is something manly and straightforward, and these qualities are too scarce among politicians to be belittled when we do catch a glimpse of them. If we are to have any laws at all they should be respected only when understood to be convenient guides of action and never venerated merely because they are lawful. Of course Mr. Joseph Chamberlain does not agree with this ; but he is discredited now, and a person of no consequence.

But what do the Radicals mean by *free* education? The people cannot get education free. They must and they do pay for it by the labour they devote to the maintenance of teachers and institutions for carrying on instruction. The "upper" class have free education, because they get their education (and everything else) for nothing. It does not cost them anything, since they never work in return for the work bestowed upon them; but the people have to pay all the same. Free Education is a bad phrase altogether, because it suggests that something is to be *given* to the people, whereas in reality they are only claiming a paltry fraction of what they are justly entitled to. In fact, they have been providing the means of education for the upper class for ages past, and

are now at last awakening to the fact that a little education for *all* would be a good thing to have.

Socialists, above all parties, are in favour of education being given to all alike by the community. But what is education? This is an important and neglected question. Radicals seem to think that education means merely the small dose of reading, writing, and figuring which is now crammed into the children at Board Schools; or perhaps they dream of "advanced" education; that is, a superficial smattering of elementary science, and a dabbling in music and literature. Now, this kind of education will not necessarily make good men and women of the rising generation. This sort of education has been given to the upper class for years past, and yet it is in that "educated class" that corruption in every form is found, flourishing as if a special training for the worst walks of life had been carefully given to these ornaments of society. Yet this is all, if not more, than the Radicals are asking for. It may be urged that it is wise to take a little at a time, that a half loaf is better than no bread at all: but in these matters such reasoning is only an excuse for refusing to face the question in a manly and uncompromising fashion. It is a matter for doubt whether a little of such education is better than none at all. But there can surely be no doubt that it is not worth while agitating for less than a really full and complete training of the childrens' faculties.

Hitherto the people have got just as much education as would fit them for their part in the commercial struggle. In other words education, like nearly all else in modern civilisation, has been prostituted to the service of commerce. The working class education has simply been a training of the people that they might be more profitable tools for their masters. The middle-class education has been a training of the masters to make them more adept in their functions of cheating the people and each other—"fitting them for a commercial career" as they would put it. Its purpose also is to fit them for snug little diplomatic posts abroad where their "education" does service in adding lustre to the lies and chicanery patriotically practised for the glory of the Great Empire. The upper class education, again, has been a training of the fortunate few in all manner of follies and inanities, so that their luxurious and useless lives might be spent in accordance with the rules of fashion. To merely improve the present system is not an object worth working for, as the extension of sham culture is the highest possible achievement of our present form of education. The only way to make the working class worse than they are is to make them like their masters, and this is the result that some people are, perhaps unknowingly, trying to bring about.

By all means let us have education for the people. But while class distinctions exist it is impossible. Let the education be thorough, and not one-sided as it is now. It cannot be free, in the sense of being had for nothing, but it can, nevertheless, be put within easy reach of everybody. The conditions of such education are that its objects shall be the complete, rational, and healthy development of the human faculties—a drawing out and shaping of the powers of **each** individual. The absurd idea that a child's mental powers can be trained without any reference to its physical condition must be laid aside.

In short, if education is to be more than a name, the struggle for it must become part of the struggle for a complete change in the conditions of life. Living in filthy and unwholesome dwellings, on the one hand, and being forced into the dishonesty of trade on the other, are in themselves enough to counteract all the good that education would do. Freedom is the soil of wisdom ; and wisdom will flourish nowhere else. A forced growth will only bring out a stunted and deformed fruit. The first step towards real education is a Social Revolution that will destroy the tyranny above and slavery below, which is the source of this and all other economic evils.

J. L. MAHON.

J. L. MAHON.

## WHAT ARE THE CHURCHES DOING?

THREE years ago London was startled by the appearance of a pamphlet entitled "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London." It emanated from the London Congregational Union, and was described as being "an enquiry into the condition of the abject poor." Its terrible pictures of misery and unhappiness caused great consternation all around. Newspapers of all kinds abounded in endless details of the most harrowing kind; discussions, public and private, were held; resolutions passed; slums visited by many well-meaning and ill-meaning persons; the actions of certain vestrymen enquired into; in fact, all the world thought that something ought to be done, and that it would be done. But what has been done to remove the awful state of things which was said by the writer of the pamphlet in question to be actually beyond exaggeration?

Politicians have spoken, and, as usual, have done nothing. The political economists could offer no hope. The newspapers could do nothing but abuse the "abject poor," and recommend better dwellings for them. All that teetotalism could say was that drunkenness was the cause of the disease, and that total abstinence was the cure.

But what have the Churches done? The enquiry was set on foot by a very influential organisation, and all the Churches were concerned in the discussion of the subject. Now there are some very good reasons why this question should be asked. For all the Churches acknowledge that the question of the poor ought to concern them very much, because their religion has ever been associated with those humble folk who are included under that extremely vague title of "poor." Together these Churches form, or might form, a most powerful body, which, if it thought well, might alleviate this misery at once. Riches and social



influence are in their hands; in fact, they have at their command every facility to investigate the difficulty.

But instead of facing the facts, and endeavouring to account for them, and so be able to state the remedy, they have deliberately done nothing to remove the causes of all the horrible things they so much "deplored." They have shirked the duty which justice demanded of them, because it would have compromised them too much. They might have had to denounce all the rich men in their congregations if they attempted to do justice to the poor; but that would be bad policy for the Churches. They might have had to declare that the owning of land by individuals was a great cause of the overcrowding of the slums of London; but that would have offended the ears of some of their land-owning worshippers. They might have had to declare that "competition" was the great cause of low wages, adulterated goods, unscrupulous dealings, broken lives, drunken habits, and immorality; but they feared the money-bags and loan-mongers might not like it. Oh, no; they did quite differently. They did not want to stir up strife; so they began to build a lot of mission halls, in which they poured down, as rain from heaven, consolation of a spiritual kind, which cost nothing and was very effectual. It made the "poor" who frequented these halls feel how "humble" they were, and that it was right for them to be "humble"; because if they were "humble" enough they would be supplied with half-worn clothes, which the "rich" had chucked at them. They were further taught that their duty of life was to be contented and thankful, and a great man's motto was held up for their meditation, which the Churches had found, proved, and acted upon. The text is: "I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therein to be content."

The policy pursued was to infuse teaching of this kind, with the aid of charitable bribery, into the hearts of the "abject," so that they should be less dangerous to their masters and pastors. That it has been successful is, at least, open to doubt. There is a hopeful sign in the "outcasts;" they are inclined to be dissatisfied. Processions of the unemployed, since the tract was written, have terrified the "respectable" classes even more than that did.

The Archbishop of Canterbury stood forth to open his mind upon this question. One might have thought that this potentate, head of the Church of England, the first bishop of this mighty land, who presides over the Church which claims to belong to the people, would have had something to offer to the suffering masses. Alas! he is not powerful enough to be honest. He lives in palaces, and is waited upon, and fares sumptuously every day, and is therefore too busy to look after the interests of his poor abject brother who sojourns in the slums. All his time is occupied in "overseeing" important ecclesiastical matters, and acting as a lackey in things royal. All he can do for his "brother in distress" is to offer that same cordial, "spiritual consolation." Most of the lesser dignitaries have occupied themselves with preaching the blessings that poverty makes manifest; how that it reveals the capacities of some individuals in surmounting obstacles, and of others to bear pain and hunger patiently.

The same is true of the Dissenting Churches. Endless vapourings and patchings seem to be all they are capable of. Some of their preachers have been active in advocating such nostrums as thrift, emigration, and industrial villages; but they all avoid the causes of the evil. There are only a few individuals who are preachers in these Churches—Established and Nonconformist—who have been bold enough to grasp the situation. To these let all honour be given, their names are known to all.

Will the Churches ever be different? This is a very difficult question. Much can never be expected from them as institutions; but there is an element of hope in the individuals who compose them.

There must be among them many who are beginning to see that the problem must be met in a rational spirit, and that they must take part in the freedom of the people. Let them take courage and examine the doctrines of those who profess to have found the causes of the present misery, and who point out the only possible solution to the problem—viz., the Socialists. The Churches have hitherto acted in a very cowardly and mean manner towards these people; but there never was a good cause began which the upholders of law, order, and religion did not abuse and revile. This cause will live in spite of the misrepresentations of such men as the Rev. Cunningham Geikie, and it will yet appeal to all who prefer truth and justice to hypocrisy and injustice.

The people now must stand aloof from these institutions, and learn to judge for themselves. They must take upon them those duties which the Churches have shirked. They must plead their own cause, not to the higher powers, but to one another; they must denounce hypocrisy wherever it appears; they must expose the methods by which the present system of society is upheld; they must proclaim that the result of labour should be given to those that labour; that they who work not shall neither eat; that to live on usury, in any of its forms, is unjust; that there ought to be no inequality among men as regards the necessities and joys of life; that servility is not humility; that self-interest is not the ideal of life; that he who strives to serve, in singleness of heart, his fellow-men, is worthy of honour; and that the bond which should bind together the sons and daughters of men, should be mutual self-sacrifice. All this must the people do, and more. They must make themselves fully acquainted with the ins and outs of the social question, so they may be able to set to work intelligibly. They must show they are in real earnest; that they will neither rest or be contented until all has been restored to them.

Then, who can resist them? Not Churches, nor State. With all the resources of civilisation at their command, they will be powerless to put down the just aspirations of the people.

Let me appeal to all good and just men, whoever they are—whether they call themselves Atheist, Christian, Positivist, or what not—to come and join in the battle, the most holy and hopeful that ever earth has witnessed. Let them cast off their wranglings, which can only affect the intellect, and join in the People's cause, which appeals both to the head and the heart. Let us not be divided over these minor matters. Let us show persistently that we can join together, in spite of the machinations of the enemies of the people, whose strength lies in making their victims divided and conquered. W. C. WADE.

## NOTES FROM SCOTLAND.

THE poor half-starved shoemakers of Linlithgow gave a sumptuous banquet to Lord Rosebery last week.

They also praised him and worshipped him in a way befitting his rank and their poverty.

Now, there are few verses of Burns' which Scotchmen sing more lustily—especially about the New Year time—than the one in "A Man's a Man for a' That":

"Ye see yon birkie ca'd a lord,  
Wha struts and stares and a' that;  
Though hundreds worship at his word,  
He's but a cuif for a' that:  
For a' that and a' that,  
His riband, stars, and a' that—  
The man of independent mind,  
He looks and laughs at a' that!"

And I am certain that any average patriotic and orthodox Scotchman would indignantly repudiate the assertion that he believed a lord to be one whit superior to a labourer.

Yet if a poor starving labourer enters one of our towns, the people will probably refuse him a bite of bread; but if a rich over-fed lord comes their way, they will impoverish the burgh exchequer for the next six months in providing the lord with dainties he does not need, and which they would not dream of partaking themselves.

It is, moreover, a most melancholy fact that no meeting or association—from a Bible society to a Liberal club—can become popular in Scotland that has not a duke or an earl for its honorary president at least. Who would think of soliciting subscriptions for a Church bazaar or a charity dinner unless at least a baronet figured on the list of patrons? No; a lord of some sort is absolutely indispensable to success in Scotland, and we Socialists, if we want to succeed, must make up our minds to obtain one somehow.

Do any of our comrades in London know where some broken-down scion of a noble house might be obtained cheap? There is a notion afloat down here that amongst the cab-drivers and dock-labourers of London are to be found many unfortunate noblemen over whose past career "there hangs an impenetrable veil of mystery and melancholy," as the circulating library novelist would put it. If such an one could be picked up and transplanted into a fashionable suit of clothes, he could be utilised for propaganda purposes with surprising effect. Should he revert to his earlier habits and exhibit a strong propensity for wine and cigars, I shall see that he is hospitably entertained, having one or two particular friends—stout Conservatives and upholders of law and order—who can supply me with these things cheaply, as they are not above obtaining them without paying the constitutionally imposed duty.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the Scottish-American millionaire, has given £50,000 towards the formation of a free library in Edinburgh. Of course a unanimous chorus of praise has greeted this "magnificent gift"—and surely it is worthy. In these days when capitalists are in despair about the unprofitableness of their investments—when we are wearied with reiterations of the financial difficulties of large employers—it is surely an heroic sight, even in the land of "Triumphant Democracy," to see one of these victims of "the ruinous exactions of the workers" making such an astounding sacrifice. It is to be hoped that the Town Council of Edinburgh, before accepting the money, will take means to ascertain that Mr. Carnegie will not require in future to live on a restricted fare, or in any way lessen his standard of comfort.

I wonder if Mr. Carnegie's employés applied lately for an advance of wages, and if so, whether he regretted to be obliged to refuse their request because the present unprofitable state of trade—the unremunerative prices given for his goods—could not possibly permit his granting any advance?

"An enterprising tradesman in Glasgow has been making some interesting experiments regarding the commercial utility of philanthropy. His aim seems to be to determine its exact value as a marketable commodity. His method is simple. He suddenly becomes aware that there are many poor children in Glasgow who never see the fields and never breathe the fresh air. He advertises the fact, and states that he intends chartering a steamboat to give a thousand poor children a trip to the sea-side, and invites clergymen and others to assist him in making a selection of little ones. The trip takes place, and grandmotherly accounts of it appear in the local newspapers. The merchant then humbly awaits the result of his next six months' sales, prayerfully expecting that providence, in recognition of his thus "pitying the poor," will send a "marvellous draught" of customers into his commercial net.

Another method adopted by this enterprising tradesman in his laudable speculation also deserves notice. Some time ago he became much grieved that so many able-bodied men should be in a starving condition for the want of employment. He advertised his grief. He also advertised that rather than see those men and their families starve he would sell all he had and give it to them.—No, no; I mistake; he didn't exactly say that, because of course that would be acting contrary to economic wisdom; but he said he would give them 1s. per day gratis, merely asking, as a guarantee of their willingness to work—just to show that they were not loafers, as it were—that they should march in procession through the streets carrying sandwich-

boards advertising his goods. Verily, Shakespere was a prophet! for did he not say of Mercy:

"It is twice blessed;  
It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes?"

They do gravely err who give a hyperethical interpretation to these words, whose application to modern commercial life is so beautifully exemplified by facts like the above.

A more melancholy spectacle than these poor fellows, trudging along all day, with their miraculous bodies degraded to the function of perambulating boardings, cannot well be conceived. That Christian sentiment (shoddy even as it is, like everything else in our day) tolerates this use of men "made in the image of God," is in truth astounding. Surely no conceivable blasphemy could be more abominable than such an exhibition; and that Christians endure it in their midst is a "sign and strange wonder" of the times, which all the pomp of praise and prayer, Churches and charities, cannot veil from our eyes.

A highly interesting gathering of Highland land-law reformers took place last week at Bonar Bridge in Sutherlandshire. Delegates from Land-Law Reform Associations came from all parts of the Highlands, and the meeting may be said to have been a parliament of the people. Unfortunately, several M.P.s were invited, and, as in all such cases, the resolutions were framed to meet the views of the M.P.s rather than to express the sentiments of the people. The resolutions, therefore, with the exception of one affirming the principle of "the land for the people," passed before the arrival of the M.P.s, were of a somewhat parochial order. Nevertheless the meeting, indicating as it did a growing sense of solidarity and power amongst the exploited Highlanders, was of distinct value.

Dr. Clarke, the whilom metropolitan revolutionist, was in the chair; but he didn't, so far as appears from the reports, say any more about landlords being robbers—and it is as well. When a man speaks the plain truth—as the Dr. lately did regarding the Duke of Argyll—he should have the courage to maintain it. The manner in which the Dr. winced and protested when his words—so absolutely true—were quoted in the House of Commons, destroyed the value of all he said, and converted one of the best speeches yet made against landlordism into positively one of the worst.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

### THE STATE OF LABOUR IN AUSTRALIA.

Advices from different parts of Australia show a very gloomy outlook for labour in that part of the world during the coming winter. Strikes and lock-outs have taken place among the seamen, brickmakers, and ironworkers. The Melbourne correspondent of the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* says, on August 12:

"There is little fresh to report concerning the unemployed difficulty. 200 or 300 men assembled in front of the Labor Bureau office as usual and were harangued by some of their number. Attempts were made to interview members of the Government, but Ministers were worn out after the late sitting in Parliament, and declined to see them. The chairman of the unemployed committee has written to the Governor and to the members of the Ministry, asking them to do something to relieve the destitution of those out of work. Over 600 men are registered at the Labor Bureau as out of work, and to these 230 railway passes have been issued.

"The Melbourne *Daily Telegraph* states that a registry of unemployed has been opened and that at midday on Monday 423 cases had been registered. Besides these, many of the unemployed had gone out to Footscray, because work had been promised there, and others had gone to various places in the suburbs seeking for employment on their own account. The 423 registered yesterday were believed to be genuine cases, although the men were not all equally fitted for hard manual labour. Many of them were married men, with wives and children dependent on them. The want of employment has stopped the credit of these men in their several localities, and they are in danger of being turned out with their families, through being unable to pay the landlords their rents. Messrs. Williams and M'Grath were in possession of letters of a moving character, indicative of the distress which prevails, especially in cases which are not apt to obtrude themselves on the general public. In response to an advertisement that had appeared in the newspapers in the morning for six miners, about 80 men applied. The required number were engaged, and the necessary steps taken to get them transferred to Yea goldfields, where the work awaits them.

"The man who acted as secretary for the unemployed in Melbourne in 1879, but who has not taken any part in the present agitation, writes 'that there is at the present moment in Melbourne and surrounding cities a very large number who are really in destitute circumstances, able and willing to labour but unable to obtain work, is a fact there is no gainsaying. I am prepared to give willing testimony to all that has been said on that point.'

"The Melbourne *Age* says: 'For some time past complaints have been made by many of the societies meeting at the Trades'-hall of the unusual depression in trade which exists at the present time; and although slack periods are invariably looked for at this time of the year, it is urged that this season is the worst experienced for many years past. A few weeks ago meetings of the employés in the boot-making trade were held, when it was stated that many hundreds of men were out of work; and now the tinsmithing trade, although not suffering in such a marked degree, has reason to complain of a falling off in trade. The Tinsmiths, Ironworkers, and Japanners' Society, which numbers about 300 members, has for a long time experienced a series of reverses through over-competition, caused mainly by the large influx of population from South Australia and other colonies. Hitherto the society has been in a condition to meet all demands made upon it, owing to the large number of hands employed by the meat-preserving companies during the busy season; but in consequence of the low price of wool and tallow and the scarcity of stock, combined with the fact that a large quantity of meat is exported frozen, meat-preserving has been reduced to such an extent as to make it wholly unprofitable. In proof of this, it may be stated that one of the largest companies in Melbourne was compelled a few weeks ago to suspend operations, after expending an unusual amount of capital which brought no profitable return, and the hands who used to find constant employment at these factories have been cast upon the general shops to find work, which it is needless to say many of them have been unable to do.'

Let those to whom emigration is recommended as a remedy to their ills take heed!—S.

**Free Education Demonstration.**—At the meeting which will be held in Trafalgar Square to-morrow (Sunday) some members of the Socialist League will address the people. Members of the League are expected to attend at the Office on Sunday afternoon at one o'clock.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES.

### GREAT BRITAIN.

DUBLIN.—The stonecutters' strike still continues here. Messrs. Beckett, the contractors for the new Science and Art Buildings, are victorious, having got non-society country hands and seceders from the local society to accept their terms. Meanwhile, the society men are idle, and the look out for the winter is anything but promising. It is believed that but for the treachery of the seceders the strikers would have won.—J. E. McC.

### FRANCE.

In Paris, on Friday, September 24th, Lafargue (a son-in-law of Karl Marx), Guesde, and Susini were acquitted of the charge made against them of inciting to murder and violent sedition at a meeting in aid of the Decazeville miners held last June. This was a second trial. They did not put in an appearance at the first trial, and were condemned by default along with Louise Michel. They then demanded a new trial with the above result. The acquittal has caused much surprise in Paris, the more so as the jury which returned the verdict of "not guilty" was a very bourgeois-looking one. The Government can scarcely allow Louise Michel to remain in prison now.—U.

NOYELLES-SUR-LENS.—An unfortunate miner here, badly injured in the mine, made the mistake of not applying at once for compensation; the Company, therefore, after keeping him on hypocritically for several years, sent him about his business on the very day which limited the legal demand for indemnity. Here, then, is a poor fellow thrown on the streets, with no resources for the maintenance of his family but the two crutches on which he limps. Latterly, he set up as a news-vendor, furnished with a license. The Company, after trying to forbid him entry among their workers, clap on a guard in his wake whenever he appears, who follows him from door to door, forbidding the man under pain of being fined to buy such and such a paper, the *Cri* especially. The poor man asks us if he would have the right to prosecute the Company for an attack on the liberty of commerce. The right? Yes, and also the right to break his crutch over the back of his spy in self-defence! But why speak of right in such an affair . . . ?—*Cri du Peuple*.

BELLENGLISE (Aisne).—At the public meeting organised by the weavers on strike at the Cornaille establishment, there were present a great number of workmen from the neighbourhood of Belleglise. The meeting was held in a barn too small to hold all the audience; so that it more resembled an open-air meeting. It is the first public re-union held in this Commune.

SAINT-QUENTIN.—Three Socialists have been returned for the supplementary municipal elections here. The triumph over the Opportunists has been celebrated by a manifestation through the streets, the red flag flying, and vivats resounding.

ARMENTIERES.—*Clericalism in the Bagnios*.—In M. Cardon's spinning factory the workers are supposed to come at 5.30 a.m.; but to give them time to say a prayer before beginning work, they are forced to come a quarter of an hour earlier. Last week, one of the women arriving at the half-hour, was called before the overseer to account for herself. She objected that work did not begin until the half-hour. "You are behind time," he retorted, "since you have come after the morning prayer."—*Le Travailleur*.

TOURCOING.—Some days back a workman was caught by a strap appertaining to the machinery in his charge, and was fearfully mutilated. The enquiry into the matter must be very satisfactory to the poor man who is dying, perhaps, for it pronounced that "the accident was due to his own imprudence." It always is!

VIERZON.—The wondrous story of guns being secreted for warlike purposes by the strikers, which has been circulated and seriously commented on by the *Temps* and the *France Militaire*, has been supplemented by another of a discovery of a packet of cartridges under the door of the Company's workshop. The Striker's Committee have been endeavouring to discover the manufacturer of the former tale, that they may prosecute him, but he is not to be found. The object of exciting public opinion against the strikers has not been achieved, I need scarcely say.

VIERZON-FORGES.—The glass-engravers have gone back to work on their own terms, thanks to the Committee.

"M. Sarrien, following up his visits to the prisons of the Seine last month, has resolved, it appears, to ameliorate as much as possible the conditions of prison and penitentiary." Note the saving clause, "as much as possible,"—so be it! But M. Sarrien is no Hercules, and to cleanse these Augean stables of corruption is a task beyond the strength of the veriest Hercules among Ministers. He intends to begin by applying a law passed long since, which allows conditional release before the expiration of a term of imprisonment (something resembling our *ticket-of-leave*). One pictures these pariahs having conducted themselves in an exemplary manner under all sorts of provocation, in all sorts of miserable circumstances, being allowed to "go free," at liberty to walk the earth in search of work among "honest" men and women—whenever employers can be induced to avail themselves of the services of such outcasts.

### BELGIUM.

HUY.—Several workers who sign themselves "Slaves of the Forge," write a letter to *L'Avenir*, recounting the arbitrary conduct of the head-engineer of an industrial establishment near by. This man imposed a fine of 25 fr. on a foreman for protesting against some little piece of tyranny over the men. The writers confess naively that they thought the Commission of Enquiry, recently sitting at Huy, would establish some understanding between master and man. "Is this," they cry, "the pacification of which M. le President spoke so much at the late sitting? . . . Are we to be slaves all our lives? There are moments when, blinded by our sufferings, we long for a revolution which will sweep away all oppressors and oppressed."

### ITALY.

*Il Fascio Operaio* (of Milan) is about to reappear. The editors have issued a circular announcing their intention, together with a sheet for annual subscriptions and donations towards the expenses of the paper. We heartily

hope that this representative of the Italian Labour Party will be successful in its renewed career.

**CORSICA.**—120 men, under the command of two lieutenants, are setting out with 80 gendarmes to chase the savage bandit of Corsica. The Bellacascia family, or tribe, number some 50 souls men and women. They are of indomitable nature, boys and girls alike, learning whatever can be taught them of the art of war at a very tender age. As they live among almost inaccessible mountains, and have already resisted the attack of a whole battalion of chasseurs of Vincennes sent forth to conquer them years since, the gallant soldiers now on their track can scarcely hope to subdue them without many a Homeric struggle.

#### SPAIN.

**BARCELONA.**—The masons who are out on strike seem determined to hold out for what they demand (*one hour less of labour!*) They number over 6,000, and will most likely be successful. The local authorities are, as always, on the side of the masters; twelve men in Barcelona and four in Sans were arrested for the sole fact that they had produced in their workshops a tariff in which were set down their demands. In San Martin de Provencals, most of the masters have signed this, and in many of the outlying towns they have given in, the principal resistance being in Barcelona itself.

**CALANAS.**—In the mines of the *Silos de Caleñas* there exists a veritable feudalism worthy of despotic Russia. Wages are reduced at will, the miners' houses are visited without the least authorisation, arms and tools are confiscated, fines imposed for the least fault, and in short every kind of tyranny, small and great, is exercised over the employes. Workers in the mines, how long will you submit to these things, and suffer on ignorant and disorganised?—*Bandera Social*. M. M.

#### HOLLAND.

The Court of Appeal has confirmed the sentence of a years' solitary confinement passed upon Domela Nieuwenhuis for insulting the king. This, although he was proved not to have written the incriminated article. Another Socialist, Geel, has been sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. Our Dutch comrades are progressing fast.—U.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### "SOCIALISTS AND PURITY."

I forward you the enclosed letter, addressed by me to the editor of the *Christian Socialist*, on the subject of his recent article under the heading of "Socialists and Purity;" also his reply to me of yesterday (Sept. 20th) declining to insert the same. It appears to me that all he says in refutation of what I state is: (1) by calling my condemnation of the stigma of bastardy individualistic, and (2) by casting doubt on the truth of the Bible, as regards the Book of Ezekiel. I cannot understand why he thinks Ezekiel hopeless in his theology for the enunciation of the highly civilised doctrine that "the guilty, and not the innocent, merit punishment," as quoted in full in my letter. Will you do me the favour of finding room for this letter and its enclosures?—I am, dear sir, yours faithfully,  
Leytonstone, Sept. 21, 1886. W. CABELL.

#### TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST.

Dear Sir,—With reference to your article under the above heading, will you permit me to say a few words deprecatory of marriage and the private family—not that I consider Society, at present, ripe for their abolition.

First, as regards marriage. The mere fact that an institution inflicts the stigma of bastardy upon innocent children born outside of it is, in my estimation, so radically evil, that it must necessarily lead to the abolition of the marriage state in a more perfect state of Society. The said stigma appears to me to be altogether subversive of Scripture, which says: "The soul that sinneth, it shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son. The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him."—Ezekiel xviii. 20. There seems to me, also, to be no doubt that as long as marriage endures, so long will prostitution and infanticide of illegitimates flourish with it.

Secondly, as regards the private family. You say, "All education must begin with resolute and pure home training." Will you permit me to ask where you will find pure home training in a private family? Whilst children are educated by their parents, parental likings and antipathies will be inculcated, and the father, instead of working for the general good, will be scheming in the interests of his family. No; whether the doctrine may be palatable or the reverse, children must be educated, and brought up, by the Government, away from home influences.—Yours faithfully,  
Leytonstone, E., Sept. 12, 1886. W. CABELL.

Dear Sir,—I do not find, and I am not disposed to make, room for your individualist letter in the *Christian Socialist*. We consider marriage to be a *sine qua non* of Socialism, and Ezekiel to be but a tenth-rate prophet, and hopeless in his theology for the most part.—Yours sincerely,  
Sept. 20, 1886. CHARLES L. MARSON,  
Editor of *Christian Socialist*.

### LITERARY NOTICES.

*The New Christianity* (J. B. Robinson, 67, Liberty Street, N.Y.) is a smart, readable, manly little tract on advanced Christian lines, and shows such an intimate acquaintance with and strong abhorrence of modern evils, that we cannot help thinking its author will be a stalwart Socialist when he has thought out the economical position a little more clearly.

*The Ploughshare* (Rev. A. Webster, Calsayseat Road, Aberdeen. 1d.) is a small periodical, attacking with vehemence the evils of the day from the standpoint of "Radical Religion and Morality." If merit commanded success this little venture should have a full share of it.

*Our Corner* for October is full as usual of readable matter. "Education for the People," by Annie Besant, should be widely and carefully read.

*Freedom*, which was noticed in last issue, is published by Charlotte M. Wilson, 34, Bonverie Street, E.C., at 1d. monthly.

*United Ireland* is publishing a most interesting and instructive series of articles on "Ireland as it is." This should be read by all who desire to know what is the real condition of the country. Even those who are unable to detect the workings of monopoly when clothed in familiar garb may here recognise its loathsome form in all its native hideousness.—S.

## BERLIN, 1848.

(By LUDWIG PFAU. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

What dirge at the palace gate  
Is this that the tyrant hears?  
There are passing in funeral state  
The dead borne high on their biers.  
And mutely the citizens bring  
The carcasses one by one,  
As though they would say, Thou king,  
See here what things thou hast done.

For the young and the old lie dumb,  
Stark, blood-stained, there as they died;  
And with tears and lamentings come  
Wife, sister and brother and bride.  
Her hands each mother must wring,  
As she looks on her dear dead son—  
Lord God, all this has a king,  
All this has a great king done.

Loud threats must his Highness hear—  
The king comes down to the dead,  
And bends him before the bier,  
And bares his cowardly head.  
Lo, as if with a new wound's sting,  
Fresh drops from the old wounds run;  
As though they would say, Thou king,  
See here what things thou hast done.

And the plaint that the dumb wounds make  
Is echoed anear and afar  
By those that will vengeance take,  
And the flood-tide of fury unbar.  
And the heights of the whole world ring  
With the scream of the storm begun,  
As it cries, All this has a king,  
All this has a great king done.

Ye People, your hands have a stain  
That water will wash not away;  
Yea, brother his brother has slain,  
When a king in his wrath said "Slay!"  
And into their grave as ye fling  
These slain men every one,  
Write large on it, This has a king,  
Yea, this has a great king done.

And their grave shall yet be the tomb  
Of the pride of the king's proud throne;  
For each, by the ancient doom,  
Shall reap what his hands have sown.  
In blood, like a shameful thing,  
Is eclipsed old loyalty's sun—  
Thank God, this too has a king,  
This too has a great king done.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

### Notices to Members.

*Reading Room.*—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.

*Library.*—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

Adjourned General Meeting of London members will be held at Farringdon Hall, Monday, October 4, at 9 p.m.

### General Meeting.

The London members' monthly General Meeting was held on Monday last at the office. Reports from the Branches were delivered, and showed a hopeful improvement in the organisation. Several suggestions as to the literary part of *Commonweal* were offered. A discussion ensued on the Free Speech agitation, which was adjourned until next Monday.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Croydon, to May 31. Mile-end, to June 30. Hammersmith, to July 31. Birmingham, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Dublin, Hackney, Leeds, Merton Abbey, North London, Norwich, to August 31. Bloomsbury, Manchester, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Marylebone, Oxford, to September 30. Branches not mentioned here have not paid to date, and some are months in arrears. This laxity on the part of Branches is one of the greatest hindrances to the propaganda of the League.—Ph. W., Sept. 14.

### BRANCH REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Friday, September 24th, comrade Utley lectured on the "Means of Effecting the Revolution." He contrasted the Parliamentary and the revolutionary methods, leaning rather towards the former. A good discussion followed, the majority of the speakers being antagonistic to the lecturer's views.—W. A. C.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, September 22, G. Bernard Shaw addressed a very fair audience on "Why we don't Act up to our Principles;" a good discussion followed.—On Sunday, Somerville and Cantwell broke new ground, held a very good meeting at Garnault Place, St. John Street Road. A successful meeting was also held on Clerkenwell Green by comrades Wardle and Blundell. At the close, an invite was given to the audience to come to the hall, where we held a "sociable," readings and songs (comic and sentimental), and musical selections being given by Anne Taylor, D. Nicoll, W. Blundell, and other friends; a pleasant evening ending with "La Carmagnole" (English version). The Branch has sold four quires of *Commonweal* this week. Collected for Defence Fund, 4s. 5½d.—W. B.

**HACKNEY.**—On Wednesday, September 21, we held our usual meeting in the Broadway, London Fields. Blundell opened the meeting with a song and music.



and then comrades Henderson, Graham, and Allman addressed a large and sympathetic audience, the largest we have held there.—On Sunday at 3.30 in Victoria Park, we went to hold our usual meeting, but found a party of Secularists had taken our stand and was holding an anti-Socialist meeting there. The prime mover of this was a gentleman, who a fortnight ago tried to break up our meeting because Mainwaring attacked Mr. Bradlaugh. Davis was not allowed to oppose, but we fixed our platform, and soon comrade Fred Henderson got the audience; Utley and Davis also spoke. Good sale of *Commonweals*.—J. F., sec.

**HOXTON.**—On Thursday, we held our usual outdoor meeting, at which Graham, Pope, Nicoll, Allman, Davis, and Barker spoke.—Sunday morning no meeting, weather not permitting. In the evening, outdoor meeting addressed by Barker, Pope, and Henderson. Indoor meeting lectured by Henderson, on "The Socialist Ideal;" fair audience; lively discussion, and sale of literature moderate.—H. A. B., sec.

**MARYLEBONE.**—On Sunday afternoon, comrades Lane, Mahon, Wardle, and Arnold addressed a meeting in Hyde Park, and 2s. 1½d. was collected for the Defence Fund.—H. G. A.

**MERTON.**—Our meeting on the Fair Green was held under very discouraging circumstances, frequent drenching showers thinning the attendance. The crowd stood well together, however, after we adjourned to the shelter of some trees, where Mainwaring concluded his address. We sold about 40 *Commonweals*, and fair amount of other literature in the evening at the club-room. We had short addresses from comrade Mainwaring and Kitz, who made earnest appeals for workers to join and aid in the work of the Branch. We have much pleasure in stating that we have founded a Branch at Mitcham, and are now seeking premises wherein to meet. We expect that our Mitcham comrades will be in full working order in about a fortnight, and that then the hands of the Merton Branch will be free for fresh work in another direction.—F. Kitz, sec.

**NORTH LONDON.**—On Tuesday evening, a successful meeting was held at Ossulton Street, addressed by comrades Wardle and Chambers. On Saturday evening, Wardle addressed a good meeting at Harrow Road, which was not disturbed by the police; but the speaker of last week has received a summons to appear on Thursday at Marylebone Police-court. Owing to the rain, no meeting was held on Sunday morning in Regent's Park, but some of our members assisted in the afternoon at the meeting of the Socialist Union, and succeeded in selling some *Commonweals*.—F. H., sec.

**EDINBURGH.**—On Sunday afternoon in the Meadows, a meeting of considerable size was addressed by McMillan, a Socialist not yet connected with any of the organisations. Some of our members distributed leaflets. At the close of the address there was a discussion, and the lecturer was supported by short speeches from comrades Robertson, Hunter, and Gilray, the latter dealing with the remarks of a teetotal reformer. In the evening, such was the interest the lecture caused, a discussion was continued to a late hour by some of the hearers of the afternoon's lecture. Some of our members took part. Next Sunday we expect McMillan will again lecture in the Meadows.—J. G.

**GLASGOW.**—On Wednesday evening, comrade Scheu, who was North on business, visited our rooms and delivered an inspiring address. He urged us to increase the financial support of *Commonweal*, and gave us some valuable advice on organisation. On Thursday evening, our *Commonweal* committee resolved to open a special *Commonweal* fund, to which members will be asked to subscribe quarterly, and 10s. was at once collected. On Friday evening, comrades Glasier and McMillan addressed a thoroughly sympathetic audience at Govan. On Saturday evening, an open-air meeting was held at Rutherglen, where Downie and Glasier spoke. On Sunday, Glasier addressed a meeting of the Irish National League on "Patriotism and Poverty"—the principles of Socialism were well received. Afterwards, an open-air meeting was held on the Green, where Warrington, Glasier, and Torley (S.D.F.) spoke. In the evening in our rooms, comrade Kennedy introduced the subject of "The Trades' Union Congress," which called forth a good discussion.—J. B. G.

**HULL.**—On Tuesday, September 21st, J. L. Mahon lectured on "Socialism and Politics," showing the uselessness of the present political parties, and also of any political action by Socialists.—E. T.

**IPSWICH.**—On Sunday, we held two outdoor meetings near the Ship Launch Inn, which were addressed by C. W. Mowbray. In the morning he dealt with the evils of the present system, and in the afternoon the remedy. Both meetings were well attended. We took 15s. for sale of literature, and 5s. 6d. was collected to defray our comrade's travelling expenses. At the formation of our Branch last Tuesday, 19 persons joined and paid subscriptions, and meetings will be held every Tuesday evening at 8 p.m., at the George Inn, Woodhouse Street. Socialism has taken root here in earnest, and I hope our London lecturers will take every opportunity of giving us a call. We have a good club-room for lectures.—H. BAILEY, sec.

**MANCHESTER.**—We have comrade Morris with us this week. He is lecturing for us this (Monday) evening. A full report of his visit will appear in next week's issue. We had a good open-air meeting at our usual station on Sunday morning. We have sold five quires of *Commonweals*, and a good lot of pamphlets.—R. U.

**NORWICH.**—Successful meetings have been held on Sunday at St. Mary's Plain, at 11, Branch room at 12, market-place at 3, St. Faith's at 4, Branch room at 8; all of which were addressed by Sparling, assisted by several of the Branch members. On Monday at 8, at St. Augustine's Boy's School, Sparling lectured to a good audience. There was a good sale of literature throughout, and very great interest shown on all hands.—S.

**PECKHAM REFORM CLUB.**—On Sunday last, J. L. Mahon lectured to a full audience on the Trades' Union Congress. The severe comments on the backwardness of the unionists, their toadying disposition, and the spiritless action of the Labour M.P.'s, were received with approval. A good discussion followed, which drifted mainly into Socialism, and it was agreed that a lecture dealing specially with that subject should be given on another occasion. A South London Branch of the League will soon be started here.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, W. Friday October 1st, at 8 p.m. C. Faulkner will open the discussion—"The Coming Revolution."  
**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday October 3, at 7.30 p.m. C. J. Faulkner, "The Man v. The State." Wednesday 8. A. K. Donald, "Education of the Proletariat."  
**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7.30 p.m. Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, "The Sins which Cause Poverty."  
**Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street. Tuesday Oct. 5, at 8 p.m., Special Business Meeting for discussion of proposed Club. All members are requested to attend.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelsonscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday October 3, at 8 p.m., William Morris, "The Birth of Feudalism in Scandinavia."  
**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Oct. 3, at 3.30, Members' Meeting. Lecture at 8 p.m. A. K. Donald, "Terrorism."  
**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee meets every Thursday.  
**North London.**—32 Camden Road. Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m.

### Country Branches.

**Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.  
**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.  
**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. On Saturday evening, open-air meeting at Hamilton at 6 o'clock.—On Sunday, open-air meetings on the Green at 11.30 a.m. and at 4.30 p.m. At 7 o'clock, in our Rooms, James M. Brown will deliver a lecture on "Rousseau."—On Monday evening, at 7.30, open-air meeting at Parkhead.—On Friday Oct. 8, open-air meeting at Govan Cross at 7.30 p.m.  
**Hull.**—Members' Meeting at Communist Club, Blanket Row, Sundays at 2.30. Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street, every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Oct. 5, D. Nicoll's "Law and Order" will be read.  
**Ipswich.**—"George Inn," Woodhouse Street. Tuesdays at 8.  
**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 8 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.  
**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.  
**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street.

### Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

#### LONDON.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 2.	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales")	8	Annie Taylor	N. London.
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	8	A. K. Donald	Clerkenwell.
	Mile-end Waste	8	D. J. Nicoll	Mile-end.
S. 3.	Canning Town (Beckton Rd.)	11.30	H. A. Barker	
	Marylebone—corner of Salisbury St. and Church St.	11.30	F. Henderson	Marylebone.
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	Somerville	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	W. A. Chambers	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	H. Davis	Mile-end.
	Mitcham Fair Green	11.30	W. H. Utley	Merton.
	Regent's Park	11.30	D. J. Nicoll	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	A. K. Donald	Bloomsbury.
	Walham Green, opposite Station	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3	R. A. Beckett	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	H. H. Sparling	Hackney.
	Clerkenwell Green	7	D. J. Nicoll	Clerkenwell.
Tu. 5.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7	J. L. Mahon	N. London.
	Mile-end Waste	8	The Branch	Mile-end.
	Soho—Broad Street	7.30	The Branch	Bloomsbury.
W. 6.	London Fields—Broadway, opposite "Sir Walter Scott"	8.30	Flockton & Graham Hackney.	
Th. 7.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	The Branch	Hoxton.
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7	The Branch	Bloomsbury.

#### PROVINCES.

**Bradford.**—Corner of Godwin St. and Sunbridge Road, every Sunday, at 6 p.m.  
**Edinburgh.**—Sunday afternoon, on the Meadows.  
**Glasgow.**—On the Green, Sunday at 11.30 and 4.30. At Parkhead, Monday, 7.30. At Govan, Friday 8th, at 7.30 p.m.  
**Hamilton.**—New Cross, Saturday at 6 p.m.  
**Ipswich.**—Ship Launch, Sundays at 11 a.m. and 3.30 p.m.  
**Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m., Sundays.  
**Manchester.**—Corner of Gorton Lane and Ashton Old Road, Sundays at 11 a.m.; Gorton Brook, every Sunday afternoon, at 2.45.  
**Norwich.**—St. Mary's Plain, 11 a.m.; Market Place, 3 p.m.—Sundays.  
**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

**UNITED SOCIALIST SOCIETIES OF LONDON.**—To Socialists and Friends of the Cause of Labour. A Theatre Concert and Ball will be held at the Communist Working-men's Club, 49, Tottenham Street, W., on the 10th of October, in aid of the convicted Socialists of Chicago. To commence at 8 p.m. Programme 6d.  
**SOUTH-WEST HAM RADICAL ASSOCIATION,** Congregational Schools, Swanscombe Street, Barking Road.—Wednesday October 13, at 8 p.m. W. Morris, a Lecture.

### FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

In hand after payment of fines	£4 8 3½	Rouse Koal (per T. Shore, jr.)	0 5 0
On account, from (Mainwaring) Concert	1 0 0	Merton Branch	0 3 0
			£5 16 3½

F. H. W., Treasurer, Sept. 29.

### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

In response to an Appeal for Special Donations to a Fund being raised for the support of this Paper, the Treasurer has received the following sums since the beginning of August this year:

Already acknowledged	£15 6 0	Carruthers, Venezuela	4 0 0
M'Carthy, Dublin	0 1 0	Bloomsbury Branch (weekly)	0 5 0
Chapman, Liverpool	0 10 0		£20 2 0

PH. W., Sept. 28.

September 27.—Received from D. G., Bombay, for the "General Fund," £10.  
PH. W., Treasurer.

## THE PRACTICAL SOCIALIST.

AN EXPONENT OF EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM; BUT DISCUSSION OF ALL ASPECTS INVITED.

EDITED BY THOMAS BOLAS.

MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

W. REEVES, 185, FLEET STREET.

**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and Wm. Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 16pp. crown 8vo. 1d.  
**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. 16 pp. crown 8vo. 1d.  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 16 pp. 1d.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE, at 15 Farringdon Road, London

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 39.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

ONE of the modest aims of the Socialist movement is to smash up the British Empire. This is already being brought about by the action of those who are trying to bolster it up. Indeed the very fact that it needs to be nursed and propped up with exhibitions, schemes of Imperial Federation, and a periodic loosening of the Jingo spirit is good proof that the forces of disintegration are at least powerful enough to alarm those who are commercially interested in its maintenance.

The Australian colonies, especially New South Wales, are in a ferment of discontent. Ever since they became colonies they have been used as the moral dust-bins of Britain. First we sent our criminals there, and then our paupers, and now we send our unemployed. For many years past the colonial governments have been promoting immigration, in spite of the already overstocked condition of the labour market.

This gives an apt illustration of middle-class rascality. Thousands of people are sent out to a life even more wretched than that they leave at "home." The cant about the "mother country" looks sickly, indeed, when one remembers that thousands of these people are duped every year to serve the convenience of speculators and government officials. If a colonial government wants to borrow money its credit depends upon the flow of immigrants; this being taken as an indication of briskness of trade. The capitalists in the colonies are only too glad to have a few thousand unemployed in the streets as a means of keeping down the wages of those in work; whilst the upper-class of this country can see the unemployed army, especially in London, growing dangerously large.

At Bow Street Police Court, on Monday, a ticket-of-leave man asked the magistrate to cancel his ticket as he could not find work and was treated everywhere with derision and contempt because he had been a convict. He had been eleven months in the workhouse and would prefer to go to prison—from which the unemployed may gather the useful lesson that if they become criminals they will be much better treated than if they simply ask relief. This is how the present system manufactures a criminal class. Let a man take a step in the wrong direction and at once the "law," with society at its heels, does all it can to push him further in the same way.

Mr. Chamberlain has practically gone into obscurity, but now and again his ugly head shows itself. Mr. Parnell's Tenant Relief Bill he calls "a dishonest piece of party tactics;" the National movement is "a vile conspiracy" which "relies on outrage and assassination to promote its ends." This is fine talk from the once extreme Radical, who so warmly denounced the wrongs of Ireland, and who was so willing to denounce any kind of wrongs if it secured him popularity and paved his road to power.

Mr. Chamberlain has even got so far as to love the landlord. He does not "anticipate that there will be unfair recourse to evictions during the coming winter." What a transformation has taken place in this gentleman's estimate of the propertied class during the past twelve months! When he was in the running for a Radical premiership he was demanding "ransom" from those whom he can now rely upon as merciful. Now that his ambition is baulked the spleen foams up and the most scurrilous language is hurled at the men who upset his dirty little plots.

Mr. Chamberlain must also rail against the Irish Members of Parliament as "well paid patriots" who make a "profitable business of their agitation. The Irish members are simply paid by their fellow-countrymen for their services, and this cannot very reasonably be objected to by one who is in favour of "payment of members." And again, who pays Mr. Chamberlain's expenses? His fortune was got from the people by the usual capitalist method of stealing. Mr. Chamberlain is not honestly earning his living by blackguarding his neighbours.

Either Mr. Chamberlain was foolish in his ideas a year ago or he is dishonest in his actions now. His virulent abuse of the Parnellites proves nothing against them—proves nothing at all, in fact, but the extent of his own backsliding.

Mr. Thomas Burt writes to the *Pall Mall Gazette* in praise of his friend Mr. John Burnett, retiring secretary of the Amalgamated Engineers. Two working-men, calling each other "gentlemen," and scratching each other's back, is hardly very edifying. Mr. Burnett has done one of the worst things a leader of the working-class could do in accepting a Government post, and the trades' unions will find this out when they begin to see a few more men using their organisations as stepping-stones to Government jobs.

The coming winter promises badly for the unemployed, and also, of course, for the peace of mind of the middle class. From all parts of the country comes news of trade disputes, strikes, lock-outs, etc. In London, tens of thousands are out of work; and the seats in parks, public squares, and the Embankment are covered with the victims of capitalism, who can find no better sleeping place. Within a few yards of the Houses of Parliament the ruins of a building serves as a sleeping place for about five hundred people. What a splendid result of the great industrial system?

J. L. MAHON.

## THE UNLEARNED LESSON.

THE crystallised idea of an age, or the conservative element in any established society, always pursues the same course, uses the same methods of self-preservation, and arrives at last at the same end. It never learns anything, never anticipates or fears the final fall, never recognises the new spirit which is to be its executioner, when it appears. It reads history blindly, and is peculiarly and invariably endowed with the belief that, whatever systems have been uprooted and swept out of the way of progress, it is sure and steadfast, indestructible and perfect; or, if not absolutely perfect, containing within itself the capabilities of such improvements as are necessary to fill all the requirements of mankind.

Conservatism in religion, science, or politics, in all ages and in all countries, is haughty, self-righteous, intolerant. It abominates innovations, and punishes originality of thought with most rigid severity. As it grows and hardens with time, it becomes more and more sure of its wisdom and the permanency of the institutions it upholds, and consequently more intolerant, and more cruel towards new, presumptuous and "dangerous" ideas. While a system is at its grandest; while it is apparently most successful and most powerful; while it pursues all innovators with most merciless persecution, the new system is being born, is being made ready for the vacant place of the old. It may struggle—it may use its last and greatest powers in crushing and throttling the new, but it *must* succumb at last.

And this is the lesson that no nation of any age has ever yet learned.

Whenever the tremor which the coming new order sends through society is felt, society ever and always proceeds to quiet and crush out the disturbing element by relentless, un pitying brute force. Society never remembers that every great truth has come up through, and in spite of, the utmost cruelty, the very strongest repressive efforts of the crystallised error it was destined to overthrow. In spite of our boasted civilisation, our exalted enlightenment, and the remarkably good opinion we have of ourselves in general, we still in the present, as we have in the past, cry out at the first promulgation of the new thought which denies the righteousness of the established thought, "Crush the heresy! Kill the heretic! Crucify him! Crucify him!"

The Church believed it performed a holy duty when it burned the body of the infidel to save his soul for all eternity.

It racked its victims for the glory of God, and to secure its own power on earth at the same time. Yet, rationalism sprang up, flourished, spread over the world, and advanced steadily from one vantage-ground to another, in spite of faggot, rack, and knife.

The masters of the situation, during the feudal system, did not imagine it would ever change, or that there could be a better one. The barons fought each other, capriciously killed their own serfs, swept out of the way any who questioned their rights, and lived merrily, secure in the thought, "Things always have been thus and always will be."

But when the system had lived its day, and served its purpose in the evolution of the race, it gave way to the next best system humanity seemed ready for.

Human slavery, from the earliest records to the American civil war, has been as deeply rooted in the organisation of human society as

religion itself. Once it was scarcely possible to imagine a state of society in which slaves did not exist. Plato's ideal republic contained slaves. Swift's exalted and virtuous Houyhnhnms owned servants to wait upon them. In all ages the greatest crime a state could commit, was to try to gain his freedom, and was always punished with scourges, chains, or death. Even when the time was fairly ripe for the overthrow of this old and cherished institution, the few brave souls who dared foretell the coming day, were mobbed, insulted, persecuted, even killed. John Brown was hung in 1859 for trying to free a few miserable and desperate slaves; yet, in less than twenty years from that time, in all the civilised world no human being could be legally owned as the "property" of another.

"The divine right of kings," was for ages as impregnable a position as is now the "sacred rights of property" in land and the means of life. A king could load his subjects with wretchedness and woe, or sweep them off the face of the earth altogether; but he was infallible, and "traitors" and "rebels" were hung, quartered, tortured, or otherwise ignominiously and cruelly treated. To-day few rulers sit on their thrones without at least a pretence of constitutional government, while the *theory* of equality is almost congealed into respectability.

Russia has tried thirty years of blood, iron chains, and Siberia, to crush out Nihilism; yet Nihilism never was so general, so vigorous, so dangerous to the established order as it is to-day.

Germany began a general warfare against Socialism and Socialists some time ago, incarcerating, suppressing, and executing, wherever a suggestion of the great new idea was expressed. In the face of this policy, sixty-four Socialists are in their parliament, and "Socialism is honey-combing the Empire splendidly," as J. R. Buchanon puts it.

England endeavours to check the tide of heresy against her time-honoured aristocratic institutions with the tyranny of soldiery and police, innumerable arrests, fines, dungeons, etc., in vain; after every arrest a new man takes the place, and the grand work goes on.

One hundred years ago, in America, a set of people had learned enough from history to know that repression was not the proper way to deal with new ideas. They made a constitution which gave everybody a right to discuss their theories no matter how wild and visionary they might seem to conservatives, fully assured that only the best thoughts would live. They even provided a way to change governments without necessarily committing a crime.

But these wise men died presently and bequeathed to their children the constitution and the belief that they were free. This became a tradition in time, till it was considered sacrilegious to hint that we might be a little freer, and that freedom was a thing that would not keep without much watchfulness and constant endeavours.

Freedom in America has become a gilded shrine at which it is respectable not to worship, and blinded devotees do not know that the shrine is empty. The delusion also disables them from seeing the real chains they wear.

The people are poor, hungry, homeless, and idle, while willing to work, yet it is intensely unpatriotic to recognise the fact. A howl of rage goes up from the whole conservative class, from the billionaire created by the system, to the lowest dupe and tool of a pigmy capitalist, when men point out the wrongs perpetrated under the sanction of the "Stars and Stripes."

The upper classes hug with keener delight the old cherished institutions, their "vested rights," privileges, property in the means of life, etc., as time goes on. They goad the ignorant masses into a frenzy when brave men denounce their wholesale robbery. They howl, and get their dupes to howl, over the "attacks on law and order," until an observer might think the whole public had gone raving mad, and nothing would satisfy them but the blood of every Socialist in the country. Unmindful of the logic of history, they resort to the old, old, tyrants' method—the crushing-out process. The soldier's bayonet, the policeman's club, the spy, the prison, the sweat-box, the scaffold are brought into requisition in this "free" country, as eagerly as they ever were in any despotism of Europe. "Socialism must be crushed out! Anarchism must never show its head in America again!" the boasting tools of capitalism shriek out day after day.

With the czars, popes, and tyrants of the world, they cry: "We kill heretics! How dare you defy us, when we have the power to annihilate you?" and so crying, think the dangerous thought is vanquished. They have decided to hang seven Anarchists so that "there shall never be any more anarchy in America!" and received for that decision the congratulations of tyrants, kings, aristocrats, and millionaires; but not one from a true, brave lover of humanity.

They fain would kill a thought by killing the men who express that thought. Vain, useless dreaming! The souls of those seven noble and devoted men soar high above the fear of death. Their prison doors preach the gospel of perfect human freedom louder than words, and if their scaffolds ever fall, from that day Capitalism is doomed.

LIZZIE M. SWANK.

The advantages which freedom brings are only shown by length of time; and it is always easy to mistake the cause in which they originate. The advantages of equality are instantaneous, and they may constantly be traced from their source. "Political liberty bestows exalted pleasures, from time to time, upon a certain number of citizens. Equality every day confers a number of small enjoyments upon every man. The charms of equality are every instant felt, and are within the reach of all; the noblest hearts are not insensible to them, and the most vulgar souls exult in them. The passion which equality engenders must, therefore, be at once strong and general. Men cannot enjoy political liberty unpurchased by some sacrifices, and they never obtain it without great exertions. But the pleasures of equality are self-proffered; each of the petty incidents of life seem to occasion them, and in order to taste them nothing is required but to live.—*De Tocqueville*."

## THE MERCENARY CHARACTER OF THE CLERGY.

### III.

WE have seen something of the sordid selfishness of the clergy. How in every age, when possible, they used the power and authority of the State to enforce their ever-increasing demands. Yet the clergy have never been content with what the law gave them. Claiming to be above the State, supreme above the law, in the early ages they claimed and obtained exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil power, despising it while using it to enforce their obnoxious claims, to support their monstrous pretensions. But while grasping all that the law enabled them to extort in the shape of tithes or other offerings, they never failed to invoke the wrath of heaven against those who questioned their pretensions, or who scrupled to meet their demands. Having seen some of the means by which they secured the power to plunder the community according to law, let us also look at the means by which they secured the so-called free-will offerings of the faithful.

In the earliest ages of the Christian era we meet with the most lofty pretensions on the part of the clergy. They claimed to be the especial favourites of heaven, the ministers of heaven, the vicegerants of Deity. In time these claims were recognised and enforced by the authority of the civil power. Their right to rob the cultivator of the tenth of the result of his labour was enforced by the law in obedience to the will of the Most High. Not to surrender to the priest the tenth of your produce was to incur the vengeance of heaven; not to pay tithes not only involved punishment here but all the horrors of purgatory. To stimulate the payment of tithes all manner of stories were invented, all kinds of frauds committed. Among the most noted stories is the Miracle of St. Austin, which is as follows: "St. Austin coming to a certain place called Comiton to preach, the priest of the place made complaint against the lord of the manor for detaining his tithes. For which thing Austin excommunicated him; and saying mass at the altar, forbade excommunicated persons to be present thereat. Presently a dead corpse, buried one hundred and seventy years before, arose out of his grave and stood afar off during the celebrating of holy mass. Austin asked what he was. He said he was a man that during his lifetime would never pay tithe to the priest, and dying, went to hell for the crime. Austin raised the dead priest, who affirmed that that man would never pay his tithe. Austin sent the life-dead corpse to his grave again, saying he had suffered long in hell, that is in purgatory. The lord of the manor, seeing all this, was much terrified, and fell at Austin's feet confessing his fault, and became a due payer of tithe all his lifetime."—*Anglice Historia Aurea*. Such were the stories told in the middle ages to edify the faithful and terrify the sceptical. Again, take the charter of King Stephen: "I, Stephen, by the grace of God, King of England, touched by the love of God, and for the salvation of my soul, and of my father's soul, and of my mother's soul, and of my ancestors, kings, do give unto God, and the Church of St. Peter's, of Eye, and to the monks there serving God, that they may have all their profits, quiet and free from all exactions, in land, tithes, Churches, possessions," etc., etc. Now, I would ask any one whether the payment of tithes to-day could be enforced on any such claim?

But it will be said that the above were the teachings of the Church of the dark ages, and not of the enlightened Protestant Church of England. It may be, however, that we shall find that the Church of England has put forth doctrines as revolting as those of the Church of Rome. The only philosophy the priest has ever known may be summed up in a few words: "Believe as I tell you, feel as I direct you, honour me and pay me well, then all will be well, but if you refuse to do these things, you are sure to go to hell." Turn to Hooker, one of the great lights of the Reformation: "Honour the Lord out of thy substance, and of the chiefest of all thy revenue; so shall thy barns be filled with plenty, and with new wine; the fat of the press shall overflow. . . . If thou hast anything in all thy possessions of more value than another, to what use shouldst thou convert it rather than this?" That is, give it to the priest. Did space permit, I might give some other curious passages from the same work (Eccls. Pol. VII.) of Hooker, also from the writings of the pious Bishop Taylor, but I must give the following from a work largely circulated in the middle of the present century by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The following language is put into the mouth of a pious farmer: "Now I am setting forth God's portion [the tenth of his produce], and as it were, offering to Him the fruits of my increase; and truly it would be an ungrateful thing in me to deny Him a tenth part from whom I receive the whole. But why do I talk of denying Him? It is in truth robbing him to withhold but the least part of this which the piety of our ancestors hath dedicated to Him. Alas! it is what I never had a right to; and when I set forth the tithe, I give Him that which never was mine. . . . Were it left to myself to set apart what portion I should think fit for the maintenance of God's ministers, I should take care that he by whom I receive spiritual things should want nothing of my temporal!" ("The Husbandman's Manual.")

Now, we would ask, Are not these teachings of the Reformed Church of England, and in the middle of the nineteenth century, as degrading, as revolting to reason and common sense, as were the teachings of the Church of the Middle Ages? Is it not monstrous that such language should be published as coming from the mouth of an English farmer? Truly priestcraft is ever the same, whatever the age or whatever the clime.

But one would naturally suppose that the clergy, so earnest in their



exhorting the laity to perform their duties, to meet all their obligations towards their spiritual advisers, would be equally careful in the performance of their duties, equally prompt in the discharge of their obligations. At least we should naturally suppose that among the clergy themselves there would be mutual love, mutual confidence, and a strict adherence to every moral obligation. Yet the reverse of this is the case. The following facts will show that though there may be honour among thieves, there is none among the priests of the Church of England.

Up to the time of the Reformation what are known as First Fruits and Tenths were paid to the Pope. That is, the whole of the first year's income of each incumbency, and the tenth part of the income each subsequent year of the incumbency. At the Reformation these sources of income were claimed by Henry VIII. as head of the new Church. They were held by the Crown till the reign of Queen Anne, when she gave them up to form a fund for augmenting poor livings, of which a large number still exist. Now, taking the income of the Church at only £5,000,000 per annum, and taking the average duration of each incumbency at fifteen years, there should be paid as first fruits each year the sum of £333,333, and as tenths the sum of £500,000, making £833,333 annually. These sums ought to be paid to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty. But what is the sum actually paid in? From the returns issued yearly we find that in 1850 it was £15,124 15s. 7d.; in 1855, £14,192 1s. 4d.; in 1873, £15,527 8s. 1d.; in 1877, £15,128 12s. 7d.; in 1878, £15,785 14s. 8d.; in 1880, £15,321; and in 1883, £15,635 16s. 7d., being as first fruits £5612 13s. 9d., and as tenths £10,023 2s. 10d. Look how this matter stands. Taking the income of the Church at only £5,000,000 a-year, though we shall prove it to be much more, there ought to be paid in annually £833,333. But in 1883 the clergy retained in their own hands not less than £817,697 3s. 5d. Every penny of that sum belonged to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty for the augmentation of poor livings. And this is how the rich clergy rob their poorer brothers. Here is robbery on a grand scale, plunder to an extent that would annually send into penal servitude thousands of the working-classes. Where can a body of men be found, in any country, or among any class in Society, who first plunder the people and then rob their poorer brethren, as do the clergy of the Church of England?

But let us give a few samples just to illustrate the manner in which this system of robbery is carried out. Taking the Diocesan Calendars for 1877, and for Lancashire alone, we find the following:

Rectory or Vicarage.	Present Value of Living.	Paid as First Fruits.	Paid as Tenths.	Tenths as should be Paid.
	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£
Liverpool (R)	2000	3 13 3	0 7 4	200
Prescot (V)	1200	24 0 9	2 8 1	120
Prestwick (R)	1500	46 4 8	4 12 5½	150
Rochdale (V)	4000	11 4 8	1 2 5½	400
Standish (R)	2000	45 16 8	4 11 8	200
Warrington (R)	1436	40 0 0	4 0 0	143
Wigan (R)	1500	80 13 4	8 1 4	150
Winwich (R)	5000	102 9 8	10 4 11½	250

Can anything be more villainous than such a state of things? What moral influence can such a Church possess? Look at this Church in what way we will, its deeds are base, its character black.

But we are often told that whatever may be the defects of the Church, it is nevertheless the Church of the poor, the friend of the oppressed. No. The Church was royal and aristocratic in its origin; it is royal and aristocratic in its character; and it is royal and aristocratic in all its tendencies. It lives on the ignorance and credulity of the people; it breathes an atmosphere of corruption, and feeds on the plunder of the toiling millions.

But we will give two or three evidences of its love for the poor. In the year 1833, and on Oct. 17, the Rev. Frances Lunday, of Lockington, Yorkshire, with an income returned at £532, summoned the following farm labourers for personal tithes:

Farm Labourer.	Yearly Wage.	Clerical Claim.	Remarks.
	£ s. d.	s. d.	
Jeremiah Dodworth	13 0 0	4 4	Imprisoned 3 months.
Wm. Hall	10 10 0	3 6	Paid.
H. Blakeley	15 0 0	5 0	"
H. Moment	9 0 0	3 0	"
W. Forster	8 0 0	2 8	"
Geo. Fenley	6 6 0	2 0	"
7 others, average wages	13 12 0	4 7	"

On the 6th of August, 1834, the Rev. J. C. Hay, of Middleton, Yorkshire, who returned his income at £917, summoned the following parties for Easter offerings:

	Claim.	Costs.	
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Robert Swallowell	0 0 5	0 10 0	Paid.
John Pearson, senr.	0 0 5	0 10 0	"
John Pearson, jun.	0 0 5	0 10 0	Goods sold for the amount.

And yet these white-throated hypocrites have the unblushing impudence to tell us that they are the friends of the people. Let us give one more instance of their love of the poor, one more proof of the grasping selfishness of the clergy. The following facts will speak for themselves, from the returns of 1847:

GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.				
Income.	1842.	1847.	Decrease.	
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Canterbury	230 0 0	186 2 6	43 17 6	
Peterboro'	2 13 4	2 13 4		
Chester	131 8 4	114 16 0	16 12 4	
Ely	104 1 8	40 19 0	63 2 8	

CATHEDRALS.				
Income.	1842.	1847.	Increase.	
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Canterbury	782 0 0	9,830 0 0	9,048 0 0	
Peterboro'	100 0 0	1,100 0 0	1,000 0 0	
Chester	220 0 0	1,067 0 0	849 0 0	
Ely	280 0 0	6,118 0 0	5,838 0 0	

Returns like the above need no comment, they speak for themselves. To see the incomes of the grammar schools decreasing while the incomes of the cathedral bodies increases so enormously, leaves but one conclusion possible. We must remember, too, that although at the Reformation the clergy grasped the whole of the tithes, it was not till the present century they made any effort for the education of the people. Charity schools were commenced in 1678 by a few benevolent persons. Sunday schools were began in 1781 by R. Raikes and a dissenting minister, at Gloucester, and the late Robt. Owen, the Socialist, established infant schools in 1819-20.

We have said that the Church is an aristocratic institution. We now give the proof:

RETURN OF PATRONAGE, 1875.				
Livings in the gift of the Crown	...	...	...	126
" " " Prince of Wales	...	...	...	20
" " " Lord Chancellor	...	...	...	645
" " " Bishops	...	...	...	3,427
" " " Universities	...	...	...	775
" " " Cathedrals	...	...	...	...
" " " Eccl. Commissioners	...	...	...	2,203
" " " Aristocracy	...	...	...	8,222

Truly this Church of England is not the Church of the poor. The unblushing manner by which it robs the people under every conceivable pretext, the shameless manner in which by its lofty pretensions it gulls the unthinking, while it plunders the whole community, is so outrageous, that in no other country would its crimes or its pretensions be tolerated for a single day. And let us hope that even in this England of ours, notwithstanding its thoughtless crowds of to-day, that the time is not far distant when this Church will meet with its due reward; when it will no longer deceive the faithful, and no longer live on the plunder of the people.

J. SKETCHLEY.

(To be continued).

“CHRISTIAN” SOCIALISM.

THE correspondence published in our last week's issue should, we think, fairly open the eyes of the most charitable of our comrades to the utterly bogus and anti-Socialistic nature of Christian Socialism (so-called). That persons should have the effrontery to style themselves anything-Socialists, who believe the highest ideal of the relation between the sexes to be the chaining of two human beings together for life irrespective of their inclinations, fairly takes one's breath away. Fortunately, the doctrine of Socialism is clear enough on this point. It is well known that Socialists all the world over, irrespective of shade, are as determined to make an end of the present infamous hypocrisy in social relations, and the hollow convention which breeds it, as they are of the economic rottenness which is its mainstay. Mr. Marson has the right, of course, to hold what views he likes, but in the name of our Cause we protest against his sullyng the word Socialism with such views. We have always insisted that Christian Socialism was a quadrangular circle. We could have no more distinct evidence of the truth of this than the proposition of the editor of the *Christian Socialist*, and some of the lesser lights who write in his columns, to retain our present Individualistic sexual relations while they profess to desire Socialistic economic relations. As for the cant of “purity” we hear so much of, it is but the exhalation of a hopelessly corrupt Society. Dickens says when a man tells you he doesn't care for money, you may be sure he wants some of yours; and in the same way, when a community goes in for “purity” we may be very certain there's something “fishy” about it somewhere.

FREE TRADE IN HYDROPHOBIA.

THE utter selfishness of the middle and upper classes is being signalled in a small way by the manner in which they are fuming and frothing at having to keep their canine pets in order. In London, there is a “voice heard, lamentation and weeping and great mourning,” sporting men and flash female novelists refusing to be comforted because their dogs are now deprived of the liberty of taking a bite out of the leg of every stray wayfarer. The efforts of these advocates of *laissez faire*, and free-trade in hydrophobia, to bamboozle the public by crack-brained hypotheses on the question at issue is amusing. It is well known that the larger number of persons attacked are the children of the poor, who are compelled to go to school unattended, and who have no place but the streets to play in. Little does the fashionable dog-lover care what happens to these as against the comfort of the brute upon whom he or she lavishes so much tenderness. About the only useful function of our police is the suppression of the obnoxious dog in our streets. We would warn the irate dog-keepers that if the present protection were withdrawn they might find “fathers of families” braving the terrors of the law, and taking constitutionals with pockets full of arsenicated dog-biscuit, with the result that many a “valuable animal” would be discovered by its owner lying “stiff and stark in the cold moonshine.” Better, surely, the muzzle, than such a consummation!

E. BELFORT BAX.



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance should be attached to them because of the position they may occupy in these pages. None, therefore, are to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s., six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

E. T.—In our answer to you last week, re Adam Smith's work, "8 vols." was a misprint for "3 vols." The edition can be got second-hand.

ENQUIRE.—Dr. Aveling, although a member of the Socialist League, is not its official representative in America.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 6.

ENGLAND	BELGIUM
Bristol Mercury	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair
Club and Institute Journal	En Avant
Church Reformer	Liege—L'Avenir
Freethinker	Antwerp—De Werker
Justice	SWITZERLAND
Leicester Co-operative Record	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Norwich—Daylight	Geneva—Bulletin Continental
Our Corner	SPAIN
Personal Rights Journal	Madrid—El Socialista
Practical Socialist	Cadix—El Socialismo
The Socialist	Barcelona—La Tronada
INDIA	Barcelona—La Justicia Humana
Madras—People's Friend	Acracia
Allahabad—People's Budget	PORTUGAL
Bombay—Times of India	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Voice of India	Vilafranca de Xira—O Campino
CANADA	AUSTRIA
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Brunn—Volksfreund
NEW SOUTH WALES.	HUNGARY
Sydney—Bulletin	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
UNITED STATES	ROMANIA
New York—Volkszeitung	Bucharest—Pruncul Roman
Freiheit	Jassy—Lupta
Truthseeker	NORWAY
Der Sozialist	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
John Swinton's Paper	SWEDEN
Dramatic Times	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
HOLLAND	
Hague—Recht voor Allen	

RECEIVED.—"A Theory of Life"—"Commercial Cannibalism"—Correspondence.

## THE FREE SPEECH FIGHT.

On Friday October 1st, at the Clerkenwell Sessions, T. Wardle was brought up for trial before a jury for causing an obstruction in Harrow Road. Commissioner Kerr, who presided, is an amiable unconventional old gentleman, with a broad Scotch accent. He has a solemn kindly manner towards criminals—a dry humour in his arguments with counsel. He acted all throughout in a fairly good spirit. Mr. Mead, who prosecuted for the Crown is, personally, a most disagreeable character, with an emotionless style, an insipid face, and a perky, snarling manner. He opened the case by stating that he would prove a practical obstruction although this was unnecessary, as a technical obstruction was enough to justify the prosecution. The police evidence was rather confused, while one of the two "independent" witnesses flatly contradicted all the others. The police swore that there was fifteen or twenty people at the beginning of the meeting; Mr. Sheriff, one of the "independent" witnesses, swore that there was about 300. A few more diverting inaccuracies of this kind occurred, but they are not worth going over. A doctor swore that he could not get out of his house for the crowd, although the crowd only numbered 300 at the highest estimate, and the meeting was held nearly a hundred yards from his house. In fact it was plain that the two "independent" witnesses were simply bigoted quarrelsome people with petty vexatious complaints.

The defence proved plainly enough that there was no practical obstruction. On the narrowest side of the space round the meeting there was room for three vehicles to pass abreast. As a matter of fact no vehicle driver made the least complaint about being impeded in driving past the meeting. The spot is a very wide one and little traffic passes through it, and to block it up would require a crowd of at least

six or seven thousand people. 3000 people could meet there easily without giving any obstruction to the ordinary traffic.

The examination of the witnesses was a tedious and uninteresting affair, but it was plain from all of them that no real inconvenience had been caused. These points were dwelt upon by Wardle in his closing speech, and it was shown beyond doubt that 300 people could not possibly obstruct such a large thoroughfare.

Then came Mr. Mead's summing-up for the Crown. He maintained that as technical obstruction was admitted there was an end of the defence altogether. His speech consisted for the most part of nasty petulant sneering at the defendant, and virulent abuse of his witnesses. The witnesses for the defence were the "accomplices" of the defendant and their testimony untrustworthy. The witnesses for the prosecution, however, were "respectable" and decent tax-paying citizens. All street meetings were illegal; and, said Mr. Mead, "If the police show partiality in singling out particular bodies for prosecution that is a matter not for the Court but for the public to settle."

In summing up Commissioner Kerr left the jury no choice but to convict the accused. The collection of a few people at a street corner was obstruction. He pointed out that cases of half a dozen betting men gathering in the streets were frequently brought before the Courts. But in these cases it is evident that the police use the laws against obstruction to put down betting, and it is for this reason that they get the sympathy of the public. In referring to the point raised by the defendant that Socialists only were prosecuted while religious preachers were left unmolested, Commissioner Kerr said: "No one has a right to obstruct the highways in any fashion. If the police fail to put down religious meetings they fail to do their duty."

The jury at once returned a verdict of guilty. Mr. Mead then rose and raked up the defendant's previous convictions, pointing out the persistency with which the Socialists had defied the law, and on these grounds pressed for a heavy sentence. The sentence passed on Williams and Mainwaring was quoted as a suggestion for a sentence on Wardle. This, however, the Judge coolly ignored, and after a fatherly and buttery little speech to the defendant, ordered him to enter into a pledge of £50 in his own recognisances to come up for sentence when called upon.

This is the most peculiar sentence yet passed in the whole of the Free Speech fight. While Mainwaring had to pay a fine of £20 (or have his home broken up and sold off), and find £100 sureties that he would keep the peace for twelve months: while Williams is in jail because he would not or could not find the same sureties, and will come out with a twenty pounds fine hanging over him, Wardle is allowed practically to go scot free—for he will not be sentenced at all unless he repeats the offence. There are two explanations of this sentence: first, that Kerr, being an independent judge, was lenient out of sympathy with the defence, but this does not harmonise very well with the way in which he laid down the law to the jury; secondly, that the leniency is only apparent in order to divert public sympathy from the Socialists, and that the sentence, if ultimately passed, will be severe enough; this seems the most likely explanation, as Wardle is practically shut-up and the police show no signs of stopping their interference.

On Saturday last a meeting was again held at Harrow Road, when J. L. Mahon, acting from the instructions of the North London Branch of the Socialist League, addressed the crowd. There was about three hundred people present, and they all seemed in sympathy with the object of the meeting. The police interfered a few minutes after the speaker started, and asked for his name and address, which was readily given. The speaker on being interfered with asked if any one had to complain of obstruction of the road or pavement and was met with loud cries of "No, no." The meeting then proceeded in the usual way.

There was, afterwards, a meeting of club delegates at the Bruno Club, St. Ervans Road, Westbourne Park. The delegates, having viewed the ground while the meeting was going on, unanimously passed resolutions protesting against the police interference, denying that there was any obstruction, and calling upon Radicals to take up the matter.

If Mahon is prosecuted a demonstration will be held and other means taken to fight out the question. An adjourned summons against Henderson is to come up on Thursday, October 7th. The meetings at Salisbury Street, Marylebone, have again been interfered with, and the speakers' names and addresses taken.

J. L. MAHON.

1,800 people commit suicide in England every year. The total for Europe is over 21,000 a-year. And yet there are some people who maintain that this is the best of all possible worlds.

MORE BENEVOLENCE.—Sarah Milsom, the respectable looking woman who was charged at Lambeth Police-court lately with attempting suicide, driven to desperation at the sight of her starving children, has with her husband and family been comfortably provided for by some good-natured person. They are to be transported to Canada to swell the crowd of the unemployed in that flourishing colony. They can there be comfortably frozen to death, which I suppose will be preferable to slow starvation here. Is the "benefactor" some far-seeing parish official, who wishes to save the ratepayers the cost of providing a grave for these unfortunates within their own country? But people like this must be got rid of; hard-working men and women are apt to prove dangerous when they find themselves dying of hunger through no fault of their own! The tradesman's shop is in danger, for the number of the unemployed is increasing, and these men are desperate with hunger and with hatred of the idle classes, who by their greed for gain and by their unscrupulous dishonesty, have driven the workmen into a corner, from which there is no escape save by the overthrow of the robbers of labour in every civilised country in the world.—D. J. N.

## SOCIALISM IN MANCHESTER.

EVEN here Socialism is taking good root: in the very heart of commercialism, where capital rules unchecked by any remaining customs of old feudal days. There are many reasons for Manchester being an unlikely place for our work; in the first place the commercial element is so very strong, with the unhealthy desire for a life of gambling which it induces. The prizes to be had in Lancashire have been both more numerous and of greater value than in most places. More workers have risen to be large capitalists, and this considerable number of men risen from the ranks gives greater appearance of probability to the fallacy that because one has risen all can. Until recently wages have been on the whole fairly high in Lancashire; take with this the possibility there is or was for a family to get a good income by most of its members, women as well as men, girls as well as lads, all going to work in the mills, and we see that the condition of the workers here has not been so bad as elsewhere; all this has helped to foster the usual county conceit until it has grown perhaps rather immoderate; at any rate it will take some time to convince the people that the system which has built up the Lancashire prosperity cannot maintain it, but has already over-reached itself and commenced to show signs of approaching destruction.

In spite of all this Socialism is steadily gaining ground, as the visit of our comrade Morris last week fully proves. He gave two lectures here. The first under the auspices of the Ancoats Recreation Committee, on "The Origin of Decorative Art," was delivered to an audience of nearly 1000 people. Our comrade was received with great enthusiasm, and as will readily be imagined, Socialism was not left out but underlay all the argument of the lecture. The audience eagerly bought the *Commonweal* and various pamphlets, which were sold outside, our comrades getting rid of all they had with them. The second lecture was given for the Manchester Branch of the Socialist League in the Ardwick Temperance Hall; there was a good attendance to hear of "Socialism," which was the title of the lecture. It was a thorough working-class audience, and they took up the points of the lecture in a way which showed that they could appreciate it. There were some questions asked, and a little opposition from some individualists. The chief objection made by one of them was a personal attack on Morris as an employer of labour, which showed perhaps an equal ignorance of Socialism and individualism, for surely there could be little liberty if each was not allowed to reconcile his life with his theory without interference from others.

Comrade Morris also spent an evening with our members at the club-room, when we had a good chat about our work and how to forward it.

It may be useful to other branches to know how easy it is to have a small club-room, so I will give some details of ours. We find it most useful as a meeting-place for members and enquirers, in fact as a general home for Socialism, and I strongly urge all branches to get some such home. One of our comrades took a house with a decent sized front room, in the district where we had been holding open-air meetings, for which he pays 5s. a-week rent. The front room was furnished for a club-room by our society. We got a couple of forms with backs and a couple of deal tables made, which cost about 30s.; these, with about half a dozen chairs, make up the furniture. We have a few games, such as draughts, cards, &c., and sell herb beer and pop. The society pay 2s. a week for rent of room, cleaning, &c. There is a small lending library of books relating to our subject, which is of much use as an educational agent. It is open every evening from six, and on Saturday afternoons.

We have now a good number of members and sympathisers scattered about the town, besides our local members who chiefly use the club. There can no longer be any doubt that Socialism is making its way steadily here, and will continue to do so whether our organisation flourishes or not. A branch of the S.D.F. is doing good work in Salford and the Salford end of Manchester, and a Radical club in Hulme, of which one of our comrades is secretary, forms a good centre of thought and discussion for that district. Then there is the County Forum in Market Street, where we are always made welcome to hold any meetings, and where one or two Socialists may almost always be found. On the whole I think we must consider we are making good progress, though it is not at all likely that Manchester will play a very leading part in the Socialist agitation for some time to come.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

In 1879 there were 3,789 people died of starvation in Ireland. In England there are over 300 people die every year from the same cause. The number is really much higher, as a large number of suicides are due to extreme want.

BLIND LEADERS.—"Low prices have rendered large sales possible, and in that way the greatest good for the greatest number has been secured by providing the largest possible amount of employment." This is not the utterance of a representative of the so-called "stupid party," but is taken from that enlightened moulder of Radical opinion, the *Echo*. It would be ludicrous were it not tragic, this futile stupidity which fails to recognise that increased severity of toil is in itself an evil, and when unaccompanied by material benefit is a direct loss to the workers in all ways. "The true friend of the working-man, at a time like the present, is not he who urges him to necessitate the employment of more men by doing less work than he does now, for the same wages, but he who advises him to spare no effort to increase his efficiency and skill, so that he may produce more and better work." A "true friend" indeed to the worker is the man who advises him not to attempt the lessening of his labor, or the raising of his wages, but the still further piling up a surplus-value for the capitalist!—S.

1789.

"On the grass," patricians said,  
"Let the mob their hunger stay.  
Nobler animals are fed  
On the husks, the beans, the hay."

"Not for low-born slaves like these  
Spits are turning, wines aglow;  
Not for them our warmth and ease—  
Born to ignorance and woe."

"Not for them secured content—  
Freedom from anxiety  
Ne'er for *canaille* was meant,—  
Only for the rich and free."

"Let us eat, and drink, and sleep;  
For the mob, alive or dead,  
Why complain they?—grass is cheap.  
Give them grass!" patricians said.

Then the mob rose in its wrath,  
Flinging grey tradition down—  
Swept resistless from its path  
Church and palace, cowl and crown.

1889.

Hark! the tramp of toilers' feet;  
Hoarse, fierce voices cleave the air;  
Flaunted redcaps rule the street—  
Who can tell them what to spare?

So the people triumphed then;  
But, the day of vengeance past,  
Once again on suffering men  
Ancient chains were quickly cast

Five score years have rolled away;  
Still we toil with shackled limb.  
Thankless service wears us grey,  
Wearied eyes are waxing dim.

Prey to Capital's grim scheme,  
Backs are bent and bodies worn.  
Still 'mid darkest night we dream  
Of the fast approaching morn.

And a faint streak in the skies  
Gladdens those who see aright;  
Soon the full sun-burst will rise,  
Flooding all the world with light!

GEORGE GILBERTSON.

## A HARVEST SONG.

THE grey bulk of the granaries uploom against the sky;  
The harvest moon has dwindled; they have housed the corn and rye.  
And now the idle reapers lounge against the bolted doors:  
Without are hungry harvesters; within, enchanted stores.

Lo! they had bread while they were out a-toiling in the sun;  
Now they are strolling beggars, for the harvest work is done.  
They are the gods of husbandry—they gather in the sheaves;  
But when the Autumn strips the wood, they're drifting with the leaves.

They plow and sow and gather in the glory of the corn:  
They know the noon—they know the pitiless rains before the morn:  
They know the sweep of furrowed fields that darken in the gloom—  
A little while their hope on earth; then evermore their tomb.

CHARLES EDWIN MARKHAM.

## LITERARY NOTICES.

*English Law and Politics*, by A. T. Carr (Crew, Birmingham). This pamphlet consists of a small joke and a rigmarole of references to works on statutes and law. The author thinks that no man is fit to be a "citizen" until he understands law, and any man who studied law as the author directs stands little chance of living to be a citizen or anything else. It is difficult to see how this pamphlet can be useful to any sane mortal.—J. L. M.

*The Preliminary Programme of the Clifton and Bristol Christian Socialists* is a string of moral platitudes, which in themselves are quite unobjectionable. But it is difficult to see what good can be done by the empty reiteration of precepts, unless something is done to alter the conditions of life so that morality can be made possible. The Socialism itself is of a shallow kind, the Communist formula being followed by provisions for the bequeathal of property, while recompense is to be "determined by personal merit." The masses are not to be roused against the upper class, nor even to outvote them. This, after all is, though ridiculous, only consistent. Those who stickle for moral force are never clear as to its meaning. Now we do know what it means. "Petitions and resolutions" are its weapons by which the present system is to be destroyed, and by such means they "dare to hope" that "the intelligent, tender-hearted, and conscientious members of the privileged classes" will be brought to the ways of righteousness. This body is truly remarkable for its humble aims and daring hopes.—J. L. M.

*Lectures in England* (1d. each), by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. The two lectures before us, "The Reign of the Common People" and the "Wastes of Society," show smartness of expression but shallowness and inconsistency of thought. The preacher's aim seems to have been to gain popular approval, and at the same time to avoid displeasing the upper class. Perhaps there is no greater genius than Mr. Beecher at trimming and facing both ways. What a splendid statesman or shopkeeper the man would have made! Were Mr. Beecher in Russia he would be a Nihilist. This boast is getting rather common. Its valour is of a kind akin to that of the editor, who in his chair can, of course, always fight a battle much better than the general on the field. If Mr. Beecher feels very hot on the subject he can go to Russia, or practise in his own country, where it is just about as much needed.—J. L. M.

*Social Wealth*, by J. K. Ingalls (Social Science Publishing Co., 33, Clinton Place, New York. 1 dol., cloth). This is an ably written indictment of orthodox political economy and commercial morality. It traces the rise and growth of capitalism, and surveys the whole field of social economy. While not quite up to our "standard of advancement," the author has yet rendered signal service to our cause by his book. He says: "Civilism, thus far, has hardly done more than to refine and render more subtle the subjection of labour to lordly will. From conquests with bludgeons, swords, and spears, as in the earlier ages, it has inaugurated a war of cunning and fraud, whose weapons are technical terms, shrewd devices, class legislation, and forms of law recognising no rights as supreme but those of property and 'the law of the market.'"—S.

*The Wrongs of Man and their Origin* (1d.), by T. Garbutt (Hartley, Attercliff), is a vigorous and well reasoned attack on private property and the inequality of conditions resulting from it. "Under the present state of things," says the author, "the working-classes, no matter what may be their intelligence, or their morality, or their industry, or their political power, are, by the very constitution of Society and their position in it, doomed and damned to irremediable slavery so long as those conditions shall exist."—J. L. M.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

## VEGETARIANISM.

After some research I have found a copy of the circular of the "Vegetarian Capitalists," who are denounced by Mr. H. Davis. It is neither more nor less than an announcement of a vegetarian restaurant. That Mr. Davis will there find clean, wholesome food at a lower price than would be supplied to him at an ordinary restaurant he does not deny, and it seems but a poor return for an offer of better and cheaper meals to denounce the system which alone makes such a change possible.

Fear is expressed lest a cheaper system of food should be followed by a general reduction of wages. If such a fear were valid all improvement of condition would be impossible. The common sense of the problem is that each should expend his money, whether little or much, to the best advantage, and if the vegetarian system of diet offers him more strength for his money, he will certainly be foolish not to take it. After nearly twenty years' experience I can recommend it.

It is well that we should seek points of contact with those who differ from us. I agree entirely with Mr. Davis in his desire to raise the standard of comfort, but this depends on many other considerations than the cost of food. "Your physical wants are few," says Shelley, "whilst those of your mind and heart cannot be numbered or described from their multitude and complication." Our vegetarian system, whilst it secures health and strength, costs less than flesh diet, and therefore leaves a greater margin for intellectual pleasures. The money saved from the butcher may be turned into music, or poetry, or art. It can hardly be more than a matter of indifference to Capital, whether the reward of labour goes to the bank, the butcher, or the bookseller.

May I ask too, that those who are striving according to their several lights to do good, should give a generous recognition of each others aims, even when there is a difference of judgment as to methods. The Vegetarian Society works for no class interest, and its leaders, according to the measure of their light, have been striving to forward what they regard as an eminently useful work. To this propaganda they have given freely of time, thought, and money, in the hope of benefiting mankind. It is not in their power to add to the earnings of the wage-paid classes, but it is in their power to show them how to obtain food at a smaller cost. Is not this equivalent to a rise in wages?

Finally, will you allow me to ask your readers to judge for themselves on the question of vegetarianism after a candid examination of its claims? To help them in forming a judgment I shall be glad to forward some papers to any who may care to write for them.—Yours faithfully,  
66, Murray Street, Higher Broughton, WILLIAM E. A. AXON.  
Manchester, Sept. 21, 1886.

NOTE.—With the reply by H. Davis, which will be printed next week, this controversy must definitely close.—EDS.

Reply to R. E. F. WILLIS (Liverpool), *Commonweal*, Sept. 18th.—(1) "Report of the International Trades' Union Congress, held at Paris from August 23rd to 28th, 1886, by Adolphe Smith, interpreter to the Congress" (1½d.) can be obtained from Foulger and Co., 14, Paternoster Row, London, E.C. (2) Socialist Romance: "Virgin Soil," by Ivan Turgénieff, is a Nihilist romance, translated from the French version by T. S. Perry. It is published by Ward, Lock and Co., at 2s. Do not know publisher of French version.

## INSTRUCTIVE ITEMS.

The number of paupers relieved in the metropolitan district in the fourth week of August was 86,263, or 1 in 35 of the whole population. This is an increase of 1.025 over the corresponding week of last year, and of 1.624 over 1883.

There are 112,000 insane people in the United Kingdom. Of these 85,000 or 76 per cent. are paupers. In Europe there are over half a million insane. Most of them we can be sure have been driven mad by the cruel pressure of life in our modern social system.

The amount of wealth in the United Kingdom is estimated at about £9,000,000,000. The number of families, reckoning five persons to each family, is 7,000,000. The total wealth, therefore, if divided amongst the community would give to each family over £1000, enough capital one would think to enable them all to produce everything they require.

The Hon. L. Agar Ellis writes from 19, Wilton Street, to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, complaining of the attempt that is being made to reduce Irish rents. Then he goes on to say that unless someone comes to the help of the Irish landlords, he as one of them will be unable to pay the rent of his fine house in Wilton Street as the price of champagne is so high. Of course, Mr. Honourable Agar Ellis cannot go without his champagne, even if his Irish tenants have to starve in order to buy it for him. Really the impudence of some of these honourable gentlemen is amazing.—U.

A new Turkish loan of £500,000 has just been issued to be secured on the sheep tax revenue, and bearing interest at the rate of ten per cent. This means that the producers of Turkey are to pay to the exploiters of various countries an additional sum of £50,000 yearly, in order that another exploiter, the Sultan, may have a few more luxuries and may import a few more maidens into his harem.—U.

When the "unemployed" stretching out their long-unused arms demand work that they may live, politicians and economists only reply: "There are too many workers, there is too great a demand for work; that is the cause of the universal distress." Absurd! Is not work the source of all wealth? Does not the worker, in toiling, produce not only his wage, that is his means of subsistence, but also the profits of the idle capitalist, that is, his means of subsistence, and those of his lackeys, and all living at his expense? It is not true that labour is too plentiful, but the products of labour are too much so. To do away with all these social troubles, it is simply necessary to distribute all labour-products among the unemployed. Prosperity will then reappear, for the worker will produce again the goods that he needs for his consumption, and will go on producing according to his wants.—*Le Socialiste*.

The extent to which machinery displaces the workman well appears from the last report of the United States' Labour Commission. In the manufac-

ture of agricultural implements 600 workers with machinery do as much work as 2145 without machines, that is 3½ workmen produced formerly only as much as one does now. In the manufacture of small fire-arms 1 man replaces 44 to 49 formerly; in tile-making, 1 against 1.11; in carriage-building 1 against 3.5; besom-making, 1 against 3 to 4; shoemaking, 1 against 5; tailoring, 1 against 6 to 9; carpet-making (spinning), 1 against 75 to 100, (weaving), 1 against 10, etc., etc.—*Recht voor Allen*

It is impossible to reform prisons, they must be abolished. It is not by prisons that the number of crimes in Society will be reduced, for they have always been and will always be a nursery of vices and a source of new crimes. And when the Revolution brings down her knife upon the corrupt institutions bequeathed to us by centuries of oppression, she will be wanting in duty if she does not open the doors of all prisons and blow up their walls—disastrous spectators of so much suffering and human stupidity.—*Le Revolté*.

*First Boy*: "My father has forbidden me to play with you because you are the son of a shoemaker." *Second Boy*: But you are also a shoemaker's son. Doesn't your father make shoes?" *F. B.*: "My father is a manufacturer of shoes and not a cobbler. They manufacture at my father's place more than 200 pairs of shoes a day, while your father only makes one." *S. B.*: "Then your father is 200 times more a shoemaker than mine; and if it is disgraceful to be a shoemaker, your father is 200 times worse than mine, and I refuse to play with you." Shoemakers and other workmen ought to imitate this street-boy, and refuse to play at politics with the bourgeois who despise them, and who speak equality to avoid acting it.—*Le Socialiste*.

In *Social Wealth*, Ingalls notes that one of the first, if not the very first, of economists who were prominent in the public life of America fifty years ago—John C. Calhoun—was a slaveholder who religiously believed slavery to be not only right, but the only safe relation between "capital and labour." He foresaw, and correctly foretold, that the abolition of slavery would lead directly to the conflict between labour and capital as we now see it. In 1835, under his teachings, the Charleston Baptist Association, in its report, said it "did not consider that the holy scriptures had made the fact of slavery a question of morals at all. The question is one purely of political economy, viz.: Whether the operatives of a country shall be bought and sold, and themselves become property as in South Carolina, or whether they shall be hirelings, and their labour only become property."—S.

"A GROSS INJUSTICE."—Events are continually being recorded in the public press which strikingly confirm our allegations as to the tendencies of the present system. The instance given in the following letter, which appeared recently in the *Daily Chronicle*, is a typical one:—

"In a large costume manufacturer's in the City, it is the rule of the proprietors to stop one and a half day's wages in default of every day's absence. This does not only apply to the voluntary absence of workers, through illness, etc., but if the hands are stopped through scarcity of work, this outrageous deduction is still made; thus a girl who goes up to the City on a Monday morning to find there is no work for her, not only loses the day's money, but is also robbed of half a day's payment for which she has worked honestly and hard. This is one of the many barbarous oppressions to which these 12-hour toilers are subjected, and many a girl when really in an unfit state, drags herself to her machine for fear of having her scanty six days' wages reduced to four and a-half by her unscrupulous employer. For the truth of the above I can vouch.—F. G. T."

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES.

## AMERICA.

A curious method was employed at South Chicago to prevent the working of the factories where the men had struck. The hands had been replaced by new-comers, but when the goods were going to be removed, the wives and families of former employés assembled with sticks and switches in their hands around the terminus of the railroad tracks and opposite the entrance of the nail works. When the engines came up the women and children grouped themselves on the track in front of the freight waggons to the number of some 2000, and prevented them from approaching. A large force of policemen tried to clear the track, but it was impossible. Great excitement prevailed, and all attempts to move the cars proved futile.

NEW YORK.—The meeting which was addressed by Liebknecht, Aveling, and Eleanor Marx-Aveling, on Sunday, September 19, was attended by fully 25,000 people, and was held in Brommer's Union Park. The whole went off without the least disturbance, although a large body of police were present, and did their best to create disorder. The three speakers addressed a letter to the papers, saying that they had never in Europe witnessed such wanton interference with any gathering. The meeting is said to have been the largest of the kind ever held in New York.

## FRANCE.

ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC RELIEF.—A woman with a baby in her arms presents herself at one of the bureaux of public relief in Paris. She has just come from a refuge, where she has stayed for the three days allowed by rule, and she now asks for a little help so as not to be obliged to steal or beg, "since either of these means of living would bring me to jail." "Go to the Hotel-Dieu, they will give you a meal there." "But the child?" "That's got nothing to do with them; they'll give you a meal for you to eat on the spot." "Can't they give me an equivalent in money, then at least I can get something for the child?" "Impossible!" Who can be astonished after that at the increase of double suicides—mother and child?—*Cri du Peuple*.

PARISIAN POLICE.—A citizen returning from his work towards two o'clock in the morning is passing along the boulevard de Belleville, when suddenly he is shouted at to "move on." The citizen replies that the boulevard is free to every one. Thereupon three police-agents arrive on the scene, arrest him, and conduct him to the police-station. Once there, he is not released until nine o'clock the next night, having passed the whole day without food.—*Cri du Peuple*.

A small child, its mother's back being turned, was inconsiderate enough to empty the contents of a phial down its throat, in that spirit of enquiry which is one of childhood's peculiar charms. The contents being of a deleterious and poisonous nature, the mother hastened with the child to a chemist, and had an antidote administered. On coming out of the shop she was seized upon by a police-agent who accused her of trying to poison her child. On

her protestation the man pursued his little joke by handling her roughly and taking them both off to a police-station, whence they were only released in the evening.

The police seem to object very sorely to being expostulated with in the "pursuit of their duty," and indeed behave like a shrewish housewife with her "Don't answer me, you naughty boy!" To "answer" an official personage is indeed something bold and impious.

Two turners in metal being out of work lately, found an opportunity of hiring themselves at the omnibus-depot at Grenelle, for the work of changing horses and so forth. They worked the whole of one day, and in the evening were dismissed and told not to come the next day. They accordingly asked for the wage due, but did not receive it, the reason given being that the first day counted as an apprenticeship and was not paid for. So apprenticeship is requisite for the work of putting to and taking out horses, sweeping yards and so forth, from four in the morning till nine at night! We should like to know who profits by the 3 fr. due for this long days work, which the workers are cheated of in this way!—*Cri du Peuple*.

The following was seen posted up on the porter's gate of one Tissier, a skin dyer: "Notice.—The workmen are informed that any letters which they may cause to be addressed to them at M. Tissier's will be torn up and thrown away." Surely, M. Tissier, surely there was some more courteous, some less entirely brutal manner of making your quite legitimate rule known to Messieurs les ouvriers, free workers in a free and glorious Republic!

CALAIS.—Last week was a busy one with the revolutionists of Calais. One night they organised a successful public meeting of the unemployed of that town, which meeting was enlivened by the turning out with some little disturbance of a police spy, who was observed at his darksome work of note-taking (though I do not quite see why not he as well as any other citizen at a public meeting). The next day a demonstration of about a thousand people was held before the Town Hall. The proceedings throughout were peaceable, the police having had orders not to put in an appearance to any great extent.

MONTCEAU-LES-MINES.—Some weeks back a workman at the mines was discovered in an attempt to carry off a small piece of plank, and was dismissed in consequence. Last week he went back to beg to be taken on again, being 46 years old and having a large family. They utterly refused him all chance of work, and in his despair the poor man literally "went and hanged himself on the next tree." This was rash, for he forgot to dispatch his family along with himself.

AMPLEFUIS.—Subscriptions have been opened to help the weavers here still on strike; the Union of French weavers have already sent them some money.

#### BELGIUM.

LIEGE.—A manifestation in favour of universal suffrage was held last week at Sainte-Walburge, where speeches were made beside the monument of the fighters of 1830 and wreaths in their memory laid on the same. More than 10,000 workers of the neighbourhood were assembled, and the procession to Sainte-Walburge of such well-disciplined numbers was very impressive. The burgomaster of Liège had forbidden the organisers of the demonstration to display the red flag, offering them the tricolour and the banner of Liège instead, which the malcontents regarding as a sorry substitute, refused.

At the Court of Enquiry at Verviers, M. D'Andrimont thought to give a proof of his philanthropy in recommending the workers to better their miserable condition by the consumption of *rice*. A Homeric laugh was the only reply to this strange proposition, and certainly it was but deserved. . . . It is the general conviction that the Enquiry is a huge farce, of which the most comical side is the imperturbable gravity of those forming the Commission. . . . M. D'Andrimont confirms in the most decisive way this conviction. Workers come to complain of their employers who cheat them of their modest wage, of the machines that every day cut and crush human flesh, and of many other injuries which make the mildest clench their fists. What answer does this gentleman find? "Eat rice, it is nourishing and cheap; with a handful of rice one can make broth for a whole family." That is it—eat rice and shut your mouths!—*L'Avenir*.

Among all the abuses which the Commission of Enquiry has brought to light, the one which has most roused public indignation is the payment of wages in kind—the truck system—established in connection with the factories, the goods sold to the workers at these shops being from 30 to 50 per cent. dearer than elsewhere. This abuse is by no means of recent date. . . . In 1843, a Commission was nominated similar to this present one, and like this of to-day, it opened a widely-spread enquiry. Five years later, 1848, it made a report among other matters on the abuse in question; sixteen years later, 1869, a Minister presented a Scheme for a Law, and—the scheme was shelved. Thus, in 43 years' time we may expect to see formed a new Commission of Enquiry, a new Report on the Enquiry, a Minister with a fair-written parchment. . . . If, indeed, between this time and that, the Belgian folk have not decided once for all to do their business for themselves.—*L'Avenir*.

#### GERMANY.

The Socialists have spread broadcast in the German army a "Marching Song for the Soldiers," which has evidently had some effect, for a reward of £50 has been offered to any one who will denounce the author or disseminators of the song.

A circular has been issued in Germany saying that it has become known to the Ministry that the Socialist leaders have advised all their comrades who are in the army to conduct themselves well, so that they may become sub-officers and in this way form a corps which in case of a revolutionary outbreak can get the soldiers on their side. The circular goes on to command the governors of the provinces, to whom it is addressed, to make enquiries about all men who are to be promoted, and if they are Socialists, to debar them from all promotion.

"The justices at Gera have sentenced a Socialist speaker to six weeks' imprisonment for saying of the police officers who broke up his meeting by force, 'God forgive them, for they know not what they do.' One consequence of this will be that now no one will apply Bible texts to the police."—*Volksfreund*.

#### AUSTRIA.

The *Volksfreund* of Brunn is curious and somewhat tantalising reading. About every second article runs as follows: "In this place stood the article, 'The Solution of the Social Question' [or whatever it happens to be], which has been confiscated by the Government." One is reminded of Heine's sly hit at the German censorship, from whose paternal attentions he had suffered considerably. In one of his books he wrote a chapter headed "The German Censors," consisting wholly of dashes representing the excisions of the censorship, with just one word in the centre of the page, which word was "Asses."—U.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

#### Notices to Members.

Reading Room.—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.

Library.—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

Adjourned General Meeting of London members will be held at Farringdon Hall on Monday October 11, at 9 p.m., to discuss tactics to be pursued during coming winter.

#### Executive.

At their usual weekly meeting on Monday October 4, the Council formally approved the incorporation of the Bingley, Ipswich, and Mitcham Branches.

#### General Meeting.

On the motion of Lane it was resolved: "That it be an instruction to Branch secretaries to send notices of lectures to *Reynolds*, *Dispatch*, etc."

#### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Mile-end, to June 30. Birmingham, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Dublin, Hackney, Leeds, Merton Abbey, North London, Norwich, to August 31. Bloomsbury, Croydon, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Manchester, Marylebone, to September 30. Oxford, to Dec. 31.

#### BRANCH REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, October 1st, Faulkner lectured on "Law and War." The address was most interesting, and a good discussion followed. One new member was enrolled.—W. A. C.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, September 29, W. C. Wade addressed a fair audience on "Faith, Hope, and Charity;" good discussion; Propaganda Fund, 1s. 4½d. Successful open-air meetings have been held during the week. On Sunday, October 3, C. J. Faulkner lectured on "Man v. State"; the hall was well filled. Good discussion and satisfactory reply. The meeting closed with a song. Collected for Defence Fund, 5s. 9d. Sale of *Commonweal* increasing. The secretary requests those members of this Branch who are in arrears, to pay subscriptions up to date as speedily as possible.—W. B.

CROYDON.—Last Sunday evening, the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam lectured to a most enthusiastic audience on "The Sins which Cause Poverty." The room was crowded, the people outnumbering the chairs. Two comrades from the Mitcham Branch kindly paid us a friendly visit. The lecturer explained clearly the economic conditions of this capitalist Society, and advocated its complete abolition. The working of the iron law of wages and the delusion of Malthusianism were also pointed out. In the course of his remarks, the lecturer referred in terms of high praise to the Nihilist women in Russia. The solution of the social question, he said, was to be found in Land Nationalisation. Several prominent Radicals and some Socialists spoke in the vigorous debate which followed the lecture. Very good sale of literature and good collection.—A. T., asst.-sec.

MERTON.—In conjunction with the members of the Mitcham Branch, we held a large meeting upon Mitcham Fair Green, addressed by comrades Morris and Kitz. The chief topic was "Education," and an explanation of the Socialistic position in regard to it, not the meagre so-called education of to-day given to the workers, but the highest culture the nation is capable of to be given freely to all, and this to be possible must be accomplished by a revolution in economical surroundings. We have secured a club-room at Mitcham.—F. Kitz, sec.

MILE-END.—On Saturday, comrades Chambers and Graham addressed a good meeting on the Waste. On Sunday, comrade Davis addressed a fair meeting, which was very sympathetic throughout. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—M. Wess.

NORTH LONDON.—Arnold, Henderson, and Mahon spoke to a good audience at Ossulton Street, on Tuesday. Mahon addressed a large crowd at Harrow Road on Saturday. His name and address were taken. The police tried their best to raise a disturbance, but, apart from two or three boys paid to make a noise, the meeting was orderly and attentive. At Regent's Park a very good meeting was addressed by Nicoll and Mahon on Sunday morning. Sale of *Commonweal* still improving.—F. H., sec.

EDINBURGH.—On Sunday afternoon, in the Meadows, comrade McMillan addressed a large meeting. The meeting had been convened for the purpose of protesting against police interference with the right of free speech in places commonly used for such a purpose. Special point was given to the remarks of McMillan, from the fact that on the previous Monday a Socialist speaker had been arrested in Parliament Square. McCulloch, S.D.F., followed with a telling Socialistic address.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—A week of good campaigning. On Monday evening, October 27th, we held an open-air meeting at Parkhead Cross. There was a large audience, despite the disagreeable weather, and the speeches of comrades Downie and Glasier were received with marked approval. On Wednesday evening, comrades McLean and Glasier addressed by invitation a large meeting of miners, held in the Miner's Hall, Baillieston. The speeches of our comrades were greeted with the utmost enthusiasm by the meeting, and they had to promise to arrange another visit at an early date. On Friday evening, comrades Greer, McMillan, and Glasier addressed a good meeting at Govan Cross. On Saturday evening, a most successful open-air meeting was held at the New Cross, Hamilton. Comrades Downie, Kennedy, and Glasier spoke, and four dozen *Commonweals* and a large quantity of literature were sold. At the close of meeting a number of friends gave in their names with the view of a Branch of the League being formed. Arrangements have been made to organise a Branch at once. On Sunday at 11.30, an open-air meeting was held on the Green, where several hundred people were present, the speakers being Downie and Glasier. In the afternoon on the Green, a large audience was addressed by comrades Warrington and Greer, where *Commonweal* sold well. In the evening in our rooms, James M. Brown gave a most interesting lecture on "Rousseau." The room was quite full to the above meetings. Comrade Rae, on Sunday afternoon, addressed a meeting of the Irish National League on "Competition," where Socialist teaching was exceedingly well received; while comrade Glasier at the same time addressed the Coatbridge Branch of the National League on "Patriotism and Poverty."—J. B. G.

**HULL.**—On Tuesday, September 28th, comrade Shekell read Wm. Morris's lecture on "Socialism" to a small but earnest audience. A brief discussion followed.—E. T.

**IPSWICH.**—On Sunday, we held two meetings near the Ship Launch Inn, and they were the best attended yet. We sold four quires of *Commonweals* at the morning meeting, so we had none for the afternoon, at which there must have been 800 present, so we no doubt lost several shillings in that direction. H. Bailey addressed both meetings. Our Branch is prospering very well; thirteen joined last Tuesday.—H. B.

**LEEDS.**—On Sunday morning, we held our usual open-air meeting on Hunslet Moor. Comrade Maguire addressed a very attentive audience on the "Distribution of Wealth." After the meeting, five came forward and gave in their names. In the evening, comrade Maguire delivered a lecture at the Royal Oak Hotel, Shipley, on "The Breakdown of the Present System." Several of our Bradford and Bingley comrades took part in the discussion that followed. Sale of literature for the day was 30 *Commonweals* and 20 pamphlets.—F. C., sec.

**MANCHESTER.**—A good open-air meeting was held on Sunday morning, when comrade Parkinson gave an eloquent address. Papers sold fairly well.—R. U.

**NORWICH.**—We held our usual meetings on St. Mary's Plain on Sunday at 11, and in the Market Place at 3. This meeting numbered about 800, and was very enthusiastic. Mowbray lectured in Branch rooms to an overcrowded audience on "Christian v. Socialist Morality." We had a splendid meeting at St. Faith's on Sunday morning; all papers sold. We also held a meeting at Drayton, which was a great success. We are taking rooms at Drayton, Horsford, and at St. Faith's. Our sale of literature during last fortnight has been, last week, 11s. 8d.; this week, 14s. 10d., so that comrade Sparling's addresses have helped us a great deal. Membership is steadily increasing.—C. W. M.

**SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.**—On Tuesday night, September 28th, we had a fair audience (about 300, chiefly working-men) in the Lower Albert Hall, to hear William Morris on "Socialism: the End and the Means." The lecture was received with enthusiasm, and there was not so much opposition as might have been wished. Several names were given in for membership, and a good deal of literature sold.—E. C.

**OLDHAM.**—Comrade J. Waddington, of Manchester, addressed a crowded audience last Sunday evening at the Greaves Arms, on "Trades' Unionism," advocating the adoption of new lines from the Socialist's standpoint. The audience paid great attention to the new principles advocated by the lecturer. There was plenty of opposition in the discussion at the close of the address, which was warmly replied to by the lecturer, in which he pointed out the advantages to be gained by the adoption of Socialist methods.—J. W.

### Free Education.

The Metropolitan Radical Federation held a demonstration on Sunday last in Trafalgar Square in favour of refusing to pay school rates, and to protest against the inquisitorial policy of the London School Board. William Morris spoke from No. 1 platform, and urged the Socialist view of education. The Socialist League also held a meeting of their own, which was addressed by Mahon, Barker, Tochatti, Chambers, Wardle, Nicoll, and Henderson, the line of their arguments being that Socialists are in full sympathy with real and thorough education for the people: that education to-day is not what it ought to be, but a mere training to fit the people as tools for the capitalists: and that the struggle for education must be made part of the great struggle for a complete change in the conditions of life. The following resolution was carried amid loud cheers: "That in the opinion of this meeting, the fight for education must be made part of the great struggle for a revolutionary change in the social conditions of life and the abolition of class distinction." The meeting was one of the largest and most enthusiastic held in the Square.—J. L. M.

### Police Interference with Freedom of Speech in Edinburgh.

It was hardly to be expected that the police here would be long contented to remain behind their London brethren as regards a due idea of their office. Truly we live in an age of competition. No sooner did the police in London add to their multifarious duties that of judge of the orthodoxy of a lecturer's political economy, than those here follow suit. Having a lurking sense, I daresay, that this new duty they have elected to perform is one of supererogation, they usually try to make out that they are performing another, viz., clearing the thoroughfare. But how interfering with one speaker in a place which is no thoroughfare, and leaving another unmolested, can be clearing the thoroughfare, is more than I can determine. On Monday evening last week in Parliament Square, comrade Robertson, while delivering a lecture in which he was showing in a somewhat vivid manner the injustice of our present society, was, at the instigation of a religious lecturer, interfered with by the police. At first the police seeing, I daresay, that they lacked sympathisers, beat off. Soon, however, they came back reinforced. As they could furnish no satisfactory reason why he was not to be allowed to speak, the lecturer declined to desist. They immediately marched him off to the police office. There, as there were too many to witness that Robertson was but exercising a public right, it was found that the police had no case. The witnesses had, however, in answer to the question, "What is an obstructive meeting?" this most extraordinary answer: "A meeting at which booing or expressions of dissent occur." The witnesses had too, given them, by way of justification of the action of the police, this information, "They did it in London."

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

- Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, W. Friday October 8, at 8.30 p.m. D. Nicoll will open the discussion. Members are earnestly requested to come in time for Business Meeting, which will be held at 8 p.m.
- Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday October 10, at 7.30 p.m. W. A. Chambers, "Socialism Explained and Defended." Wednesday 13. H. A. Barker, "The Whole Truth and Nothing but the Truth."
- Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7.30 p.m. R. A. Beckett, "Happiness."
- Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street.
- Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday October 10. George Bernard Shaw, at 8 p.m., "Competition."
- A CONCERT will be given by T. Wardle on Saturday October 16, at 8 p.m., at Kelmescott House. Proceeds to go to Defence Fund. Programmes 6d. each.
- Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Oct. 10. W. C. Wade—a Lecture.
- Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee meets every Thursday.
- North London.**—Business Meeting at 32 Camden Road, Fridays at 8 p.m. On Friday, October 15, William Morris will lecture at the Milton Hall at 8 p.m. Subject—"Socialism: the End and the Means."

### Country Branches.

- Bingley.**—Coffee Tavern. Tuesdays, at 7.30 p.m.
- Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.
- Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
- Dublin.**—102 Capel Street.
- Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m.
- Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. On Saturday 9th, open-air meeting will be held at Motherwell at 6 p.m.; and at Hamilton at 8.15 p.m.—On Sunday comrade Greer will address a meeting of Townhead Branch of the Irish National League at 3 p.m. At 4.30 an open-air meeting will be held on the Green. H. M. Hyndman addresses meetings in the Albion Halls at 11.30 and at 6.30. No meeting, therefore, will be held in our Rooms at 6.30.
- Hull.**—Sunday October 10, Business Meeting at Communist Club, Blanket Row, at 3 p.m. Tuesday 12th, at 8 p.m., Public Meeting at Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street: E. Teesdale, "Socialism and Social Reforms."
- Ipswich.**—"George Inn," Woodhouse Street. Tuesdays at 8. Oct. 12. Comrade Andrews, "The Land Question."
- Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.
- Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 8 p.m.
- Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.
- Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.
- Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street.

### Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

LONDON.					
Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.	
Sat. 9.	Hyde Park (Marble Arch).....	4	J. Lane	Clerkenwell.	
	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales") 8		T. E. Wardle	N. London.	
S. 10.	Mile-end Waste .....	8	D. J. Nicoll	Mile-end.	
	Canning Town (Beckton Rd.) 11.30		H. A. Barker	Clerkenwell.	
	Marylebone—corner of Salis- bury St. and Church St.	11.30	F. Henderson	Marylebone.	
	Hackney—Well Street .....	11.30	H. Charles	Hackney.	
	Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.	
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street.....	11.30	H. Davis	Hoxton.	
	Mile-end Waste .....	11.30	Westwood	Mile-end.	
	Mitcham Fair Green .....	11.30	F. Kitz	Merton.	
	Regent's Park .....	11.30	D. J. Nicoll	N. London.	
	St. Pancras Arches.....	11.30	W. A. Chambers	Bloomsbury.	
	Walham Green, opposite Station	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.	
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch) 3		T. E. Wardle	Marylebone.	
	Victoria Park .....	3.30	Somerville	Hackney.	
	Clerkenwell Green .....	7	W. A. Chambers	Clerkenwell.	
Tu. 12.	Euston Road—Ossulton St. ...	7	T. E. Wardle	N. London.	
	Mile-end Waste .....	8	H. Graham	Mile-end.	
W. 13.	Soho—Broad Street .....	7.30	W. Chambers	Bloomsbury.	
	London Fields—Broadway, opposite "Sir Walter Scott"	8.30	J. Lane	Hackney.	
Th. 14.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street...	8	H. Graham	Hoxton.	
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch).....	7	T. E. Wardle	Bloomsbury.	

### PROVINCES.

- Ipswich.**—Ship Launch, Sundays at 11 a.m. and 3.30 p.m.
- Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m., Sundays.
- Manchester.**—Corner of Gorton Lane and Ashton Old Road, Sundays at 11 a.m.; Gorton Brook, every Sunday afternoon, at 2.45.
- Norwich.**—St. Mary's Plain, 11 a.m.; Market Place, 3 p.m.—Sundays.
- Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

**UNITED SOCIALIST SOCIETIES OF LONDON.**—To Socialists and Friends of the Cause of Labour. A Theatre Concert and Ball will be held at the Communist Working-men's Club, 49, Tottenham Street, W., on the 10th of October, in aid of the convicted Socialists of Chicago. To commence at 8 p.m. Programme 6d.

**NORTH CAMBERWELL RADICAL CLUB.**—Sunday October 10, at 8.30, Debate on Socialism between M. J. Lyons (Liberty and Property Defence League), and J. L. Mahon (Socialist League).

**SOUTH-WEST HAM RADICAL ASSOCIATION,** Congregational Schools, Swanscombe Street, Barking Road.—Wednesday October 13, at 8 p.m. W. Morris, a Lecture.

**CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST SOCIETY,** Industrial Hall, Clark's Buildings, Broad Street, Bloomsbury.—Wednesday 13th. C. Fitzgerald, "Am I my Brother's Keeper?"

**RICHMOND SUNDAY AFTERNOON SOCIETY,** Liberal Association's Room, ground floor, Grosvenor Buildings, Railway Station.—Oct. 31, at 3.30, Edward Snelling, "Socialism."

### FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

S. Roberts (per Thomas E. Wardle), £2; Clerkenwell Branch, 10s. 2½d.; North London Branch, 6s. 3d.; on account of Concert, 3s. 6d. Total received to date, £25 19s. 9d. Expended for fines, etc., £26, 8s. 6d. Deficit, 8s. 9d.

TH. W., Treasurer, Oct. 6.

### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Received during the week: Hammersmith (weekly) 10s.; Bloomsbury (weekly) 5s.; M. M., 1s.; T. B. (two weeks) 1s.

## THE PRACTICAL SOCIALIST.

AN EXPONENT OF EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM; BUT DISCUSSION OF ALL ASPECTS INVITED.

EDITED BY THOMAS BOLAS.

MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

W. REEVES, 185 FLEET STREET.

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- Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 16 pp. . . . . 1d.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 40.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1886.

WEEKLY ; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

PARLIAMENT having "dried up," and a complete languor having followed on the excitement of having a real live Tory Government in office, the bourgeois press was beginning to reconcile itself to a dull season in politics, when Lord Randolph Churchill broke the dullness by his speech at Dartford. That speech comes on people as something like a surprise, after the stolid "How can we?" with which the Tories received Mr. Parnell's measure (no doubt much to his satisfaction). But a little consideration will show them that Lord Randolph has not been so extra bold as he has been thought, that he has not made such a very dangerous excursion into the realms of Tory Democracy. Some, indeed, see him in the light of the butcher who has just put his knife into the Tory ox; but that is scarcely the way to look on his position, because that noble beast was dead before the stroke, and can barely be made a marketable carcase now.

On the other hand, it is perhaps a question whether he is not striking a stroke for freedom from the Whig domination, especially if it be true that his vague hints about local government in Ireland are to be redeemed by a Home Rule Bill which will seem somewhat advanced to the ordinary Liberal mind, but which the Irish party will not and cannot accept. Perhaps even his extravagant flattery of the Unionist Liberals (*i.e.*, Whigs), or it may be said his gross servility to them in words, really conceal this revolt. Certainly if he is determined to revolt they will have to give way if, also, his own party follow him, as it is to be supposed they must, and if he still sticks to the quasi-democratic part of his programme, or makes a fair show of doing so. And if the Whigs do let him pull them a step or two out of their beaten path, they will find after all that when it is done they will not be so much worse off: there will still be room for Whiggery when all that he has promised or threatened has happened.

The three acres and a cow, duly reduced to a very humdrum allotment scheme, will not bring about a very great revolution, and the older Whigs must put up with seeing Mr. Jesse Collings pleased and Mr. Chamberlain somewhat rehabilitated. Local self-government may mean something considerably short of free communes. The threat to the railway interests can be easily explained away—nay, that explanation is already prepared for in the disclaimer of any intention of attacking their *rights* of private property—while the hint about free education means anything or nothing, according to circumstances.

At any rate, whatever he is going to yield to "Democracy," he is not going to give, but sell; and the fact that this is clear ought to be enough to keep the Whigs quiet, especially as the gain he proposes to himself concerns their darling institution, the House of Commons. For after all, probably the only serious intention he has is to attempt to muzzle the Opposition, whose feebleness he taunted, not without reason, if we except the Irish party. The Whigs will be bound to help him in this, in spite of all that has come and gone, and the rest of his programme sounds very like a bid for the support of whatever professes to be Radical or progressive in Parliament. "Will you allow a factious minority to stand in the way of the generous and even sweeping reforms which I am prepared to lead my party into?" is what he practically says. "Let us make the House of Commons a really good machine for expressing the will of—property."

In this enterprise he is not unlikely to succeed; and some of us will not be very sorely grieved at his success. The House of Commons will always represent property as long as there is property to be represented, whether that property be aggregated in the possession of the owner of half a county, or divided among sham peasant proprietors and £3-a-week savings-bank-and-building-society examples of "thrift and steady industry," who may consider that they belong to a Radical party, but who are really ex-Radicals turned Whigs by the force of the said property. It is far better, then, that the iron exclusiveness of Parliament should be made obvious by Government muzzling of obstruction, than that it should be able to pose as a body that has tendencies towards looking after the interests of the people, which may be developed into something approaching to revolution. If Lord Randolph can rehabilitate the House of Commons and show it clearly to every one as an august and orderly assembly barring the way to revolution by means of constitutional reforms, he will do good service to the cause of Socialism.

Certainly this will scarcely be Toryism, but it will be very good Whiggery; and it is most important to us that the growing elements of discontent shall come to recognise the solid truth that the Whigs will always rule the roast and have the executive in their power till the day when the people are determined to help themselves.

Lord Randolph called on his hearers to be encouraged by the fact that the depression of trade was showing signs of yielding to better times. It may be true, as is commonly said, that we are on the eve of a temporary recovery, although the tokens of it are not very obvious. If it should take place there may be an appearance of retrogression in our propaganda, as it will make a portion of the working class in this country "contented" once more, who are now inclined to listen to our doctrines. But if that does happen it ought not to discourage us; there must be more general understanding of the grounds of Socialism before the waning night points towards the dawn of action, and it may be that quieter times will not be altogether unfavourable to revolutionary education. "The poor ye shall have always with you," while our present system lasts; and during the time of the recovery, which will certainly be short-lived enough, we may still make abundant progress amongst those whom no "recovery" will advantage, and to whom at all times we must address ourselves most directly.

Lord Randolph Churchill sang the Jingo song at Dartford about as small as it could be sung. In point of fact, he changed Lord Salisbury's "The Austrian sentinel is on the ramparts" to "We hope to see the Austrian paw on the hot chestnuts."

Mr. Norton, the Australian labour delegate, has pretty much knocked the bottom out of the emigration humbug. His letter to the *Daily News* of October 9, about the serious matter of Chinese labour in Australasia, must interest everybody who thinks of the labour question; but he does not quite seem to see the bearings of it. That American or Australian or English workmen should be shouldered out of the labour market by Chinese or any other workmen who can live cheaper than they can is the necessary outcome of the competitive system—of the system which aims at producing profits for the employer and not goods for people to live on. By hook or by crook the employer will have his cheap labour, because he must, and because he *can* as long as the wages system lasts—that is, as long as the workmen must needs pay some one to "employ" them instead of employing themselves in making what they want and living happily. WILLIAM MORRIS.

## COMMERCIAL CANNIBALISM.

WHEN Swift, in 1729, gave forth his 'Modest Proposal' to an astounded nation, neither he nor those to whom it was addressed were in the least likely to imagine that its re-publication, wellnigh two centuries afterwards, would find substantially the same state of affairs in existence. In spite of the inducement offered, that "whoever could find out a fair, cheap, and easy method of making these children sound, useful members of the commonwealth would deserve as well of the public as to have his statue set up for a preserver of the nation," neither the mordant satire of Swift nor the enthusiastic work of a myriad others have prevented two more miserable hundreds of years from having elapsed without appreciable progress in the happiness of the proletariat. Progress in some sort has been achieved; but if viewed relatively to the higher standard of living and the increase of productive power, it will be found that the mass of the people are as badly off as when, in a grim travesty of the orthodox economical preachment, the sardonic Dean of St. Patrick's gravely proposed to utilise the surplus children of the labouring classes as food for those able to pay for it. "I grant this food will be somewhat dear, and therefore very proper for land lords, who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children."

We are so well accustomed to human bodies being articles of merchandise piecemeal, that it is difficult for the average man, not a Socialist, to see that the whole of our present commercial system is based upon the buying and selling of men and women for the profit or pleasure of the purchaser as literally as though they were bought in open market to be actually eaten. The private ownership of land and all other means of production—the monopoly of the means of life—class-control of the material resources of the community—places the proletariat at the mercy of his masters, for they own all that is requisite

for his livelihood and compel him to purchase at their price the privilege of access to it. Owning nothing but his body and the strength of it, his body must he sell to buy his bread. And the price of it? Bitter bread and a hard life, and no lack of trouble withal!

To make another's life their own, to wring from him all that makes life happy or even tolerable, to intensify his misery and toil by adding theirs thereto—the power to do these things is given to those who are landlords or capitalists by the present system. Through their control over everything necessary to life, they can compel the workers to sell whatsoever power or portion of their bodies ministers to greed or lust at the price of a bare subsistence.

The landlord for access to "his" land takes toll and calls it rent; the capitalist for access to "his" machinery takes toll and calls it profit; the shareholder for the use of "his" capital takes toll and calls it interest. Beside these forms of blackmail, forcibly exacted, there are a hundred others that are obtained from the workers by chicanery and fraud. Every product of labour consumed by one who does not labour means that some one somewhere has been robbed. Whoever consumes the produce of another man's labour without rendering him an equivalent in return is taking from that other some part of the enjoyment of life legitimately due to him—is lessening his happiness and his life in exact proportion.

Out of the mass of the unskilled labourers in field or town there are few who receive more than an average wage of £1 per week—not many who can obtain that. Assuming that one is steadily employed, and paid, for 52 weeks per year, and that for 50 years—a wild hypothesis, indeed!—for a lifetime of toil he will have received, all told, £2600. Agricultural labourers are, in the greater part of the country, paid from 10s. to 13s. weekly—13s. per week regularly for 50 years at the end makes £1690. The life-work of the labour-class collectively is represented by the wealth of the nation; but the return for it is comparatively so insignificant that there are few outside the ranks of the labourers who are content to receive their individual life-reward in a single year. Taking the standard set for us by the present system—measuring all things by money—the labourer has for his toil less enjoyment in his life than many a lounge and parasite squanders in a year.

Involved and complex as our present system is, it is no marvel that so many fail to see the mutual murder and degrading cannibalism that are its main supports, masked and hidden from the ordinary eye by a thousand conventionalities and "vested interests." Where the varnish of civilisation has not yet veiled the crude savagery of primitive mankind, cultured humanity is horror-stricken to see a wild man, like the Botocudo of South America, drag his slain enemies to some secluded den where they may be comfortably cooked and eaten with triumphant rejoicing. Amid the horror-tales with which a jaded public refreshes its out-worn palate, there are few more potent in their effect than those which deal with New Zealand feasts upon "long pig," Fijian carousals at which the defeated foe furnished the baked-meats to celebrate his own overthrow, or the terrible repast of some shipwrecked mariner at the last extremity. Cultured humanity shudders and returns thanks to a God after its own image that it is not as these men are, and resents the truth when told that "the fair show (of modern life) veils one vast, savage, grim conspiracy of mutual murder," and that it itself subsists thereon.

When rude races in their intertribal conflicts find out the ease with which a warlike stronger clan may possess itself of the produce of the labour of weaker ones, war becomes readily one not of quarrel or revenge, but of plunder and rapine. Afterward they awaken to the wastefulness of killing a man outright in order to seize that which he has produced; for although he no longer requires any means of subsistence, his capacity for surplus-labour ends also; and civilisation is advanced one step by the conqueror retaining possession of the conquered and compelling him to labour, taking from him all the fruit of his toil beyond that barely necessary to keep him alive and enable him to breed. Again the wheel of progress goes forward, and it is found less profitable to carry off a captive than to lay hold of the land upon which he lives and compel him to labour there. Thus begins the "extension of frontiers" and the "growth of empires." In each of these stages cannibalism is full plainly perceptible; its form only has been changed. To own or control a man is to have power over his life; to take from him the wherewithal he lives, or part of it, is to take from him his life in like measure. In each stage, also, as it arises, there is found an evergrowing tendency to the formation of a subject class—a caste set apart for exploitation, to be continuously plundered, a tribe consecrated to never-ending immolation.

To-day society has long since passed beyond the stage at which an individual or small tribe is allowed to make open war upon another: that is reserved as a special privilege of the "Great Powers," or some favoured few among their protégés. And yet insidiously and with tenfold virulence the fratricidal struggle still goes on. Where the savage terminated suddenly the existence of his foe and feasted right royally upon the body which had cost so much time and labour to sustain, the civilised monopolist holds many men in subjection and consumes their lives piecemeal. He replaces the club and spear by a control of land and capital, and the fire or flesh-pot by the factory or the mine.

Even in the disposal of the infirm or aged the parallel holds. Among the Wends in what is now Germany such people were put to death by the tribe, cooked, and eaten. We no longer are so barbarous as to subject our paupers to "bloody murder and sudden death," but cause them to endure instead the lingering agonies of slow starvation within the cheerless walls of living tombs!

Upon the scroll of history, amid all its blots and stains and imper-

fections, there is yet plain record of a growing sense of the sacredness of human life. From age to age institutions are modified and adapted to the changed requirements of the race. Men's ideas of right and wrong develop with their understanding of the problem of existence. Private property is becoming more and more discredited day by day. It is increasingly manifest to the masses that their lives are taken from them and enjoyed by others. They see the hollow cruel sham our boasted civilisation really is. The force of discontent growing unchecked and resistless will yet shatter the chains that bind man under man, and forever end the man-eating institutions that blight the life of humanity even to this day.

Only when the Social Revolution has been accomplished, and all men labour, while each enjoys the fruit of his labour, will man be enabled to shake off wholly the cruelty and greed implanted in him by generations of wrong and degradation. They who come forward and strive for the right do even now go far to free themselves from the stigma; but cannibals and murderers remain, who, amid the light and fragrance of their own lives, ignore the bitter bread of sweating millions and the wail of miserable starved children.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

## THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY.

It is impossible for a generation which has grown out of a worn-out belief to realise the mental state of its forefathers who were passive under its unquestioned sway, and incapable of so much as conceiving a suspicion of its eternal validity; and the impossibility sufficiently explains the difficulty which it has in receiving with patience the suggestion that its own most cherished beliefs may not be eternal verities. It is no more patient than its forefathers were of revolt against beliefs that lie as close to its heart as theirs lay close to their hearts. Consider, for example, the superstitious reverence which so many persons at the present day attach to what are called "the rights of property," as though these were something sacred, fixed in the eternal nature of things, the foundation of all society, and an attack upon them were the very climax of wickedness or of madness. Without doubt the institution of rights of property has been of excellent use, indeed an indisputably necessary condition of the development of society up to its present level; but it was a human institution in the beginning, and it is not a truth beyond question that it must be the necessary condition of the highest society to the end. It was society which conferred the authority and sanction for such rights in the first instance; it is by virtue only of its protective regulations that any one enjoys them in security now; and it may properly at any time, if it see fit to do so, in order to develop a higher society, resume its rights by taking away or modifying the individual's privileges. Nevertheless this conception of the individual's provisional rights of property is one which, though it seems of axiomatic plainness, the great majority of persons cannot so much as entertain or conceive to be honestly entertainable; it strikes them as a monstrous attack on the sacred principles of the social fabric, an outrage on the original instincts of the human heart, repugnant to a sane and moral nature; and they fall into a fury of reprobation or stand in paralysed amazement at the audacity of any one who sets forth the primal truth of the matter, not as if he were a person in error propounding wrong doctrine, but as if he were a malignant conspirator against the fundamental principle of human well-being. He provokes very much the same kind of feeling as the early Christian did in the time of Nero, when the very name was a crime and he was called "enemy of the nation," "enemy of the human race," "the foe of gods and men." Meanwhile the principle attacked is really a superstition, in so far as it is a survival, invested with a sacred sanction, of a principle which, suiting a former and simpler state of things, may not suit a present or future and more complex state of things.—MAUDSLEY: *Natural Causes and Supernatural Seemings*.

## TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

Mr. Arnold Graves delivered a lecture recently on the above subject to the members of the City of Dublin Working-men's Club. One would imagine he had for a text-book Morris's 'Art and Socialism,' as he referred to the different phases of workshop life in almost identical terms; for instance, "in the days before the introduction of steam," he said, "the artisan's education was the workshop pure and simple; the employer was not a capitalist but a worker, who taught his apprentice personally, and as a result every tradesman knew his business from top to toe." His inadvertent reference to the master not being a capitalist was warmly cheered by his audience. He referred to the next stage, when steam came into use. The head was no longer a worker, the supervision of his office alone, owing to the largeness of his business, took up his time. Subdivision of labour stepped in; the apprentice picked up only part of his trade from his immediate foreman, or the nearest workman. Mr. Graves referred to what he called "the literary period," when the young tradesman got a literary education which—mark the words—"rather unfitted than fitted him for his business." I suppose this period is the present, when men are beginning to see the way they are exploited, and how Oetzmans and others leave behind them fortunes of £40,000, after enjoying every luxury, if not extravagance.

Mr. A. Graves, I believe, is an official in some Government department. He poses as a workman's friend. His panacea is technical education (undiluted with any literary education, I suppose). A capital idea for the capitalist: keep them ignorant, but make them good workmen—the more the merrier for us; our law of supply and demand will come in nicely and reduce the excessive wages of skilled workers to something reasonable—say 18s. a week!

The next stage, Mr. Graves states, is to be the "Technical." Now, every Socialist is in favour of universal technical education, but most decidedly not under capitalism. Schuman, a Danish Socialist, fully proved some time ago to Dublin working-men the wretched condition of the workers in Continental countries where this education is established. All workers may rest assured that any benefits arising from greater or more skilful production will not be reaped by them, but by the exploiting classes alone, as long as Capitalism is King.

J. E. MCCARTHY.

## ROBBING INDIA.

A PAMPHLET on the revival of trade by the development of India, by Wm. Birkmyre, has just been issued. It is simply an incitement to robbery. The British capitalist, it seems, is losing his once renowned shrewdness in laying hands on the sources of plunder, and this pamphlet is to waken him up and point out the splendid field for the "development of trade" as the political economists nicely term the process of industrial pilfering. Develop India; "it would be the opening out to capitalists and traders of a new industrial America," candidly says the author. What a pity it is that money should continue a drug in the capitalist market when a hundred and fifty millions might be "invested" in this land of promise, and a yearly return of five and a quarter millions assured for ever—for the capitalist will persist in thinking that his system is immortal.

The plan is an old one and simple enough when cleared of the hazy phraseology of "economists." At present we get a large amount of grain from America in return for our manufactures. India is quite as well able to produce the grain and our capitalists could buy it from there much cheaper. Why cheaper? Because an Indian family need no more to live on than an American spends in tobacco. "Develop" India and all the difference will go to enrich our capitalists, their (?) money will be profitably employed and trade will revive. But this is not all. The British dominions will be developed instead of a foreign country being enriched, and stimulus given to the "patriotism" of the jingo traders who lift up their voices exultingly at every fresh proof that the British Empire is a contrivance for bringing plunder within their ken.

And all this can be had if India were only railwayed as America is. The idea that India is a poor country is all wrong. It is quite true that the people generally are on the verge of famine, that no class is "more wretched or poverty stricken" (as Mr. Birkmyre says) than the Indian peasants. So splendid is our "organisation of industry" there that when the crops fail there is famine, and when they succeed they become a drug in the market and must be sold for next to nothing to pay the rent. According to an official report "a run of a few good seasons is as much dreaded as a failure of the crops." But these facts have nothing to do with the happiness of a country. "The consumption of luxuries is a fair indication of progress" in the opinion of Mr. Birkmyre. So who can deny him that India "is advancing rapidly" when he proves that "the importations of jewellery, precious stones, perfumes, spices, corals, hardware, cutlery goods, matches, and umbrellas, have increased enormously. . . . In 1885 there were 4,512,992 (umbrellas), giving one to every 56 of the population." Why should the Indians grumble when they have plenty of jewellery and plenty of cutlery, and an umbrella to every 56 of them?

The writer of this pamphlet actually *boasts* that English skill and capital will do for India what it has done for civilised countries. Poor Indians! Your lot is bad enough now; but wait till you come down to the level of civilisation! It is said that now, in spite of your misery, you are industrious and law-abiding. But your industry will profit you little as long as you abide by the "law." You must upset the law and be a law unto yourselves. As long as you meekly submit to the gang of brigands who call themselves the commercial classes your country will be merely a hunting ground for profit-grabbing English capitalists.

J. L. MAHON.

## "IT DOESN'T SMELL."

It appears from recent letters in the *Times*, that two fields at West Kensington, subject to tithe, have lately been cut up into separate house-plots. A clergyman took one of the new houses in June, 1885, knowing nothing of the tithe. In 1886, the agents of the owner of the tithe, who is a vicar in a neighbouring parish, compelled his brother in the Church to pay the tithe incident upon the *whole* of the two fields, and they gave him in return the legal comfort that he might, if he liked, make the occupants of the other new houses repay him their several shares. Such is the law. The vicar, upon being appealed to, merely replied that he was sorry if any injustice had been committed, but that *he made it a rule never to interfere with his collectors!* The mountain of the Roman law did produce the lively principle, *qui facit per alium facit per se*,—i.e., whoever gets a thing done should be as liable as if he did it himself. This seems like justice, but the vicar and his brethren of the counting-house put the principle aside, and pocket money collected by their agents with the smiling thought, "It doesn't smell." If it did show whence it came, much of it would be stained like the "thirty pieces of silver," of which no doubt the vicar has often told his hearers. He, however, is not particularly blame-worthy, for teachers and preachers at all times have naturally been neither better nor worse than their generation.

C. J. F.

At the Church Congress last week the opening speaker grew eloquent in his denunciations of those who act "in the hope of attaining some revolutionary or Socialistic success." . . . "In these days of tampering with the rights of private property, it is not for the Church to lower her voice as she proclaims, 'Thou shalt not steal.'" If the Bishop of Edinburgh fully understood these words of his own, he would even more loudly cry out "Thou shalt not steal"; but the cry would not be directed against those who attack the "rights of property," but against those who are upholding these so-called rights of the thief-landlord to his stolen land, of the robber capitalist to his heaped-up plunder. Workers, the privileged classes have robbed us too long, let us join and say to them, not in entreaty but in stern command, "Thou shalt not steal."—F. H.

## "THE REWARD OF GENIUS."

I have often wondered how the guardians of men of genius William Morris wrote about lately would have managed if everybody had been capable of doing "brain-work." I am inclined to think that their lives would have been rendered not very happy ones by their protégés. They would have been placed in the dilemma of making each genius do his fair share of the necessary manual labour of the community, or getting certain of them to do the whole of it, division-of-labour fashion. If it had been possible to obtain the adoption of the latter course, it would have been found necessary to pay the hand-workers much higher than the intellectual workers in order that the former might be compensated for the deprivation of a pleasurable means of gaining a livelihood. An experience of this kind would quickly cause a recognition of the advantages of living in a community composed of men of various tastes and capacities, where for nearly every kind of work, intellectual or physical, useful to the society, there are individuals who find it pleasurable, and where, consequently, hand-workers are content to be paid at no *higher* a rate than brain-workers; "and the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; or again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you."

J. H. S.

## JESUS CHRIST AND COMMUNISM.

As a Communist and a lover of Christ, and seeing that my aim and the aim of all Communists is to bring about a state of society like that which existed amongst his immediate followers, I am pained to find that we often meet with opposition amongst those who call themselves Christians. "And all they that believed were together, and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all, as every man had need." These are the words of the book which these self-styled Christians profess to venerate. Does not the Communist motto, "From each according to his abilities; to each according to his needs," represent accurately that early Christian society? Why, then, do the nineteenth century followers of Jesus rail at us, and abuse us for wishing to make this system of life universal? The reason of its failure 1800 years ago was that it was not universal; it was cramped and confined by a hostile surrounding of foes, who acted towards it in the same abusive spirit which to-day they use against us. The teachings of Jesus (so far as we know them) are full of Communism. To-day, when we cry out for freedom, and say that earth should hold "no master, high or low," we are called fools; but, oh Christian! have you not read the words of your great teacher: "Call not any man master"?

Why do you venerate his saying, and blame us for repeating it? He advised men to recognise no lord but Truth; we do the same. You tell us that we should do an act of wrong, a deed of robbery, if we took away the right of the capitalist, of the landlord, of the banker to live upon the labour of the worker; you tell us it would be theft if we took the property which these men possess, and restored it to the worker; but have you not read how Jesus took a scourge of knotted cords and drove *by force* the usurers from the temple, calling them thieves? From the temple of social life we too would drive the usurers, we too say that they have made that temple "a den of thieves." Why, then, do you reverence the action and its accompanying outspoken epithet in his mouth, and rail at us when we utter it? I will tell you why. Because the spirit of your professed teacher is not in you; because you have built for yourselves a god of selfishness and a temple of greed; and were Jesus on earth to-day, to whom more than to you would his words apply—"Ye hypocrites! a people that draweth nigh unto me with their mouth and honoreth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon"? It is time that a Christ arose to-day, who would look straight in the face of the miserable sham which you call Christianity, and tell you plainly that it is hypocritical and corrupt; that your society is rotten to the core, and must be swept away and replaced by a nobler and purer state. Like your prototypes, the Pharisees, you would scorn and revile him, and perhaps legally murder him (witness the Chicago trial, worthy, in its mockery of justice, to place beside that which condemned the man Christ). But that your society is a sink of vices is but too true, film the ulcerous place as you will.

Did Jesus live to-day he would not be found uttering smooth words to a wealthy congregation for any sum from £1,000 to £10,000 a year; nor in the humbler ranks of paid agitators who, for a consideration of from £150 to £500 a year, will tell people to be good and shun the fires of hell; but, as he was of old, at the street corners, amongst the "publicans and sinners," scorned by the Pharisees of wealth, preaching a gospel to the poor, and in all probability "having not where to lay his head." His right reverend disciple, who has been called of God (that is, has been offered a higher salary), would not recognise him, further than perhaps to get him locked up for obstruction, or charged with sedition; and I venture to suggest that the poor Jewish Communist would to-day find his comrades amongst the Socialists, and not amongst the body of his so-called followers, who, living in the odour of respectability, know nothing whatever of the nature of the teacher of Nazareth.

FRED HENDERSON.

"Mrs. Annie Field, in a letter to the *Nation*, suggests that if, during the than embargo in Boston last winter, the Charlestown State Prison convicts had been worked in chain-gangs on the streets, the public could have traversed the highways without loss of time or money, and the men themselves would have felt the "benefit of wholesome labour," etc.—*Woman's Journal*.

Women are the practical members of Society after all, and the sooner such shining lights are inscribed on the voting registers the better—for a well-satisfied bourgeoisie. What a touching picture this philanthropic lady calls up, of the gangs of men heavy with chains, and heavy with their own brute-patient sullenness and hopelessness, working at their "wholesome, beneficial" labour, among the stream of busy citizens of righteous life! An edifying sight truly for the sensitive women who can speak so eloquently of the slavery and oppression of their sex! Are they unimpressed by the degradation and enslaved condition of men likewise?—M. M.





"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 15.

ENGLAND	Der Sozialist	BELGIUM
Club and Institute Journal	John Swinton's Paper	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair
Church Reformer	Boston—Woman's Journal	En Avant
Freethinker	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	Liege—L'Avenir
Justice	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Antwerp—De Werker
Leicester Co-operative Record	Toledo (O.)—Industrial News	SWITZERLAND
Norwich—Daylight	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Practical Socialist	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	SPAIN
The Socialist	Herald	Madrid—El Socialista
The Dynamiter	Tribune	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Worker's Friend	Daily News	Barcelona—La Tronada
Radical	Times	PORTUGAL
INDIA	Salem (Oreg.) Advance-Thought	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Madras—People's Friend	Portland (Oreg.) Avant-Courier	Voz do Operario
Allahabad—People's Budget	Paterson (N.J.) Labor Standard	AUSTRIA
Bombay—Times of India	Detroit (Mich.)—Labor Leaf	Brunn—Volksfreund
Voice of India	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	HUNGARY
CANADA	FRANCE	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	ROUMANIA
New South Wales.	Le Socialiste	Bucharest—Pruncul Roman
Sydney—Bulletin	Le Revolte	Jassy—Lupta
UNITED STATES	Guise—Le Devoir	NORWAY
Model Commonwealth	Lille—Le Travailleur	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
New York—Volkszeitung	HOLLAND	SWEDEN
Freiheit	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker		

RECEIVED.—"Emigration and the Unemployed"—"Nationalisation of the Land."

## TITHES: THE INCOME OF THE CHURCH.

### IV.

IN dealing with the question of the tithe rent-charge, we must always bear in mind that the rent-charge is a variable sum, and that it varies from year to year. The estimate is based on the average price of wheat, barley, and oats for the previous seven years. Thus the rent-charge for 1886 rests on the average prices of those articles for the seven years ending 1885. When the average price of wheat is 5s. 10½d., that of barley 4s. 4½d., and oats 2s. 11½d. the imperial bushel, the rent-charge is said to be at par. When the average prices for the seven years are higher, the income of the clergy is larger; when the average prices are lower, the income of the clergy is less in proportion. Hence the interest of the clergy is like that of the landlord: the higher the prices the higher the rent-charge; and low prices, which are a benefit to the great mass of the people, are opposed to the interests of both the clergy and the landlord. The averages being for seven years, it sometimes happens that prices are low when tithes are high, or prices are high when tithes are low.

The income of the Church, as far as the rent-charge goes, increases or decreases as the rent-charge rises or falls. To illustrate the operation we will take a few years as samples between 1870 and 1880. Taking the clerical tithes as returned in 1839 at £5,333,400, and assuming them to be correct for the sake of argument, the case would stand as follows: For every £100 rent-charge as fixed, it would be—

	£	s.	d.	£
In 1870 ...	104	1	0,	raising the income to 5,386,750
" 1871 ...	104	15	0	" 5,533,402
" 1872 ...	105	4	0	" 5,600,070
" 1873 ...	110	15	10½	" 5,877,990
" 1874 ...	112	7	3	" 5,969,308
" 1875 ...	112	15	6½	" 6,007,591
" 1876 ...	112	7	10	" 5,969,508
" 1877 ...	109	17	9½	" 5,738,634
" 1878 ...	100	4	9½	" 5,353,500

We thus see that the interest of the clergy is in high prices, while that of the people is in low prices. The interests of the clergy and the people are diametrically opposed to each other. And thus the clergy and the aristocracy ever go hand in hand, and against the people, their interests being identical.

From the above returns it will be seen that the income of the Church varies with the rise or fall of prices. Nevertheless I will deal with the question of the income of the Church as far as we can. We have seen that by the returns of 1835 the gross income was stated at £3,757,513, and the net at £3,456,361. As I have said, everybody knew those returns were fictitious; nobody accepted them as true. And it must be admitted that it is very difficult to get at the truth as to what the income is. If we take the question of tithes alone there is much difficulty in reaching anything like the actual amount. If we take the agricultural returns near the close of the last and the beginning of the present century, included in the returns of 1832, we find the following. In 1790 the average tithe per acre was 5s. 0½d., giving a gross total of £6,462,500. In 1803 the average was 5s. 3½d., and with the increased land under cultivation gave a gross total of £8,431,000. In 1813 the average was 7s. 9½d., and the gross total £10,893,500. The average of the three periods would be 6s. 8½d., and the average gross total £8,595,666. It was estimated that one-third were lay tithes and two-thirds clerical. The average per acre to-day is not far short of 7s.—perhaps more than that. But since the Commutation Act of 1836 in many cases the rent-charge has been redeemed for a lump-sum. In the return for 1878 of the Tithe Commission, dated January 31, 1879, it is stated that 3144 applications had been received for the redemption of the rent-charge; that 2660 such redemptions had been completed; that tithes to the amount of £6365, 1s. 6½d. had been redeemed for a sum of £160,602, 1s. 1d. In the yearly report of the Land Commission for England for 1883 (issued in 1884), it is stated (p. 8) that 5295 applications for redemption of rent-charge had been received; that the amount of rent-charge redeemed was £11,318, 17s. 4½d. for the sum of £285,581, 12s. 11½d. The Report states that the redemption continues to increase, especially in the neighbourhood of towns, and that this has been facilitated under the additional powers contained in the Act 41 & 42 Vict. ch. 42. But these redemptions do not decrease the income of the Church, the funds thus realised being invested by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

Then as to the landed property held by the Church, it is very difficult indeed to get at any estimate that is at all correct. In the introduction to the New Doomsday Book it is stated that all lands held by clerical and charitable bodies are marked in italics. Yet in the county of Buckingham, while there are only five so marked, there are no less than 235 clerical holdings. In the county of Hertford the number in italics is three, and the number of clerical holdings 189. Again, in Lancashire the numbers are seven and 186 respectively. These clerical holdings would include glebe, etc. According to the New Doomsday Book, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners hold lands in every English county but two—Shropshire and Westmorland; and in Wales in every county but three—Brecon, Merioneth, and Glamorgan. In Berkshire they held 1826 acres; in Cambridgeshire, 4748; Devonshire, 5390; Kent, 10,591; Durham, 28,868. The total is returned at 149,882, and the rental £311,207, 16s. These are lands held by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. But the above statement is not correct,—that is, it does not tell the whole truth. Taking the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' own Report for 1876, this item occurs: "Rental of estates invested in the Commissioners, £778,969, 7s. 6d., being a difference between their own returns and the returns in the New Doomsday Book, and for the same year, of £467,761, 11s. 6d. It is necessary to state here that the Metropolis is not included in the New Doomsday Book, and therefore we have no means of knowing what property the Commissioners there hold. Again, the estimated value in fee-simple of lands surrendered by the archbishops and bishops is given at £10,490,000; but Mr. Martin ('Church Revenues, p. 128, 1878) shows it to be over £20,000,000. That of deans and chapters surrendered is returned at £12,683,000, and Mr. Martin states it is really over £16,000,000. It is really very strange that no truthful returns can be obtained from these clerical bodies. Oh, how the Christian world is gulled and the people plundered by these wolves in sheep's clothing!

As far as the general income of the clergy goes, it is impossible to get at it. In Rivington's 'Clerical Directory' for 1847, the income of the Church is stated at £10,000,000 per annum. 26 bishops, 700 cathedral dignitaries, and 4000 incumbents received a total of £9,000,000, being an average of £1692 15s. Out of 11,331 livings at that time, 7026 were held by 2885 clergymen, as follows:—

1	Clergyman held	8	Livings,	Total	8
5	"	7	" each	"	35
12	"	6	"	"	72
64	"	5	"	"	320
209	"	4	"	"	836
567	"	3	"	"	1701
2027	"	2	"	"	4054

Total 2885

Total 7026

In trying to ascertain the income of the Church to-day, we have the income of the bishops as fixed by law amounting to £163,300, but the 28 archbishops and bishops have among them 33 palaces of the annual value, as stated by Mr. Martin, of £13,200. In addition, they enjoy 30,233 acres of land of the yearly value of £40,854. Then the 27 Chapters of deans and canons have a returned income of £123,194. But their residences, etc., are of the yearly value of £56,806, in addition to having 68,838 acres of the annual value of £136,488. The

Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in their Report for 1884 (issued 1885), give their total income at £1,797,768, 15s. 3d. This includes a balance of £764,523, 2s. 4d., but leaves a balance of £717,768, 15s. 3d. This gives the income for the year at £1,751,014, 8s. 2d. In 1876 the income of the Commissioners was £1,415,989, 15s. 9d. The income is, therefore, increasing very rapidly. We also find that the Commissioners have invested in Government and other securities (pp. 16, 17), £5,970,892, 7s. 7d., and cash £3,367,230, 10s. 8d. Again, in 1876, income from landed estates vested in the Commissioners was returned at £778,969, 7s. 6d.; in 1884 the rental is returned at £934,098, 1s. 8d. Turning to the Report of the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, we find the income for the year 1883 (p. 7), £240,552, 1s. 7d. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge also hold large tracts of land. The former holds 126,879 acres in fifty-four counties in England and Wales, and of a yearly rental of £219,111. The latter holds in thirty-seven counties 108,764 acres, with a rental of £192,453. Then the glebe lands of the regular clergy are stated to be 249,870 acres, which at only £2 per acre would give £499,740 per annum. The glebe houses, 10,000 in number, are estimated of the yearly value of £1,000,000. The clerical tithes we may take at the estimate of 1883, viz., £5,353,500. There are also many other sources of income. Fees for marriages, burials, etc., are estimated at not less than £500,000 per annum. The income from chaplainships is about £20,000 a year. There are also school and charitable foundations, from which the clergy derive very rich pickings. The annual value of the churches, not those built or partly so by private efforts, is estimated at not less than £3,000,000. With regard to the property of the Church, in 1875 it was estimated at £175,807,625, as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Property of Archbishops and Bishops ...	20,980,000	0	0
Property of Deans and Chapters ...	16,000,000	0	0
Glebe Lands and Houses ...	27,493,400	0	0
Lands held by Ecclesiastical Commissioners ...	19,474,225	0	0
Value of Churches ...	91,860,000	0	0
Total ...	175,807,625	0	0
Less Private Endowments (Eccles. Com. Rep.), 1885 ...	7,423,571	0	0
Public Property ...	168,384,054	0	0
To which must be added—			
Cash and Securities of Eccles. Com. ...	9,338,122	18	3
Securities, etc., of Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty ...	4,341,590	18	9
Total Public Property ...	£182,063,667	16	0

We are sometimes told that the Church has not benefited by its connection with the State. But such a statement is simply absurd. Let us take a few items. Not going further back than the Reformation:—

	£	s.	d.
Tithes, 1536 to 1880, estimated at ...	1,262,740,000	0	0
Coal Tax, London, 1546 to 1667 ...	1,951,000	0	0
Church Rates, 1549 to 1868 ...	134,618,000	0	0
Tithe on Rent, 2s. 9d. in the £, 121 years, at only 1s. 9d. it would give ...	8,215,000	0	0
Parliamentary Grants, 1800 to 1842 ...	4,035,040	0	0
" " Educational Purposes, 1820 to 1869 ...	11,000,000	0	0
For Building Churches, 1818 and 1821 ...	1,500,000	0	0
Lands and Money in lieu of Tithes under the Enclosure Acts, up to 1865 ...	28,040,000	0	0
Eight Items only ...	£1,452,099,040	0	0

Then there are all the other sources of income, all secured to the clergy by the law of the land.

What a picture the Church presents, with its "Ritualistic clergy" teaching the dogmas of the Church of Rome; its "Evangelical clergy," a small minority; the "Broad, or Philosophical clergy," and the "Fox-hunting, Ball-going clergy," all living on the plunder of the toiling millions.

J. SKETCHLEY.

(To be continued).

"The king can do no wrong" is an old phrase, to be changed in our time to "Government can do no wrong." A salient instance is the recent death of the man who was undergoing twelve months' imprisonment in Pentonville prison. Though he was killed by the negligence of the governor and the engineer, by being sent down into a disused well where it was certain that noxious gases would have accumulated, Devonport's family can claim no compensation from the Government, though a private employer would have been liable. It is left to the coroner's jury to subscribe £1 amongst them for the widow and children of the unfortunate victim!—U.

THE VALUE OF EMIGRATION HANDBOOKS.—On page 21 of the handbook issued by the Government of Victoria we find the following: "There is probably no country in the world that offers such attractions to working-men as Victoria. There it is not unusual for the agricultural labourer, the artisan, and the mechanic to find several masters competing for his services, and outbidding each other in order to obtain them." In the *Daily News* of Saturday, October 9th, I find an article on the Emigration Bureau, which states "that the demand for labour in Victoria is nil." Comment is needless.—D. N.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### "CAPITALISTIC ADVANTAGES OF VEGETARIANISM."

SIR,—Your correspondents, R. C. Buist, Philip R. Domoney, and Charles Walkden, attack the position I take in the *Commonweal*, August 28, respecting the vegetarian circular. Before replying to the various objections, I must point out that the great point which induced me to comment on the subject was a politico-economic consideration, how it would affect wages. This point has been very slightly touched on, although it forms the central point in the discussion. R. C. Buist, however, has done most justice to the subject, and has put his objections in the most scientific form, and I shall, therefore, answer him at some length. He says, the adoption of a vegetarian diet "is a sure if indirect way of bringing people into contact with the whole social problem, and of giving them energy to face it and money to help out the solution." How people are brought "in contact with the whole social problem" by becoming vegetarians, I am at an entire loss to discover, as I am equally at a loss to understand how, in a country like England, the population can become more energetic by living entirely on vegetables! Although the latter proposition is rather outside the question I have taken up, I will not let it pass without an answer. England is low-lying, humid, and characterised by rapid changes of temperature; a condition which requires a large percentage of nitrogenous and carbonaceous food in order to give a sufficient animal heat. "100 parts of beef," says Chambers, "yield 52.59 carbon, 7.89 hydrogen, 19.0 oxygen, 15.22 nitrogen, and 3.30 insoluble matter," an analysis I defy any vegetarian to approach for heat-giving principles in the same proportion of vegetable matter.

R. C. Buist says also my opposition arises from two misconceptions, viz., (1) "That any one who economises his personal expenditure makes a capitalistic use of his wealth;" and (2) "That standard of comfort means the number of pence spent for food." As regards the first, I did not enquire what use might be made of the sovereigns of any one who may adopt vegetarianism, but, on the contrary, failed to see how even the few could save anything which could be any great advantage. These were the words. I used in my comments: "Of course, while a few individuals take the advantage of a cheaper diet they may save a little, if they are very economical." The last five words I even italicised. There is nothing I have said which would lead any one, except my critic, to suppose that I intended to lay down the second proposition in the form he has been pleased to use. The mere number of pence spent in anything means but little. I measure the standard of comfort by the purchasing power of a man's wages, as compared with his power to produce, consume, and enjoy. "If one gets nothing but food out of life, then the amount of food may be taken to measure the amount of comfort," says my critic; certainly, and what, pray, besides food, do the working-classes get to-day? The vile preparations that are sold to the labourer as food would, in many cases, be rejected by the savage. The labourer has no such freedom of choice, he must either eat them or starve. "And if there be any margin over this spent in the pleasures of life, this must be reckoned to the amount of comfort." Exactly so. But where, I would ask, does the margin begin with the working-classes? After they have supplied their immediate wants with 14s., which represents an average as wages, or, according to Professor Leoni Levi, 18s. 7d., where does the comfort-margin begin?

Then your correspondent displays an innocence which is quite touching. "Were," he says, "there any likelihood of a general economy before the workers are so far educated as to interfere with the iron law, this would be a disadvantage." Is it possible that my critic is disposed to dispute the existence of a "general economy"? If so, how came the admission of an "iron law"?

Your next correspondent, P. R. Domoney, criticises partly in the form of questions. First, he accuses me with attacking vegetarians; this I deny. That there are many thinking persons among vegetarians I readily admit, some of whom are very good Socialists, and belong to the League. After dealing a blow at the working-classes and apologising for the capitalist, he says, referring to me, "the writer says by a cheaper diet they (the masses) may save a little if they are very economical." This is just the reverse of what I said. The word "they" in the quotation meant "the few individuals" specified in the context, and not as my critic has been pleased to interpret it.

As to Charles Walkden, I had to read his letter very carefully to fully comprehend him. I do not look on him as an opponent, but rather as a friend. I admit much of what he says respecting the mode of cooking vegetables, only the same thing applies with equal force to the cooking of anything else. Good and expensive utensils are required to cook our ordinary food, which could be had easily by everybody under Socialism, which can only be got by the wealthy few to-day. If our friend thinks, however, that the mere expense of cooking apparatus will prevent the cutting down of wages if vegetable diet was to become general among the working-classes, he is, in my opinion, greatly mistaken. It could only result in a greater monopoly by the capitalist in the means of cooking, which, indeed, is already the case with vegetable meals. Cheapness, as we are able to see if we only wish to look, cannot, in a capitalist system, benefit the workers; they can only, as a body, lessen their cost as labourers, and by that means befriending the capitalists at the expense of their own vitality.

H. DAVIS.

### A NEW METHOD OF PROPAGANDA.

SIR,—It can scarcely have escaped your observation that the propaganda of Socialism in England, Scotland, and Wales, owing to a cause not difficult to discover but important to nullify, is confined to the chief centres of population. The cause, in brief, is that the lecturers of the various organisations are men who have neither the time nor money necessary to enable them to journey far into, or dwell any length of time within, the country.

A few of the reasons that make it imperative that the country should be initiated at once into the nature of the movement now threatening the central authorities situated in the great towns will not be out of place here. First, a number of those men who are destined to guide the movement by their superior intelligence and vigour are now outside the sphere of travelling intelligence which is destined to reach them in the immediate future. These men are the natural leaders of the people, and even now many of them may be found moulding the opinions of those around them. It is important that while a general intelligence concerning the aims of the Socialist movement should be circulated among the peasants and operatives of the country and smaller towns, these naturally superior men should be given time and

opportunity to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the dangers that will attend the period of transition from present to future methods of administration.

Secondly, were there a movement in the chief towns in which the country did not participate, the reactionary tendency of ignorance would nullify or confuse the efforts of the central authorities to maintain order and a state of patient expectation in the public mind.

Thirdly, should the central authorities be upset, and consequently public credit shaken, while the country districts remain in ignorance of, and therefore without confidence in, the aims of the new administrators, the market supplies of the great towns would be cut off.

Fourthly, it is in the country districts that the foundation of the future local communes must be laid.

These reasons, Sir, apart from the general importance of the extension of the area of propaganda, have inclined me to lay before you, as an invitation to the criticism of your readers, a new method of propaganda—a method that may be expected to complete the area of the sphere of social activity in this country. I propose that the island be divided into a number of districts, and that, as they can be procured, a van and horse be placed in each district. In this van are to sleep and live one permanent lecturer—a constant channel of communication between men and means in his district and the central authorities—and also two occasional lecturers, drawn from that large body of men who can give two or three weeks at a time to the purpose. Each permanent lecturer would be expected to be thoroughly acquainted with the political and social character of his district. These vans would naturally become centres for the distribution of literature throughout the country.

I propose that a fund be raised for the procuring of such vans and horses. In conclusion, I commend this plan of propaganda most earnestly to the attention not only of Socialists, but also of those persons who desire that the economic crisis which is now rapidly approaching should come upon a nation prepared and in its strength rather than one in its extreme members decayed and ignorant.

M. B. WILLIAMS.

4 Bernard Street, Russel Sq., London.

#### DOG-MUZZLING.

May I request the insertion of a few lines in reply to Mr. Belfort Bax, as he quite misunderstands the spirit of many who object to the recent police regulations. For many years there were several philanthropic persons who strongly protested against the Contagious Diseases (Women) Acts. It would have been unjust to charge them with advocating "Free Trade in Syphilis." At the present time there are hundreds of persons who object to the Compulsory Vaccination Acts. It would be equally wrong to say that they were desirous of Free Trade in Small-pox. Similarly, Mr. Bax makes a mistake in representing those who object to dog-muzzling, as wishing Free Trade in Hydrophobia. One objection to the Contagious Diseases Acts was that they did not stamp out syphilis; one objection to the Compulsory Vaccination Acts is that they have not stamped out small-pox; and similarly the objection to the dog-muzzling regulations of Sir Charles Warren is that they will not stamp out rabies.

THOS. BARRETT.

26 Suffolk-street, S.W., Oct. 7, 1886.

#### LITERARY NOTICES.

*To-Day* for current month has a tale, "Blood," by Fabian Bland, written in the style of the "shilling shocker," with an apology for a plot and much gruesomeness of detail. Very interesting articles are "Sending a Wire," by John Broadhouse; "Does it Pay?" by Edward Carpenter; and "Socialists of the Arm-chair," by H. H. Champion. The latter is a crushing reply to Sydney Olivier's milk-and-water lucubrations upon "Perverse Socialism."

H. S.

'The Old Order Changes' is a thin, verbose novel from the pen of that pseudo-philosophical Catholic, W. H. Mallock. Nine hundred vapid pages are relieved by a few venomous vomitings of weak spite, and by some concessions to Socialistic theory. The heroine of the tale proposes to reform the world and liberate the worker by establishing Catholic factories, the toilers in which are to receive lower wages, giving the profits to Protestants who are out of work! In the factory-yard a great crucifix is to stand. No more fitting place could be found for the sign of "the martyrdom of man," nor any place more fitting for the symbol of coming judgment. Mr. Mallock's employers should keep an eye on him: he is dangerously ironical.

Messrs. R. Bentley and Son have just published a work of much interest to all students of the economic problems of our time. The book is entitled 'Introduction to a History of the Factory System.' Its author is Mr. Whately Cooke Taylor whose position as an inspector of factories has given him more than ordinary interest in his subject, and more than ordinary opportunities of information. It is occasion for regret that the modesty of the writer has so much restricted his performance, and we hope that he may yet be induced to carry to completion his original design of writing a History of the Factory System. The present volume is a comprehensive, clearly arranged, and concise account of the various forms of industrial organisation from pre-historic times to the beginning of the present epoch. Mr. Cooke Taylor tells in a colourless impartial way that sad story of the exploitation of the worker which awaits the treatment of a man of genius to appear as the tragedy of our race. It is to be regretted that the price of the book will keep it out of the hands of those most interested in it; but such will do well to get it a place in libraries to which they have access. Some few of Mr. Cooke Taylor's conclusions respecting the industrial condition of the English people seem to require reconsideration, but on the whole we find few causes for complaint. The chief failure we note is the neglect to fulfil the hope held out in the preface that "the right moral" of the history would be suggested. This is hardly attempted. Perhaps the author felt the task too controversial for a strictly historical pen; possibly he reserves it for an ensuing volume. The following passage, which closes the chapter on "The Stuart Period," indicates that he is not without some perception of the immoralities which, rightly looked out, will supply him with the needed moral when he finds time to tell it:

"From this time forth competition makes its appearance as a prime motive-power in the history of English industry: a figure of portentous import, extending to growing millions the open hand of plenty, or crushing them under its iron heel, according as it is viewed, as it is availed of, as it is understood. The continued growth of population and of a capitalist class was already affording this principle the opportunity of displaying its characteristic features in its two most characteristic ways: in promoting the accumulation of wealth, and the depreciation of labour."

W. S.

#### A SWABIAN BALLAD.

(By JOHANNES SCHERR. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

In the pious and happy Swabian land  
Peace and Plenty go hand in hand.

On the slopes of its hills the corn and the vine  
Fill storehouse and cellar with wheat and wine.

And hundreds of Barons and Counts live there,  
And Pastors with sheep that they have in their care

And Progress is counted an excellent thing,  
And they praise the Lord God and their Lord the King.

At Stuttgart the people can go to the play,  
Or hear what their orators have to say.

And soldiers of all sorts swarm in the place,  
And numberless lackeys in orders and lace.

Its Letters and Arts are a great success,  
And its trade and its traffic succeed no less.

In the midst of all this Swabian glory  
There happened the following sad sort of story.

For there lived in the town a certain sinner  
With five children and nothing to give them for dinner.

And their hopeless cries for a morsel of bread  
Made something go wrong in the poor man's head

But one long night, as he lay awake,  
A terrible plan did this poor man make.

In the morning he sent his wife out of the way,  
And he sharpened a jack-knife his children to slay.

And he laughed like a madman to think of the fun,  
And piously prayed that God's will might be done.

To his brats who slept all in one blanket he went,  
And his knife through the throat of the youngest he sent.

And he gave the second its death, and the third,  
And the fourth—though it struggled—with never a word

And his hand in his madness he did not stay,  
Till dead in its blood his fifth child lay.

Then round him he looked in horror and dread,  
And uttered a terrible curse, and fled.

But they caught him, and fettered his hands and his feet,  
And it made for the lawyers a regular treat.

To the children's grave came a priest, and he  
Was e'en as pathetic as ever could be.

For his text was the ruffian's desperate case,  
And God's loving-kindness and infinite grace.

#### INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES. GREAT BRITAIN.

THE LANCASHIRE COTTON TRADE.—At Bolton three mills, employing 11,000 hands in the cotton-trade, are running three days only a-week. Four others are stopped altogether, the operatives preferring this alternative to reduction in their wages.

OPPRESSION IN LANCASHIRE MILLS.—One of the owners of a private mill in Oldham has some cottages which he expects his workmen and workwomen to occupy. One of these said workwomen, thinking to exercise her freedom, leaves to go to a house which does not give such unpleasant evidence of drains, for which she is discharged without notice, after being twice sent for by the overlooker and brought out in the wet from five to six in the morning, and kept outside the mill from six to seven. She naturally asked for an explanation, but received instead a threat that she would be thrown out.

MIDDLETON.—A young man employed as a piecer in a cotton mill at Middleton, recently met with an accident in consequence of the traversing portion of the mule coming into contact with his leg, inflicting a wound which has not as yet presented any sign of its ever being healed up. In consequence of this the young man has been compelled to leave permanently his work in the mule room, and the firm considered that they had sufficiently discharged their obligations for his permanent disablement by permitting him to descend to the card room, and learn to work in that department. Here, too, it was found when he had qualified for and obtained a situation that his leg would no more stand the strain and work of the card room than it would the mule room, and he was then transferred to the blowing room, but in consequence of his infirmity he must have 17½ per cent. less than the man who made room for him. Here, too, the injury inflicted by the mule carriage was found to be of too serious a character to admit of his ever being able to do his work efficiently, but compelled him to absent himself in order to give rest to the increasing infirmity of his leg. This was unfortunate, but it was increased ten-fold when he was told that he could not start again as they could not have their machinery stopped for poorly folks.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

NORTH HERTS AND CAMBS.—On all hands are heard fears, more or less earnestly expressed, as to what will become of the labourers in the coming winter. The district for a radius of 15 miles is purely agricultural. Many of the farmers have already turned a number of their men off. Only yesterday I heard of seven cases in one village in the neighbouring county of Essex, and more were expected. Reductions of wages are going on all



round, and 10s. a-week is the most that is being paid. Some of the larger farmers are telling one another (they dare not tell the men) that 8s. a-week is ample for any poor man to live on! And many of them consume that amount in wine after their dinner every night! One employer that I am acquainted with has been told that the labourers in India do not obtain more than 9d. a-day, and he seems extremely anxious to try the experiment on his own men. One has but to hint at the changes we are working for, and the men catch at the hope like drowning creatures. It is difficult to imagine a more down-trodden people, domineered over by parson (who is monarch of all he surveys in these outlying country villages) and money-bag. But I am sure that many converts are ready to be made, and the Gospel of Socialism will find no ground for disappointment amongst the agricultural labourers.—P. C. W.

**SOCIALISM AMONGST THE SCOTTISH MINERS.**—At a large demonstration of miners held in the Burgh Hall, Airdrie, on Thursday last, speeches of a decidedly Socialist character were delivered by several of the delegates, and received with marked approval. Comrade P. Valera, of Milan, who was present by invitation, delivered a short Socialist address, his sentiments being exceedingly well received. Afterwards a resolution—moved and seconded by miners' delegates—sending greeting to the miners of Italy, and expressing the hope that the miners of all countries would soon unite and take joint action against the oppression of landlords and capitalists, was carried with great enthusiasm, and handed to comrade Valera to convey to the miners of Italy.—J. G.

### AMERICA.

**STRIKE AT CHICAGO.**—Eight thousand of the workmen engaged in the seven principal packing houses in Chicago have struck work owing to the refusal of their employers to withdraw the notice issued announcing the introduction of a ten hours' working day. Some slight rioting occurred, the strikers compelling a number of men to quit work. A telegram on the 9th describes the situation as gloomy. The employers expected 1500 armed special police on Monday.

"Alfonz Loissell, an avowed Socialist, and a carpenter by trade, made a speech at the corner of Halsted and Randolph Streets yesterday afternoon, and collected quite a crowd. Officer Cordon ordered him to move on, but he refused, and defied the policeman to arrest him. Cordon took him to the station and booked him for blockading the sidewalk."—*Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 25.

Not much more than a week before, the *Tribune* had been declaring that no Socialist could speak in Chicago without being lynched by the crowd!

**CINCINNATI.**—At Cincinnati, O., the bricklayers recently demanded that none but union hod carriers be employed, and the contractors locked the bricklayers out. The men then adopted a novel course; they applied to persons having buildings under construction for permission to finish the buildings themselves, thus cutting out the contractors. The movement attracts considerable attention, and causes some uneasiness among the builders.

**STRIKE OF CIGAR-MAKERS IN CUBA.**—Intelligence from Cuba states that a strike has broken out among the cigar-makers at Havana and other places on the island, by which 20,000 persons are affected. Much suffering prevails among the strikers, who have implored assistance from their fellow-workers in the United States.

### FRANCE.

**NORD.**—The utter disregard of the 12 hours' law on the part of the manufacturers is increasing every day. Not only at Flers, where the renowned Bernadotte obliges his employés to work 15, 16, 17, and even 18 hours a-day, and declares his intention of continuing to do so, but throughout the whole extent of this miserable region the masters laugh at the law. Here are a few cases which show that it is time to take severe measures. At one establishment at Roubaix lately, the men had to work from 6 a.m. till midnight; those who from sheer exhaustion refused to continue, were dismissed. At another place in the same town it is better still, 15 hours a-day for 3fr. 25c. is the rule. At Gilboe, sometimes children are employed, who work from six in the morning till two in the morning, making a "day" of 18 hours. When a visit from the inspector is awaited, the children are dismissed for a couple of days, so that nothing is amiss. When will it be resolved to make the law respected?—*Le Travailleur*.

**FINE ART IN THE FACTORIES.**—At Bernadotte's, 53 workmen after having worked for 15 hours, were each and all subjected to a fine of 10c. for having left two minutes before the hour. At Armentieres, the weavers are asking themselves what is going to happen next, for the lowest possible level seems to have been reached among them. From 8fr. to 10fr. weekly is the most they can make; the materials given out are very bad in quality, and yet they are expected to make thereof good cloth without the least fault, the fines imposed in consequence causing a serious diminution in the wage. Among all the small ways complicated and simple of exploiting the worker, that of petty fining is by far the simple, indeed quite artistic in its simplicity.

**"VIVE LA REPUBLIQUE!" A SEDITIOUS CRY.**—At Clermont a young man was arrested the other night for having cried out "Vive la République!" in the street. On a protestation being sent to the Procureur de la République by several citizens, the following reply was made: "The gendarme has herein maintained his right to report on all cries made in the streets after eight in the evening." After sixteen years of a Republican régime we have arrived thus far!—*Cri du Peuple*.

**THE REGISTRY AGENTS IN PARIS.**—Following the example of the coffee-waiters, the hotel waiters of Paris have decided to organise themselves so as to procure work without having recourse to the bureaux de placement. A meeting was held the other day, at which it was reported that 300 names had been already received since September 25. A meeting of bakers was also held this week to discuss the best means of suppressing the agencies. Reports were heard from a delegation sent to the prefect of police, who of course had replied that material proof must be found against the agents before the prefecture could take any steps. On October 20 is to be the final coup: on that day no one in need of a situation is to go near the agencies, and general boycotting is to be the only manifestation. It is good to know that the citizens of Paris are rousing themselves to shake off at least one absurd and preposterous piece of tyranny and exploitation.

**LA ROCHELLE.**—300 French strikers have prevented the Italian workers from working in the docks of La Palisse. The work is in suspension in consequence of their action. Police, gendarmerie, and infantry, Préfet and Chief Commissioner have all flown to the scene of action. Six workers are arrested on the charge of "an attempt against freedom of labour."

### AUSTRIA.

The province of the Vienna police should, one would think, have been the concocting of the shilling dreadfuls with which we have become so familiar in England of late. The sensational details of the Anarchist plot in Vienna which have been blazoned abroad in all the newspapers of Europe would furnish materials for half-a-dozen blood-curdling tales of horror. Dynamite-bombs, fire-bottles, daggers, printing-machines, forger's implements, etc., etc., do infinite credit to the inventive genius of the police, but very little to their veracity. The unfortunate part of the whole affair is that instead of the romances of the police being received on the ordinary footing of shilling dreadfuls or three-volume novels, they are believed amongst all (so-called) peoples as being sober statements of fact. As every one knows who has been in a police-court, a policeman's word is sufficient to convict any number of people, and so probably it will be in this case. There can be little doubt that the fifteen unfortunate men who are in the clutches of the Vienna police will share the fate of those who have just been sentenced to be hanged in Chicago on December 23. But really this matter is becoming serious, not only for the Americans and Austrians, but for all Socialists. Here in England there is very great danger that in the coming winter something of the kind may happen to us. There is every prospect that the number of starving and miserable people will be greater than it has been for a very long time. If any meetings are held of these unemployed it is quite possible that some of them, driven mad by hunger and pain, may have recourse to bombs and riots. Then assuredly the police will seize on all and sundry who can be shown to have ever preached against the present system of society, and they will be sacrificed to the cries for revenge of an enraged and terror-stricken multitude. It is very evident that this Vienna affair has been got up by the police in order to strike a blow at the Socialists. Can it have anything to do with the presence of "Mr. Spencer," alias Lord Randolph Churchill, amongst the authorities at Vienna?—U.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Mile-end, to June 30. Birmingham, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Dublin, Hackney, Leeds, Merton Abbey, North London, Norwich, to August 31. Bloomsbury, Croydon, Hammersmith, Manchester, Marylebone, to September 30. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to Dec. 31.

### BRANCH REPORTS.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Friday, October 8th, Nicoll lectured on "Practical Socialism." He dealt with the cry that Socialism was "impracticable," very effectively. A good discussion followed.—W. A. C.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, October 6, A. K. Donald lectured to good audience on the "Education of the Proletariat;" good discussion followed. Several open-air meetings have been held on the Green, our speakers being received with marked enthusiasm. On Sunday, October 10th, W. A. Chambers gave a good lecture on "Socialism Explained and Defended;" a brisk discussion followed. *Commonweal* has sold well. Collected for Defence Fund, 2s. 7d.—W. B., sec.

**MARYLEBONE.**—On Sunday morning the usual meeting was held at the disputed place at the junction of Salisbury Street and Church Street, Marylebone, when comrades W. Blundell and T. E. Wardle addressed a very large and enthusiastic meeting. The police were present, but did not interfere with the speakers. In the afternoon a successful meeting was held in Hyde Park, addressed by Donald, Blundell, and Arnold. The *Commonweal* sold well.—T. E. W.

**MERTON.**—Our meeting upon the Mitcham Fair Green, on Sunday last, was larger than usual. Between 500 to 600 men stood attentively for an hour, while F. Kitz addressed them upon the "Homes of the People." He described the homes of those who build palaces and emporiums and who dwell in the slums, and pointed out the physical and moral degradation resulting from the filthy and sordid surroundings of the worker, and especially their terrible effects upon children. Want, disease, and care; improper and insufficient food; want of air, light, and recreation, are hourly and daily destroying more of our class than would fall in a battle with the might of their greedy oppressors, should they ever enter upon a conflict with us, and he urged that it would be truer patriotism for them to die so fighting, than to perish as soldiers murdering populations with whom they have no quarrel. Sale of *Commonweal* good. The Mitcham Branch will open their premises for the first lecture on Sunday, October 24th. It is felicitously situated opposite the gates of the brand-new workhouse in Merton Lane, built by the Holborn Guardians for the incarceration and punishment of the poor.—F. Kitz.

**MILE-END.**—On Tuesday, Allman addressed a good meeting on "Socialism." He showed how the workers to-day are dominated by a class, who monopolised all the wealth which they created. H. Davis also spoke. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—H. DAVIS.

**HACKNEY.**—On Wednesday, October 6, we held our usual meeting in the Broadway, Graham lectured; good discussion; *Commonweal* sold well. Two members made. The police asked Graham his name. On Sunday we held a very good meeting in Victoria Park, and Somerville spoke on "Emigration;" a very lively discussion followed. *Commonweal* sold out.—At the business meeting of this Branch, on Tuesday, 5th inst., it was unanimously resolved to form a club, the share to be 2s. 6d. All members of the League willing to assist the Branch by taking shares, or in other ways, are asked to communicate without delay with H. Graham, 12, Philip Street, Kingsland Road, or with the Secretary of the Socialist League.—J. F., sec.

**HOXTON.**—On Thursday evening, the usual outdoor meeting was held by Pope and Barker. On Sunday morning, Pope and Davis carried through a most successful meeting. It has been decided that 500 *Labour Leaflets* be ordered specially for the Branch. As the outdoor meetings will soon cease, we intend making an appeal to the subscribers to the *Commonweal* to give their names and addresses in order that the librarian may supply them with it, and thus prevent the diminution of its circulation during winter months. On Sunday evening, H. A. Barker lectured on "Socialism and Dynamite;" fair audience, sale of literature good. During the last month several new members have been made. The club in course of formation is making very satisfactory progress. The quarterly meeting of members was held on Sunday afternoon last, and much useful business was transacted. Our condition financially is very good.—H. A. B.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Wardle spoke at Harrow Road on Saturday to a good audience, but had not been speaking long before the police interfered, and just as he was giving them his name and address, seized him and hustled him off to the station most brutally. Somerville and Henderson followed, and Blundell gave a song, but none of these suffered interference.—Henderson addressed a splendid crowd in Regent's Park on Sunday morning. Over two quires of *Commonweal* were sold, and 14s. 2½d. collected for the Defence Fund.—At Osulton Street on Tuesday, Arnold, Nicoll, and Chatterton spoke. Three new members made during the week.—F. H., sec.

**SOUTH LONDON.**—This Branch is now fairly on its feet. On Sunday evening, at the North Camberwell Radical Club, Fred Henderson debated with M. J. Lyons, of the Liberty and Property Defence League, on "Socialism v. Individualism." The meeting was very largely attended, and at its close the number of members with which to start the Branch had grown to 23. Will comrades in South London please take notice of the formation of this Branch, and communicate with the Secretary?

**BINGLEY.**—Good meeting on Tuesday evening. Lea spoke explaining principles and object of League, and answered one or two questions. Four names taken, and prospects pretty good.—J. W. L., sec.

**EDINBURGH.**—On Sunday, a meeting was held in the Meadows. McCulloch (S.D.F.), McMillan, and Robertson spoke. The audience was a large and attentive one. Literature was very freely bought at the close.—J. G.

**GLASGOW.**—On Monday evening, October 4th, we held an open-air meeting at Parkhead Cross. Comrades Downie, Greer, Adams, and Glasier spoke, their expositions of Socialism being eagerly listened to and approved by a large audience of working-men. On Thursday afternoon, comrades P. Valera, of Milan, and Glasier spoke at a large demonstration of miners, held in the Burgh Hall, Airdrie, some 2000 miners being present. On Saturday no meeting was held at Motherwell; the authorities have forbidden all open-air meetings owing to the recent strike riots. The most successful meeting, however, was held at Hamilton, Downie and Glasier being the speakers. We sold all the *Commonweals* we had with us (four dozen), and a good number of pamphlets. Some more names were taken, and arrangements announced for the formation of a Branch of the League. On Sunday afternoon, comrade Greer addressed the Northern Branch of the Irish Land League, where, as on previous occasions, Socialism was very favourably received. H. M. Hyndman lectured on Sunday in the Albion Hall at 11.30 and 6.30, under the auspices of the S.D.F. At the evening meeting, which was well attended, Hyndman's lecture was received with most encouraging approval.—J. B. G.

**HULL.**—On Tuesday, October 5th, Mr. Bradlaugh's latest utterances on Socialism were read and discussed. His hazy views of the question and lame attempts at argument caused much amusement; the discussion after the reading was necessarily, like Bradlaugh's speech, somewhat of a "hop, skip, and a jump" description.—E. T.

**LESWICH.**—We had a splendid meeting on Saturday last in the Co-operative Hall, to protest against emigration. Over 1200 people were present, and they vigorously cheered the Socialist speakers. The Emigrationists were present, but the feeling of the meeting was too strong for them. The speakers were Mahon, Bailey, and Reade, and Mr. Foulger of the Radical Club. Only three hands were held up against the resolution. On Monday evening, Mahon lectured on "A Plea for Socialism" to a compact and sympathetic audience in the Lower Co-operative Hall. On Sunday morning, Bailey addressed a large open-air meeting, and sold a good quantity of literature. The Branch is getting on remarkably well.—H. B.

**MANCHESTER.**—We held a fair open-air meeting on the Croft on Sunday morning; two names were given. Comrade Prince spoke of what he had seen of Socialism in his trip to the Continent. Unwin exposed the Free and Fair Trade dodge, showing that it was of little interest to the worker either way under present conditions. During the week there has been a London lecturer in the district advocating Fair Trade. We attended one of the meetings and asked numerous questions, trying to show that the whole business was a mere farce to hoodwink the workers. We were surprised and sorry to find Mawdsley, general secretary to the Amalgamated Association of Cotton Spinners, on the platform supporting such mere political clap-trap as a cure for the misery which the workers suffer in these bad times.—R. U.

**NORWICH.**—Last week we had comrade Mahon here. On Thursday he addressed a meeting in one of the Board Schools on "The Meaning of Social Revolution." On Friday, he lectured in another schoolroom on "The Trades' Congress," at which a good deal of useful discussion took place. On Sunday afternoon he spoke to a large crowd in the market-place, and afterwards at St. Faith's. On Sunday evening we had a lecture on "The Study of Political Economy," which was followed by a little discussion. The audiences throughout were good and enthusiastic. The sale of literature has increased several quires. On Monday evening, Morris lectured to a large audience in the Victoria Hall on "Socialism, its Aims and Means." The lecture was well received, and has done a great deal to forward the movement here.—C. W. M.

**SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.**—Since the police interference a month ago we have continued to hold our open-air meetings in Fargate unmolested, but with increasing public interest. Last Monday, our subject was "Nationalisation of the Railways." Next Monday, we hold a tea and entertainment at the Wentworth Café, Holly Street, at 6 p.m.—E. C.

#### Marylebone Police Court.

On Thursday 7th October F. Henderson appeared to an adjourned summons before Mr. Cook, who entered the court rather late, looking extremely happy. Henderson's case came on second. P.S. X17 gave the ordinary police evidence about the whole of the locality being obstructed, adding as an extra offence that Henderson had sold papers afterwards. In cross-examination X17, "knew the area of the spot in mention, but thought it varied." XR14 gave duplicate evidence. A red-headed inspector acted as counsel for the prosecution, and here remarked that he had two other police-officers in court that would give Mr. Cook the same evidence. But Mr. Cook wisely said he had quite enough, and would adjourn the case for a week, further stating he meant to adjourn every case under the Highway Acts that came before him until the pending appeal had been settled, also expressing an equal determination to send for trial every Common Law summons.—T. E. WARDLE.

### LECTURE DIARY.

#### London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—There will be no lecture at the Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, the Branch having decided to aid the North London Branch at the Milton Hall meeting on Friday 15th.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday October 17, at 7.30 p.m. Fred Henderson, "The Socialist Ideal." Wednesday 20, at 8.30 p.m. P. Webb, "The Absolute Necessity for Socialism."

**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7.30 p.m. J. L. Mahon, "The late Trades' Congress at Hull."

**Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street. Tuesday October 19, at 9 p.m., special Business Meeting for discussion of proposed Club.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday at 8 p.m.

**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday October 17, at 7.45 p.m. W. A. Chambers, "Socialism Explained and Defended."

**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee meets every Thursday.

**North London.**—On Friday October 15 William Morris will lecture at the Milton Hall, Kentish Town Road, at 8 p.m. Subject—"Socialism: the End and the Means."

#### Country Branches.

**Bingley.**—Coffee Tavern. Tuesdays, at 7.30 p.m.

**Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

**Dublin.**—102 Capel Street.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. On Saturday open-air meeting at Hamilton—On Sunday open-air meetings on the Green at 11.30 and 4.30. Special arrangements will be made during the week for other lectures. Our friends are requested to note that comrade Andreas Scheu will address meetings in Glasgow and neighbourhood next week.

**Hull.**—This Branch hopes to open a Club Room in a very short time, and gifts of money, pictures, books, etc., will be very useful. Address, Eugene Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street, Hull.

**Ipswich.**—"George Inn," Woodhouse Street. Saturday evening, Oct. 16, J. L. Mahon will lecture on "The Socialist Movement" to a meeting of the members of the Branch.

**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 8 p.m. Afterwards discussion on the Manifesto. Members and friends please attend.

**Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9 Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street.

### Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

#### LONDON.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 16.	Hyde Park (Marble Arch).....	4	The Branch	Clerkenwell.
	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales") 8		The Branch	N. London.
	Mile-end Waste .....	8	F. Henderson	Mile-end.
S. 17.	Marylebone—corner of Salis-	11.30	D. J. Nicoll	Marylebone.
	bury St. and Church St.			
	Hackney—Well Street .....	11.30	The Branch	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.	11.30	Tochatti	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street.....	11.30	J. Lane	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste .....	11.30	H. Graham	Mile-end.
	Mitcham Fair Green .....	11.30	The Branch	Merton.
	Regent's Park .....	11.30	F. Henderson	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches.....	11.30	W. A. Chambers	Bloomsbury.
	Walham Green, opposite Station	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch) 3		D. J. Nicoll	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park .....	3.30	H. Graham	Hackney.
	Clerkenwell Green .....	7	F. Henderson	Clerkenwell.
Tu. 19.	Euston Road—Ossulton St. ...	7	W. A. Chambers	N. London.
	Mile-end Waste .....	8	The Branch	Mile-end.
	Soho—Broad Street .....	7.30	Somerville	Bloomsbury.
W. 20.	London Fields—Broadway,	8.30	H. Graham	Hackney.
	opposite "Sir Walter Scott"			
Th. 21.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street... 8		The Branch	Hoxton.

#### PROVINCES.

**Edinburgh.**—East Meadows, Sunday at 2 p.m. Addresses by McMillan, Robertson, and Lamont.

**Ipswich.**—Mahon, Sunday at 11.30 a.m. and 3 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m., Sundays.

**Manchester.**—Corner of Gorton Lane and Ashton Old Road, Sundays at 11.30.

**Norwich.**—St. Mary's Plain, 11 a.m.; Market Place, 3 p.m.—Sundays.

**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST SOCIETY, Industrial Hall, Clark's Buildings, Broad Street, Bloomsbury.—Wednesday 20th. W. C. Wade, "Brotherhood."

### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Received during the week:

C. and K. F., donation ...	£0 5 2	Bloomsbury Branch, weekly	£0 5 0
Collected by Ph. W. ...	0 10 0	Collected by C. and K. F.	1 10 0
H. C., donation ...	0 1 0		
Hoxton Branch, contribution	0 2 0		
			£2 13 2

Ph. W., Treasurer, Oct. 12.

### FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Amount already published	£25 19 9	On account of Concert (by S.	
J. Delver ...	0 10 0	Mainwaring) ...	£0 14 0
On account of Concert (by T.		F. Rose (by Bigby) ...	0 10 6
Wardle) ...	0 13 6		
North London Branch (Re-		Total received to date ...	£29 15 11
gent's Part) ...	0 14 2	Expended for fines	£26 8 6
Miss L. E. Wade ...	0 5 0	Sum due but not paid	£0 0 0
Mrs. Harris ...	0 2 6		36 8 6
Mrs. Beckett ...	0 2 6		
Canning Town (by Graham)	0 4 0	Deficit ...	£6 12 7

Ph. W., Treasurer, Oct. 12.

### A Concert in aid of the above Fund

WILL BE HELD AT

KELMSCOTT HOUSE, 26 UPPER MALL, HAMMERSMITH, W.,

ON SATURDAY OCTOBER 16th, AT 8 p.m.

Friends, attend! attend!

THE

## PRACTICAL SOCIALIST.

AN EXPONENT OF EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM; BUT DISCUSSION OF ALL ASPECTS INVITED.

EDITED BY THOMAS BOLAS.

MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

W. REEVES, 185 FLEET STREET.

Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 16 pp.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE, at 13 Farringdon Road, London

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 41.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL'S declaration of policy has been received by the Tory party on the whole as they must receive anything from those of their party who have any capacity, as something, namely, which they must support, though they may not either understand it or agree with it. There are some signs of restiveness. Mr. Chaplin, for instance, has found out that all that talk meant little beyond muzzling the Irish members, and is a little uncomfortable; since he thinks that the turn of the wheel may one day put the Tories in the position of their Irish foes. He threatens opposition, but will probably have to give way; all the more since as a matter of party tactics he is wrong and Lord Randolph is right. The Tories, indeed, are not likely to have a majority by themselves, but in alliance with the Whigs they are likely to be in a perpetual majority; the Liberal-Radical party only exists as a criticising minority.

The rest of the press has been very rough on the *Daily News* for its announcement of a Government Home Rule scheme. The *Pall Mall*, especially, has exceeded in scorn. Naturally; since the latter journal has had such success in mares'-nesting, that it may well feel that it should be privileged in that occupation. But after all is it not likely enough that a Tory communication was made to the *Daily News*? It would not be a bad move to play: to feel the pulse of the political world by means of a hint to an adverse journal, to go on if the public seemed to approve, and if not to repudiate the hint and thereby to damage the said adverse journal, would really be a good stroke of business in that Art of Lying in which English statesmen are past-masters.

It is pretty clear that the Austrian revolutionary story was an excuse for the arrest of "dangerous" persons. The press now says that the matter has been much exaggerated, that the saltpetre bottles were, in fact, dummies, and so forth. It is rather weak of the authorities to let this sort of thing leak out after the concoction of such a vigorous romance. On the whole the matter is of bad augury for European peace, and looks as if the Austrian Government were anxious to have as many as possible of its "dangerous" subjects under lock and key before it takes the field.

A case of white-lead poisoning reported in the press this week is worth a little notice by workmen generally. Stripped of verbiage it amounts to this, that a man was killed by being compelled to work in a place where white-lead was flying about, and that no precautions were taken to prevent his dying speedily. A shilling a-week extra was the handsome sum given to the poor man thus murdered in compensation for his being killed. It is quite impossible that the man's employers did not know the risk he ran of this speedier death, and the certainty of his being poisoned sooner or later, and yet all that the jury durst say about the matter was "to express a hope that Mr. Lakeman (the factory inspector) would be able to make representations to the Home Office with reference to the case, to show the necessity for some extra precaution being taken for people working in mixing factories."

Yet further, this is only an exaggerated example of the way in which the lives of working-people are played with. Under present conditions, almost the whole labour imposed by civilisation on the "lower classes" is unwholesome; that is to say that people's lives are shortened by it; and yet because we don't see people's throats cut before our eyes we think nothing of it. After all, probably Tamerlane was a blessing to the world compared with the factory system.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

At Southwark last week John Sullivan, aged forty, a chintz-glazier, a very respectable looking man, was charged with breaking a public street lamp. The defence was that he had been out of work for three months, and though he had first-rate recommendations, he could not get employment. With wife and family starving at home, he had broken the lamp in sheer desperation, so that he might obtain food and shelter. Mr. Sheil, the sapient presiding magistrate, remarked that starvation was no excuse for breaking the law, and remanded the prisoner. Workmen, you must starve in quiet, and not break the laws your masters have made for you! I wonder if the well-fed magistrate had been in Sullivan's position, would he have the same respect which he evidently possesses at the present time for the laws of this free and happy country?

An inquest was held on Tuesday October 12 at St. Giles Coroner's Court by Dr. Danford Thomas as to the death of George Hibbert, a carpenter, who committed suicide on the preceding Saturday. In a notebook that was found on him, directed to the coroner, was the following statement: "The cause of this act is my inability to get work during the present depression of trade. I have not been able to earn a proper living for the last five years. Being physically weak and naturally slow, I have not been able to cope with quicker men in these days when speed is everything. If I were twenty years younger I should be more hopeful." The jury returned a verdict of "suicide while of unsound mind." Their verdict should have been "murdered by the system of competition." D. N.

In East Surrey a child nine years of age has died from starvation. She was one of six children; her father was a bargee and had been three months out of work. The family had been eking out a subsistence on a small piece of bread each once a day and some water. This is not an uncommon occurrence. What comment can one make on facts like this?

Here we live in a society, most of us uncomplainingly, and we calmly and callously read of the slow murder of little children, and take it as a matter of course. Their lives are sacrificed merely to sate the greed of one class, and the system is borne with and even supported by the folly of both. Perhaps ten years hence the father of that child will be struggling by the side of his fellows against the class that murdered his child; and if his passion, inflamed by this bitter memory, lead him to excesses, his conduct will be pointed to as an example of the horrors of revolution. And yet nothing he could do or would dream of doing would be half as repulsive as this one horror of civilisation.

The Salvation Army week of self-denial has brought out some curious results. A Manchester merchant sent £500 as the result of his week of "self-denial." Has the gentleman sent this as the sum of his business profits and the extravagances of his living? Capitalists don't often practice self-denial, but as the result is so good when they do, it might be worth while to make them frequently, or even constantly, repeat the experiment. To put the matter in a very blunt way, this capitalist, having taken the £500 out of the working-men's pockets, denied himself the usual pleasure of putting it in his own. What he had stolen from the people's stomachs he generously spent in saving their souls.

It is all very well for Mrs. Fawcett to pitch into Mrs. Linton about her commercial view of the education of women, but the unfortunate thing is that Mrs. Fawcett is in the clouds, while Mrs. Linton usefully reminds one of what *can* be done. The worst of Mrs. Linton's opinions is that they are correct. As long as the commercial system lasts every profession must be subservient to it. As long as we have a profit-grabbing Society, the chief end of women's education will be and must be to fit them to grab like the rest. Any higher education will only unfit them for their surroundings.

A Conference of Delegates of 20,000 Tyneside workmen has been held, and a movement for an Eight Hours' Working-day begun. Of course, tradesmen are right in making the best of the present system, but it is to be hoped that the next working-class movement entered on by the trades' unions will be of a more comprehensive kind. Do they intend to include the sewing-women of London, etc., in their agitation for a shorter working-day? The great fault of these petty agitations is that they are only for the benefit of a *section* of the workers. Even a reformatory movement would do good if it aimed at uniting all parts of the working-class for a common object; indeed, if the workers of all kinds could be got together and well organised for any purpose it would be a great step in the right direction. For, once get them together and make them feel a real singleness of purpose and interest, and their way to Socialism will be clear and easy enough.

The winter will produce its crop of associations for relieving the distress. All sections of opinion, from the amiable idiocy of the promoters of "mother's meetings," who think to reform the world with a few basins of soup, to the fanatical dynamitard who thinks to revolutionise Society by smashing a few panes of glass. The former are undoubtedly the greatest nuisance, while the latter are, after all, perhaps only a few sharp-witted glaziers who are trying to carry out the teachings of orthodox political economy.



The schemes of reform and alleviation which are brought forward by the philanthropists may be well illustrated in their working and effect by a story told of the Scotch way of making mutton-broth for the inmates of the workhouse. A large pot filled with water is put on the fire. A leg of mutton is then got and hung up on the wall about fifty yards off, but in such a position that its shadow will fall into the pot. The cooking then proceeds; the shadow is thoroughly boiled and duly seasoned, and the resulting soup is given to fatten and gladden the workhouse inmates. The reforms doled out by the upper class are very much like this broth, and with certainly not more substance in them.

J. L. MAHON.

THE LAW AS TO CHURCH PROPERTY.

V.

BEFORE dealing with the question as to Church property, there are one or two matters on which I may say a few words in reply to queries very often put forth by the friends of the Church. We are constantly told that there are a large number of livings where the stipend is less than the wage of our artizans or mechanics. No one will deny it. In the Church there are the extremes of wealth and poverty, just as in the outside world. Indeed it is one of the characteristics of all aristocratic institutions that high salaries go with very little work, and that where the most labour is to be done, there the poorest reward is given. It is the same through all the ramifications of society, not only in England, but throughout the civilised world. The following cases, copied from the Clergy List of 1877, are not given as the worst that can be found, but as a sample sufficient to show that in the Church, as in the world at large, the same inequality exists; that the Church is just as unholy, and just as corrupt, as any other institution in existence. Instead of the Church being a beacon of light, leading the people onward higher and ever higher in all that is holy and pure by its example, it tends to debase and degrade them, and to prevent as far as possible that regeneration of society which is the hope and the aim of every lover of humanity.

Benefice.	County.	Population.	Value of Living.	Value per head of Population.
Alderkirk ...	Lincoln ...	962 ...	2000 ...	2 1 7
Alston-Moor ...	Cumberland ...	1811 ...	5 ...	0 0 0½
March—St Mary's ...	Cambridge ...	500 ...	2000 ...	4 0 0
Marske ...	York ...	1943 ...	50 ...	0 0 6½
Settington ...	York ...	777 ...	1609 ...	2 1 6
Norton—Mid Sumner ...	Somerset ...	1131 ...	29 ...	0 0 6
Rowley ...	York ...	516 ...	1300 ...	2 10 5
Erith ...	Kent ...	2700 ...	33 ...	0 0 2½
Upwell ...	Cambridge ...	866 ...	1596 ...	1 16 9
Metford ...	Norfolk ...	1676 ...	48 ...	0 0 6¾

Such a state of things is not only a disgrace to the Church, it is a disgrace to the country that tolerates it. Here are five livings with a total income of £8503, or an average of over £1700 each, and five other livings with an aggregate income of £165, or an average of £33 each. And yet we are told that this Church is free from corruption, pure and holy, and invulnerable to the attacks of both atheist and revolutionist. These extremes of wealth and poverty exist not only among the regular clergy, but among the higher dignitaries of the Church. The following is also for 1877:

Cathedral Bodies.	No. of Officials.	Net income.	Average Incomes.
Oxford ...	9 ...	12,203 ...	1355 17 6
Llandaff ...	13 ...	654 ...	50 6 0
St Paul's ...	4 ...	12,746 ...	3186 10 0
Chester ...	7 ...	634 ...	90 11 0
Canterbury ...	13 ...	15,982 ...	1229 12 0
St. Asolf ...	13 ...	382 ...	29 9 0
Durham ...	13 ...	27,933 ...	2147 18 0
Ripon ...	10 ...	265 ...	26 10 0

The above needs no comment. It is no better than the world, of which it forms a part, and from which it cannot separate itself. Yet by its lofty pretensions it fills the human soul with idle hopes and childish fears, while by its example it scatters corruption all around and tends to debase and demoralise all that comes within the sphere of its influence.

We have seen in the previous articles that the clergy rose to supremacy partly by their arrogance and their lofty pretensions, aided by the ignorance and credulity of the people, and partly by the force of law; that they acquired their wealth and their right to rob the community by force of law; that amid their riches they are quite indifferent to their duties, not only in relation to the people, but in all their relations with each other. We have seen, too, that it is in virtue of law that they are able to plunder the people to-day—to take from the labour of the toiling masses millions annually to keep them in idleness and luxury. And we have now to see that to all intents and purposes, by the law of the land, Church property is State property.

As far back as the time of the Norman Conquest, Church property was regarded as State property to the extent that the Crown had the right to meet its requirements, when necessary, by helping itself to the property of the Church. In the 13th century an Act was passed (1285), the 13 Edward I., ch. 61, which declared that if any Church lands or other property be sold or alienated the purchaser shall forfeit

the same to the Crown. In 1404, Parliament formally declared all Church property to be State property. Ten years later (1414) it repeated the declaration. In 1534, 25 Henry VIII., an Act was passed to give the first-fruits and tenths to the Crown. The next year an Act was passed to suppress 376 monasteries with incomes of less than £200 each. Four years later another law to suppress all the great monasteries, a number of hospitals, colleges, etc. In 1545, another Act to suppress the remaining colleges, etc., and in 1547, another Act to secure to the Crown all the property of the Church. This was making Church property State property with a vengeance. In the same year another Act was passed to enable the Crown to seize all chantries, free chapels, lay guilds, etc. In 1571, 13 Eliz., ch. 16, the Act of Edward I. (1285) was re-enacted; and in 1576, the 18 Eliz., ch. 11, another law to prevent the evasion of the former one. But though the Crown had the right, by law, to take possession of the whole property of the Church, it left eleven sees and the same number of chapters untouched, the value of the property of which in 1871, was returned at £14,898,000. Henry also established a number of foundations, with grammar schools, in connection with the cathedrals. These endowments were by the 31 Hen. VIII., ch. 9, the following being the preamble: "To the intent that God's word may the better be set forth, children brought up in learning, clerks nourished in the universities, old servants decayed to have living, alms-houses for the poor folks to be sustained in," etc. (Report of School Inquiry Com., 1868, p. 268). But, true to their general character, the clergy swallowed up what should have gone to the poor, and left but very little for grammar schools or any other purpose.

The 17 Geo. III., ch. 53, gave facilities to the clergy to erect glebe houses, giving the incumbent the power to purchase one if necessary, and to raise the means by the sale of part of the glebe land, or of a part of the tithes. By the 50 Geo. III., ch. 147, the clergy obtained the right to exchange the parsonage or glebe houses and lands for other houses and lands, as well as to purchase land, which lands "so purchased shall be ever, from and after the grant and conveyance thereof, be, and become annexed to and glebe of such benefice." The incumbent was also empowered by the sale of timber to purchase a parsonage house or glebe lands. It will thus be seen that every kind of Church property has been dealt with by the law of the land.

At the time of the Reformation it became the custom for the higher dignitaries to lease their estates for very long periods. This was soon found by the Government to be injurious to such property. To curtail that evil the 13 Eliz., ch. 10, was passed, which declared that "for that long and unreasonable leases made by colleges, deans and chapters, parsons, vicars, and others having spiritual promotions, be the chiefest causes of the dilapidations and the utter impoverishment of all successive incumbents of the same; be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that from henceforth all leases, gifts, grants, feofments, conveyances, or estates, to be made, had, done, or suffered by any master and fellows of any college, dean and chapter of any cathedral church, master or guardian of any hospital, parson, vicar, or any other having any spiritual or ecclesiastical living, or any houses, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments being parcel of the possessions of any college, etc. (other than for the term of one and twenty years, or three lives from the time as any such lease or rent shall be made or granted, whereupon the accustomed yearly rent or more shall be reserved and payable yearly during the said term), shall be utterly void and of none effect." By the above Act it will be seen that the State not only claimed but exercised full control over the property of the Church. "The State made its own regulations as to the disposal, and to prevent the waste of that property which belonged to itself which had been devoted to ecclesiastical uses." The clergy were not consulted in the matter. It was simply the action of the State with respect to the property of the State.

By the 1 & 2 Vict. ch. 23, permission is given to convert old benefice houses into farmhouses for tenants of the glebe, or the said houses may be sold and the proceeds paid over to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, to be applied to purchase or hire other houses. But two very sweeping measures were passed in 1871-72. By these Acts, 34 & 35 Vict. ch. 43, and 35 & 36 Vict. ch. 96, it is provided that surveyors of parsonage houses and glebe lands shall be appointed in every diocese; the archdeacon, rural dean, patron, or incumbent, can at any time request that an inspection be made. If any repairs are needed they must be made on the report of the surveyor. All expenses, including the surveyor's charges, have to be paid by the incumbent. Likewise all the costs of the repairs. If the incumbent cannot meet the above charges, he can borrow from the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty a sum for the purpose not exceeding three years' net income. If the incumbent refuses to do anything the repairs are made and the benefice is sequestrated until all expenses are paid. Even previous to the above Acts the law was, according to the Commissioners' Report of 1832, "If any spiritual person holding any preferment for life allow the parsonage house, stables, barns, or any other of the buildings, or the fences, or the property of the Church, to fall into decay, or commit, or allow to be committed, any wilful waste on the same, he may be proceeded against in the Ecclesiastical Court, and compelled to make the necessary reparation. In the case of accident by fire the same responsibility attaches." Sir R. Phillimore ('Eccl. Law,' p. 1610) says: "It is obvious that no ecclesiastic can enjoy his benefice or preferment for more than his life at farthest; and in the eye of the law every person in succession in an ecclesiastical corporation *sole* is a *quasi* tenant for life, having the freehold and an estate for life in his benefice or preferment, but no more." It may just be stated here that a clergyman cannot even insure the parsonage house

or other property in his own name. It must be insured in the names of the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty.

But since the clerical returns of 1835, and the two septennial returns of the Bishops already referred to, the Government does not depend on the action alone of the great ecclesiastical bodies. That was found to be no longer safe. These bodies are now controlled by a purely lay commission, known as the English Land Commission, whose authority is based on the Universities and College Estates Acts of 1858, 1860, and 1880. The consent of this Commission is required to all sales and purchases of lands, and to other dealings with land by enfranchisement and exchange, and to the raising of money for certain purposes, under their Acts, by mortgage or otherwise, by the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham, and the Colleges of those Universities, and by the Colleges of Winchester and Eton. The total transactions up to the end of 1884, under the sanction of the Commission, amounted to the sum of £5,390,214. Truly there is not much power left to the clergy as far as the property of the Church is concerned.

In 1876, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to enquire into the operation of the Dilapidation Acts. The Rev. D. S. Wrangham, of Darrington, in his evidence before the Committee, said: "I cannot see any reason why ecclesiastical property should be fenced round with an elaborate system of defence, from which lay property is entirely free. After all, clergymen as a body are a body of gentlemen, and it seems to me that the position which we are put into under this Act is that we are either treated as if we were children, or as if we were rogues. We are tied up at every turn; one may not insure one's house in one's own name, but in the name of Queen Anne's Bounty as well, and every farthing of Dilapidations, or every farthing under the insurance, has to be paid into Queen Anne's Bounty, and the work has to be done by the surveyors and not by ourselves, and the money only to be paid under their certificate. It seems to me to be putting a very large body, and I hope a very respectable body, of men into a position which their lay fellows would resent very much about their property." (Par. Paper 258, Sess. 1876, Ans. to Ques. 686). The rev. gentleman could not see that Church property is State property, and must therefore be controlled by the State.

I have shown that Church property is the property of the public, of the people, that it is held as State property, its management controlled by the State, and that it is for the people, when they are wise enough and have the will, to apply that property to any other purpose.

J. SKETCHLEY.

### THE WORK OF SOCIALISTS TO-DAY.

THE great stock objection everlastingly thrown at Socialists is the charge of being impractical. "You hold out a beautiful ideal," they say, "and we admit its beauty; but you can never reach it—it is an impossibility. Lay down a practical line of action and we will follow you." I propose to lay before such opponents (?) what I take to be the practical work of Socialists to-day.

We are men holding an idea that men might live without poverty if they would only unite to do it. We see that our present system of society is full of forces tending to destroy that system, its own rottenness being not the least of these forces; we see that shortly these destructive forces will reach a climax, that the continued poverty of the workers, the corruptness of the ruling class, long-enduring depressions of trade, will shortly bring about an upheaval, a revolution. It is not our work to make this revolution; we can see it is coming.

We hold an ideal of what society might be after this upheaval. We know the causes of the corruptness of the present system, and we believe that this revolution may be a starting point for a new system in which these causes will be absent, and consequently poverty would be absent also. Our practical work, then, is to lay before our fellows what we believe are the reasons of the poverty of so many citizens to-day, and to form a party who accept our ideas, so that when the revolution comes (and the only fear is that it will come too soon) we may be ready for it, and be able to guide it successfully into a better state than existed before. If it comes and finds no party ready, it will then be a mere flare-up of destruction, sinking down again into worse chaos than before. The revolution is growing now, wherever the workers are learning the cause of their position, wherever discontent is spreading through the mass of the toilers. Let us, then, get ready for the climax. Let us get hold of trades' unions and societies and every means that will enable the workers to take hold of the means of production and manage them when the day comes. Let us gather together a party of men who know what they want, who see clearly the lines along which the new society will move, and who in time of revolution will be a nucleus in the midst of the mass of aimless discontent, guiding it aright.

FRED HENDERSON.

Socialism proposes to stop the wastes of Society by having none of its members uselessly employed or idle, and by turning the great army of non-producers into a brotherhood of producers.

THE APOTHEOSIS OF SHODDY.—"Woollen goods, which were formerly only used for the production of Prussian blue and inferior paper, and for the most part were thrown on the waste-heap, have now become raw materials, as well as silk and cotton refuse, for re-use in textile industry, and thus render respectable clothing material accessible to persons of very moderate means. . . . Who can deny that, when one observes the use made of waste materials, during a certain given space of time, a new picture of civilisation unfolds itself."—Archibald Regnier, in presidential remarks to the Imperial Commission of the Vienna International Exhibition for 1873.

### THE LORD OF BURLEIGH.

(FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF HIS DISAPPOINTED RIVAL).

THAT head-stone? Yes, it is new—and neglected so soon! Would you know Yet more of the tale of the life of the lady that lies below? I can tell you; I once was her friend, and she was a friend to me; Though there she lies in her grave, and I stand here, as you see. Oh, yes, you are right, quite right. We might have been married, we twain, And have taken our chance together of shadow and sunshine and rain. Well, many things might have been, and are not; and it little skills To brood over vanished hopes, and count them for present ills.

She lived, you must know, in the valley, and I on the further slope Of the mountain that lifts its head to the skies, as if ever in hope That the careless clouds that pass, as you see them passing now, Will yet take pity and heal the heat of its aching brow. How oft have I crossed its ridges! There is not a single stone In the whole rough length of the path that I have not noticed and known, And loved and been glad to greet, as we greet the face of a friend Whose welcome is always sure when we reach our journey's end.

And a welcome was mine in the valley whenever I cared to come, And daily I came and went, till the days made up the sum Of the best bright years of my life, when its skies were undimmed. Ah me! About them abode a glory I never again shall see. For still as I climbed the ridge in the light of the afternoon, My heart was aglow with the thought, "I shall see my darling soon." And late when again I returned, one thought lit all my night, "Again on the morrow's eve I shall sun my soul in her sight." 'Strong summer was hot on the hill when I roamed its ridges across; But summer died off into autumn, and left no sense of a loss In my heart as I came and went, though the wind and the wintry rain Stripped all the shivering trees of the pride of their summer gain. Nor tarried the autumn longer, but winter wild and cold, With dint of his iron heel a-tramp on the frozen wold, Locked all the runlets fast in the grip of a crystal vice, And set to the sound of my footfall the ridges a ringing with ice. But little I recked of the rain, and less of the cold and frost; There was that had been mine in the summer that was not in the winter lost— The passion of ardent love, the glow of a gift divine, That warmed the veins of my heart with a warmth that was better than . . . And winter went by, and was done with, and yielded its place to . . . And again by the stream in the valley I heard the nightingale . . . And again was the garment of green soft-spread over herbage . . . But what was the spring's bright robe or the nightingale's note Nay, the nightingale's note and the spring's new raiment were . . . And doubly sweet each change that came with the changing year For ever before me now sweet spring seemed spread in my view, And a nightingale sang in my heart the whole black winter thr

And daily in spring as in winter I came to the cottage that stood By the bank of the winding stream where it lost its way in the . . . And daily I saw my love, and at eve of each glad day We talked long hours together, and ever had much to say Of our hopes and our fears for the future, and many a care and do . . . And many a sage opinion the world could have done without, And not been much the loser; but what to us was the world? Our eyes were undimmed by the dust that the wheels of its chariot w Our hearts were clear of the curse that has clung to its lips from of ol Our hands, though hardened with toil, were clean of the grime of its g

And our talk was of fields and of woods, and of birds whose nests were beg And of all things free that rejoice in the sight of the strengthening sun; And we spoke of the dismal city, and pitied the dwellers there, Dim-lighted with gas for their sunshine, and fog for the fresh free air; Foul, murky for miles and miles; and we talked of the rich and great, And the squalid starving poor, whose souls are cankered with hate, And their bodies with fever and famine—a horrible festering sore That ever from year to year Lord Dives sees at his door, And heeds not at all its horror, nor hearkens at all to the cry That Lazarus million-throated sends up to the pitiless sky, Knowing well that on earth is no pity, and asking 'twixt hope and despair, If haply its home be on high in the vast dim vault of the air. And we talked of the homes of the wealthy, and well we agreed that we Would still say No to the chance, if ever such chance should be, That might, mayhap, enthrone us in one of their high-built halls, Where all too thick are the hangings, and all too strong are the walls, To let the lament of the poor and the noise of the vulgar and rude, On the delicate ears of the owners with hateful insistence intrude.

No, nought would we have to do with the lordlier lot of the great, Not even if we were enriched by the turn of the wheel of fate. And then we planned in our wisdom how this and that we would do, And much that was wrong should be righted, but little, alas, we knew Of the change of heart that comes with the change of rank and degree And the hopes whose bloom is blighted. Yet wise in our way were we For wiser it surely is to take what the fates may send, Nor overmuch to murmur at ills that we cannot mend, Though all our hope make ship-wreck, and all its cargo of bliss In the shallowing straits of fortune be steered awry and amiss, Till it strike on the rocks and sink in the gape of the swallowing wave. For caught in the swirl of despair, when hardly his soul shall he save, If haply a man remember the joy that comes not again, The bliss remembered in sorrow is only the keener pain. Nay, let him a little be happy, nor mar his present mirth With the woe in the womb of time ere its sorrow be come to the birth.

J. L. JOYNES.

(To be continued.)

COPENHAGEN.—The Supreme Court here has sentenced the editor of the *Social Democrat* to fourteen days' imprisonment for infringement of a provisional law with regard to press prosecutions. It is probable that this judgment will have important results.



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

**As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages.** None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

**NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.**—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

**J. JONES.**—The article "Christian Socialism" was written by E. B. Bax. The signature was through mischance omitted by the printer.

**L. Bingley.**—The letter in the *Mechanic* will be seen to. In future would kindly send a marked copy of newspapers as it saves a lot of trouble.

*Cables received during the week ending Wednesday October 20.*

AND	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	SWITZERLAND	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
ht	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	ITALY	
nt Record	Knights of Labor	Rome—La Tribuna	
DIA	Paterson (N.J.)—Labor Standard	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	
's Friend	Detroit (Mich.)—Labor Leaf	Brescia—Lo Sperimentale	
ple's Budget	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	SPAIN	
e	FRANCE	Madrid—El Socialista	
NADA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	PORTUGAL	
r Reformer	Le Socialiste	Villafranca de Xira—O Campino	
D STATES	Le Revolte	AUSTRIA	
reihait	La Revue Socialiste	Brunn—Volksfreund	
r	Lille—Le Travailleur	ROUMANIA	
st	HOLLAND	Bucharest—Fruncul Roman	
ton's Paper	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Jassy—Lupta	
man's Journal	BELGIUM	NORWAY	
ol.) Labor Inquirer	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten	
ti (O.) Unionist	En Avant	SWEDEN	
J.)—Industrial News	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten	
eld (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	Antwerp—De Werker		

LIVED.—"The Kernel of Socialism" — "Copyright and Piracy."

## THE UNEMPLOYED AND EMIGRATION.

THE middle-class mind is now exercising itself on the "unemployed question." As long as there are just enough unemployed to keep down the wages of those in work no heed is taken of them. But when their number grows large enough to become threatening, all sorts of plans for getting rid of them are turned over. It is not pity for their misery but fear of their strength that moves the upper class. To them the question is not "How shall we right the wrongs of these men?" but "How shall we make them less dangerous?" For want of a better or cheaper plan, some are falling back upon emigration. It seems so easy and plausible to tell the workman that he is miserable at home because there is too many of his kind, and that if he but make tracks to some of our glorious Colonies he will find plenty of work, big wages, a fine country, and an easy road to fortune.

It was well known ten years ago that some of the fine countries had villainous climates, and abounded in rattle-snakes, that wages although large in money were very little above the means of subsistence, and that work was as scarce there as it generally is here. As to fortune, if you have a small one to start with it is possible to turn it into a big one; but if you are as penniless as most emigrants, the road to a small fortune, or even a decent living, is very difficult indeed. The emigration agitation, in short, is a fraud from beginning to end—a mere shallow subterfuge of the capitalist class to put a safe distance between the unemployed and themselves. Shipping companies used to get so much a head for the emigrants they could fetch, and as the cargoes did not go to them they went in search of cargoes. Agents were sent out who lectured the working-class, and lied amazingly—both by tongue and limelight view. The clergy took a hand in the work, although it is only their due to state that some of them turned against the fraud as soon as it was explained to them. At last the Socialists attacked these agents, and soon had them hissed by every audience in London and in many parts of the provinces. To-day no advocate of emigration dare show himself at any public place in the metropolis. Still, efforts are being made in many places to ship off people, pay their passage, and then let them look after themselves as best they can. The Colonial governments are head over ears in debt, and until lately

have maintained a flow of immigrants in order to keep up their credit with European money-lenders, who were led to think that a colonising country was good ground for investment. The infamous conduct of the rings of stockjobbers who call themselves the Colonial governments cannot be too strongly denounced. They have deliberately brought men over only to swell an already enormous army of starving unemployed. They enticed girls out when they knew they were going to a life of prostitution. The Colonial governments who have spent their borrowed money in promoting immigration, are the most corrupt and heartless gang of blackguards that ever ruled a country. It is impossible to use too strong language about men who, to ensure the success of their financial schemes, have made the colonies like plague-stricken places where deaths by starvation occur in thousands, and where the suicide of unfortunate girls is spoken of by the police as a common affair that they cannot attend to in every instance.

In reckoning the advantages of emigration to the most successful emigrants, it is best to leave aside figures of rates of wages and keep in mind the plain and undeniable fact that the social condition of the people is as bad there as it is here. In many places there is practically no family life; the labourers never have a chance of settling into homesteads, and prostitution is glaring and rampant in most places. Some time ago a benevolent lady sent a large batch of young girls to Brisbane under the impression that they would have a chance of a decent livelihood, but in less than a month more than 70 per cent. of them were in the streets. This appeared in the Brisbane papers, and was in no way an extraordinary story. It was merely an ordinary fact that illustrated the condition of the colony in a striking, but not in an exaggerated, way.

An emigration circular issued by some big-wigs in Ipswich, who are interesting themselves in getting the discontented mass of the people out of the way, put the main question very fairly. In extolling the charms of Colonial life, this circular says: "*Society there is organised on the same basis as Society here.*" This is quite true, and nothing worse could be said of "Society there." The Colonies are the "private property" of a gang of thieves—just as this country is. The government of the country is of a bastard democratic form, where the stockjobbers direct the foreign policy, and the capitalist manufacturers and land-owners direct the home policy. The "People" are an unorganised mass, too miserable to think of their rights, too feeble to enforce them: only dimly conscious of a great wrong, and waiting for the chance to avenge it. The government agents, consols, etc., are all in the same boat; they must look after the "commercial interests," and not trouble themselves with the condition of the people at all.

The aim of the upper class is to send the miserable people abroad, and send their misery with them. Life in the "home" country is bad enough, but a worse life awaits the emigrant who is foolish enough to think that he can find a decent living and peaceful labour anywhere under British rule. This country is large and fertile enough, and its sons strong and skilful enough, to support all the people in it (or three times as many) if only the people were free. There is no need for emigration, and no good in it if there were need. The only obstacle to the people's happiness is the capitalist class, and the only obstacle to the abolition of that class is the people's ignorance. Let us cast aside all thought of leaving our country, even if there was a better one to go to—which there is not. Our duty is to make our own worth living in, and that can be easily done through Socialism. The people have the power, but they have not yet shown the intelligence, the organisation, and the determination. When they acquire these qualities, and direct their power with them, there will no longer be the wish nor the need for wholesale emigration.

It is very difficult to advise the unemployed. Tens of thousands of them are in actual want and are clamouring for immediate relief. It seems mockery to preach to them about ultimate aims and great social changes which can only be brought about in the course of years, while hunger is gnawing at their vitals now. But it is far worse to delude them with schemes of relief which are unlikely to be carried out and practically useless if they were. The message to the unemployed should be plain, even if it be harsh. If they agitate for mere relief, if they only beg a crust from the rich man's table, they are doing nothing thereby to affect the causes of their misery. If they get the crust it will be steeped in gall. Their duty, and the only thing worth an effort, is to demand their full rights as members and workers of society. This is the truly practical course, because it is most likely to get them some temporary relief and it keeps the end in view. If the upper class hear a wail for bread they will only grant it grudgingly if they grant it at all. But if they hear a determined demand for their own abolition, if they find the working class have a clear idea of the position they should occupy, any amount of half-way measures will be granted. These concessions may be accepted, but not as a settlement. The demand for a change should be as loud and as uncompromising as ever. And the workers should never rest nor be silent till the master class have delivered up the industries of the country to the people of the country. By this means the present will more likely be bettered and the future will be assured.

J. L. MAHON.

Every cable brings intelligence of some new scheme on the part of Europe's crowned thieves and their ministers to suppress Socialism. Those heaven-born statesmen think the true way to prevent an explosion is to pile weights on the safety-valve. Their example is a little infectious, and the American variety of the same species of fool is trying repression in the United States. If monopolistic fools continue to feed the fire under the boiler with land, railway, and money plunderings, and monopoly's tools continue to sit on the safety-valve, we may reckon with certainty on the inevitable explosion.—*Canadian Labor Reformer.*



## SOCIALIST CAMPAIGNING IN SCOTLAND.

## FORMATION OF A BRANCH OF THE LEAGUE AT HAMILTON.

THERE is a story told of a worthy Scotchman who, on being dragged on a sight-seeing tour through Italy by his daughters, expressed but little wonder or interest in anything he saw. The cloudless skies and exquisite landscapes delighted him not. One day, however, the sky grew dark and the rain came down in torrents. The Scotchman's face brightened, and he exclaimed in pathetic joy, "Noo, that's gran—I could almaist imagine I wis in Scotland!" Alas, rainy Scotland! I might apologise for and even justify thy raininess, but I fear my patriotism would be more admired than my judgment.

The above is obviously a prelude to something about a rainy day.

For some months past our Glasgow Branch of the League has been carrying on a vigorous propaganda in the shape of Saturday afternoon out-door meetings at Hamilton. The reception accorded to our teaching by the people who assembled to hear us, and the well-known favour with which our doctrines are regarded by the miners of the district and their leaders, made us determine that a branch of the League should be formed in that town. Knowing that comrade Andreas Scheu would be in Scotland, we fixed Sunday last as the date of opening. On Saturday evening we held a very successful out-door meeting at the Cross, and distributed handbills through the town announcing our opening meeting; and we returned to Glasgow confident that we would have a most successful gathering on the morrow.

When the morrow came, however, it was wet—very, very wet—and it did not clear up until it was just about time for us to start. In arranging for a conveyance, the perfidious hirer advised us to take an open drag, as he was quite certain, he said, that it would clear up and become a beautiful afternoon. We took his advice—and regretted having done so immediately after, for we had scarcely started on our twelve miles drive when the rain came down as nothing but rain can.

Now our friend Brown, who has a measure of propagandist enthusiasm it does one's heart good to see, had purchased the night before a brilliant red silk handkerchief for the occasion. Brown, I know, would never think of buying a cheap article if a dear one could possibly be had in the market, so I must attribute the subsequently demonstrated shoddy material of said handkerchief entirely to the commercial dishonesty of the dealer. No sooner had we got out of the city than Brown, despite the torrents of rain, boldly obtruded the red silk handkerchief fastened to a walking-stick. McLean eyed this proceeding with evident disfavour, and even Scheu did not exhibit any warm appreciation of Brown's enthusiasm. Indeed, some remarks positively depreciatory of the red flag demonstration were made. Downie and I backed up Brown as well as we could, but the majority were against us, so lest Scheu might call us anarchists, I advised Brown to suppress the emblem. Brown compromised the matter by furling the flag and affectionately hugging it to his bosom. Now it was that the deceitful quality of the material was exhibited, for the red dye, dissolved by the rain, flowed in sanguinary streams from the fabric, and Brown's hands were as crimson-stained as though he had just finished disembowelling a capitalist.

At this stage McFarlane, who I grieve to say has a mild propensity for betting, offered to wager Scheu ten shillings that we would not have more than three of an audience. Scheu looked gloomily upon the rain in front—calculated his week's expenses—and concluding he could not afford to lose ten shillings, declined the offer. Some one now proposed a song. Scheu said he never knew a Scotchman who could sing. To this calumny upon my countrymen, I replied that I was certain he never knew of a Scotchman who had not at least the courage to try. Not wishing, however, to stake my country's reputation upon my own slender but laudable efforts, I asked comrades Brown and Warrington to redeem the honour of Scotland's minstrelsy. They manfully complied, and thenceforward there was no lack of song; and I am certain—although I was too indignant to ask—that Scheu considerably modified his opinion about Scotchmen's singing capabilities before the end of the journey.

When we reached Hamilton it was raining wildly. Scarcely a living soul could be in the streets; and we all of one accord commended Scheu's discretion in not taking on McFarlane's bet. Nevertheless the meeting turned out better than we expected. Despite the wind and rain some 200 people attended. Mr. M'Munn, president of the Lanarkshire Miners' Union, took the chair and spoke very sympathetically of our programme. The meeting was then addressed by Warrington, Scheu, McLean, Glasier and Small. Scheu vigorously denounced the present wage-system and lucidly expounded the principles of social co-operation which Socialists propose to erect in its stead. His address and that of all the other speakers were received with entire approval by the audience; and on a show of hands being taken, every man in the hall held up his hand in favour of Socialism. Over 40 names were enrolled and the first meeting of the Hamilton Branch of the Socialist League was then held, comrade Small taking the chair. William Marshall, an intelligent looking young man, of whom I expect to hear well in future, was appointed secretary. It was agreed that the next meeting of the Branch should be held on Thursday in the British Workman coffee room, when rules and matters of organisation would be discussed and arranged.

It was, no doubt, at first very disheartening to see such a small audience after we had done our best to make the meeting a success, and when we knew that but for the weather the hall would have been crowded to overflowing; but the earnestness and enthusiasm of those who did attend and who enrolled themselves under the banner of the League, revived our spirits. Quite exasperatingly, however, the rain stopped and the wind calmed as soon as our meeting was over. We drove home under the moonlight, singing snatches of revolutionary songs and discussing the work of the future.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

## SOCIALISM IN NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK.

It is only a few months since the Norwich Branch of the Socialist League was founded, but by its vigorous propaganda it is already one of the largest and strongest Branches of the League. There is a club-room and a shop for the sale of literature, while a popular local weekly paper devotes two columns of its space every week to the explanation and discussion of Socialism. The Branch does not confine its meetings to its own rooms, but holds them indoor and outdoor in all parts of the town, and also in the villages within a few miles. For the indoor lectures the School Board rooms are generally engaged, as they hold several hundreds of people, are well known, and can be had cheap.

Since the Branch started several speakers from London have visited the town, some of them staying for several days and giving a series of lectures. Morris has made two or three visits. Kitz and Sparling have also been there. On October 6th, I left London on a propagandist mission, and a report of it may interest the other Branches, as well as give an idea of what the other visits were like.

On the Wednesday preparations were made for holding the meetings. One part of them was a midnight bill-posting expedition. This is a favourite work among the members, some of whom have developed wonderful agility in dodging the police and a still more wonderful facility in arguing the poor constables out of their duty. The rights of property in bill-posting stations meet with scant respect, and even a church notice-board has been decorated, to the parson's rage, with a flaring announcement of a revolutionary address. These excesses, however, are discountenanced by the Branch as a body, and are only indulged in by the recklessly zealous members. On the Thursday night I addressed an attentive audience on "The Meaning of Social Revolution." On the Friday I addressed another meeting in a different part of the town on "The Trades' Congress." Some discussion which could hardly be called opposition ensued. Many trades' unionists, co-operators, and favourers of labour representation were present, but took no strong objection to the severe criticism of their views. My statement that the Congress was merely a ring of more or less corrupt leaders met with general approval. One gentleman rather ludicrously tried to prove that the bees presented a warning against a socialist society, and an argument in favour of maintaining capitalists. On the Saturday I went to Ipswich (of which more anon) and on Sunday afternoon addressed a crowd of over 1000 people in the market-place. The meeting was orderly, and very much in agreement with Socialism. One gentleman was rather disturbed at my unpatriotic views about the Empire, but a little discussion seemed to reassure him. After this I hastened off to speak at St. Faith's, a village about five miles from Norwich, and got there at the end of a tussle between a Socialist speaker and the village parson. This gentleman has lost his Sunday congregation since the Socialist open-air meetings began. Last week he issued a circular in which the following horrible accusations were made against us: "Beware of these men! They revile the Queen, calling her a German pauper! They revile the clergy and the landowners, calling them thieves! They say one man is as good as another, and the land was made for all! What a dreadful set! . . . Beware of these men, and touch none of their papers!" A few days after this was issued the village circulation of the *Commonweal* trebled. The parson quoted the Bible against covetousness, whereon a member of the Branch remarked that a covetous man was a parson with two livings, for one of which he got £200 a year, and engaged a curate to do the work for £80, pocketing the balance. This exposure of curate-sweating hit home to the reverend gentleman, who did not deny it, but avowed that he now paid his curate more than that; at which a villager sententiously remarked: "If the curate gits his wages rose he'll have to thank the Socialists." On the Sunday evening, I gave a rather dull dry discourse on "The Study of Political Economy," in which, I was agreeably surprised to find the members took a good deal of interest. On Monday night, Morris lectured to over 2000 people in the Victoria Hall on "Socialism, its Aims and Methods." The audience was almost entirely of the working-class, and was very attentive and enthusiastic. The literature sold well, and in every respect the meeting was a splendid success.

The Ipswich Branch is a month old, and has now about fifty members, and is doing some good work for the Cause. Some time ago a hole-and-corner meeting of capitalists and other local big-wigs was held to promote emigration, at which our members were not allowed to speak. On Saturday, the 10th October, an anti-emigration meeting was held by our members, and I went up from Norwich to address it. The Co-operative hall was filled with about 1200 people, who were well aware of the fraudulent scheme to expatriate them under pretence of "philanthropy." The Socialist speakers were all well received, and their most Socialistic utterances most loudly cheered. The promoters of emigration were completely defeated, and on a division only three hands were held up against our resolution. On Monday night I lectured to a compact audience in one of the large rooms of the Co-operative Society on "A Plea for Socialism," and found the people in hearty agreement with the communist aims and revolutionary means put forth.

My experience of this and of other parts of the provinces is that the people are anxious to hear about Socialism, and willing to give a sympathetic hearing. It is to be hoped that other provincial Branches will be encouraged by the success of Norwich and Ipswich, and that they will adopt similar means of pushing on the agitation. And if they but form their plans and take the initiative, they may depend on the help of their London comrades.

J. L. MAHON.

"Every government should provide for every subject the means of living both honestly and at ease. We should bring out of every man and every creature as much utility as we may. Now much utility will never be produced unless we render life easy and comfortable. If all men and women would labour six hours in the twenty-four, some mentally, some corporeally, setting apart one day in the seven, all work would be completed that is requisite for our innocent and rational desires."—*William Penn: Landor's 'Conversations.'*

"Poverty is the great, the never-failing badge of slavery. Bare bones and rags are the true marks of the real slave. What is the object of Government? To cause men to live happily. They cannot be happy without a sufficiency of food and of raiment. Good government means a state of things in which the main body are well fed and well clothed. It is the chief business of a government to take care that one part of the people do not cause the other part to lead miserable lives. There can be no morality, no virtue, no sincerity, no honesty among a people continually suffering from want; and it is cruel in the last degree to punish such people for almost any sort of crime, which is, in fact not crime of the heart, not crime of the perpetrator, but the crime of his all-controlling necessities."—*William Cobbett*

WORTH ABOVE WEALTH OR STATION.—Amongst all the things that have given me pain during my life, nothing has given me so much as to see meritorious industry and labour seeming to bow the knee, and willingly to acknowledge superior worth in rank accompanied by worthlessness; and in wealth no matter how acquired. When Society is in this state, when men adore power and riches, without any regard to the conduct or character of the possessor, real freedom cannot exist. When rank and riches have been acquired by foul and disgraceful means; when they have been the effect of tricks and contrivances, properly characterised by being called frauds; or when they are used as the means of insulting and oppressing the commons instead of the means of protecting them; then to see the knee of industry and of labour voluntarily bow before them, is to see that which ought to convince every man that liberty has taken her flight from that community; that all sense of political right and wrong is at an end.—*William Cobbett.*

### THE NATIONALISATION OF THE LAND.

MANY earnest people urge that if private property in land were abolished, all the miseries of the present deadlock would disappear like mist before the sun. The only good thing I can see in the proposal is the sincerity with which I believe it is made. The small "economic value" which remains to the owner, as he is called, of the land would be completely lost in the maw of the class now below him, viz., the tenant-farmer or the owner of house property, who are now sufficiently powerful. It is true that very few are morally fit to be owners of property, but the removal of their power would not prevent employers from taking advantage of the forces now below them, and no proper use can be made of the land until it is used for all the inhabitants. There is now an outcry, from people calling themselves Christian philanthropists, for emigration. Why emigrate our best men when their native land remains uncultivated? It never will be cultivated while the system is for 15 persons to work for the profit of one, and that one an idler. It is no exaggeration to say that all the food required for 36 millions of people can be grown in the British Isles, nor is there any reason to apprehend such an increase in population as to require an importation of food provided the profit system were first exported. It is the profit hunger, and it only, which causes bad cultivation and no cultivation. The workers possess all the knowledge their employers possess; but here is a specimen of what becomes of the result of their work.

A—— is a parish containing 4000 acres, devoted entirely to agriculture, and occupied by ten individuals who think themselves very much master farmers, some of whom admit they receive for produce of all kinds a sum equal to five pounds for every acre, others admit that this return would remain after paying for cattle-foods of various kinds and artificial manures, and the general opinion is that if the return is not £5 it ought to be—the aggregate annual growth of produce is, therefore, about £20,000, after feeding the draught horses on part of it. The wages of labourers, smiths, wheelwrights, and every other service done towards securing this result, cannot be shown to amount to more than half the above amount; of the remainder over £1200 is known to be paid away as tithe, and a further £5000 or more for rent. Some of the recipients of said rent have not set foot in the place for years. This leaves £3800 for the ten families of "master" farmers. The workers are paid a bare subsistence wage, 10s. to 12s. a week, are wretchedly housed, and generally speaking show a physical deterioration, the result of want, ignorance, and misery, acting and reacting each to produce the other.

Can Land Nationalisation stay this havoc? Would it not rather remove one evil to strengthen another? The remedy is not security for capital, but security for labour. The half of the product of labour now exploited would convert the parish into a paradise for double its present population, because when excellence of workmanship takes the place of profit-grinding, the soil would have its due help from the hand of man; it would be to the interest of the inhabitants to keep up its fertility. No system like the present can possibly ever secure the full fruits of the earth.

JOHN DELVER.

### How to Abolish the Wage-System.

The people should cause the issue of money by the government in sufficient quantities to provide for the conduct of business upon a cash basis. Credit would then cease, practically, and there would be no more need for borrowing. And, if loans were made, the interest thereon should only represent the value of the labour in effecting and looking after the loan. Working-men would find it more profitable to combine their savings, or borrow money for a short time, and establish industries upon a co-operative plan, electing the different co-operators to the various positions in the factory or business, and thus employing themselves, than by working for wages as now. This would abolish the wage-system, and this is the most feasible way of doing so. With the present monetary system, which not only admits of, but practically compels the borrowing of money, we shall always have two classes—the men who work for a living and produce all things, and the men who lend money and prey upon the necessity of others. The latter class is injurious to the welfare of society, and altogether unnecessary. Working-men should insist upon having a monetary system that will furnish them with their own capital, render borrowing unnecessary, and thereby do away with capitalists as a class. Then arbitration would not be required. Men with huge fortunes would be at liberty to spend them, but not in a position to sweat out any more of labour's life-blood in their support. Industrial co-operation, national, provincial, municipal, and voluntary, must yet succeed the wage-system, but this must go along with the greatest possible liberty of the individual.—(Toronto) *Labor Reformer*.

### International Conference of Glass Bottle Makers.

A four day's Conference of Glass Bottle Makers was commenced at 13, Farringdon Road, on Saturday last, attended by delegates from England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, and Holland. The purpose of the Conference was to establish an International Trades' Association. The business was got through rapidly, and the utmost kindness and good feeling prevailed amongst the delegates. Comrade Dave acted as interpreter, and will write an article on the Conference for next week's issue. The delegates were invited to supper with a few members of the Socialist League on Tuesday evening. The chief purpose of the gathering was to interchange opinions and promote good feeling and solidarity with the workmen of different nations. This is the first really International Trades' Union that has been founded, and in taking a step so far in advance of the other trades, the glass bottle makers deserve the good wishes of all workmen. The delegates were as follows:—*England*—Yorkshire: Christopher Sweeting and T. S. Beedel; Lancashire: J. Hunter and C. Canning; Sunderland: J. J. Good; Beaham Harbour: R. Turnbull and R. Adamson; Brierley Hill: E. Wright. *Scotland*—Glasgow: R. Mustard. *Ireland*—Dublin: William Graham. The other countries were represented by Beutling and Voelkel.—J. L. M. [Exchanges please copy.]

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### A PROPOSAL.

I have seen lately in the *Commonweal* that there has been some difficulty in getting the Branch subscriptions, and it is in relation to this that I trouble you at present with a plan, which I think will rectify this hindrance to the progress of Socialism. My plan is this: (1) Do away with Branch subscriptions altogether, and in their stead by issuing membership cards (yearly or monthly as would be found most fit) connect the friends immediately with headquarters. (2) Print members names in the *Commonweal* when they join and when they renew their membership cards. (3) On the cards print the names of the different funds for collecting purposes. (4) The subscription to be a penny per week. I think the result would be a good one for two reasons. It would show us how many friends we were quite unaware of we had in the same provincial town, and the outcome would be the formation of a Branch, and also where the members were too few to form a Branch, their subscriptions would not be lost.

16 South Mansionhouse Road, Edinburgh,  
September 20th, 1886

CHARLES WM. TUKE.

### "DOG - MUZZLING."

COMRADE,—Permit me a word in reply to Mr. Barrett. There are certain diseases—rabbits, glanders, and syphilis—which are communicated solely by direct contact, and which it is clear can be checked in proportion as that contact is stopped. Now here, it seems to me, it is manifestly right that the whole society should step in and restrain individuals from carelessly doing anything which may tend to spread these diseases by every means in its power. Any act which may possibly have this effect ought to be treated as criminal and as a possible injury to society. The principle seems to me perfectly clear; and to say that checking that which is the direct cause does not check the disease itself is to my mind too preposterous an absurdity to argue against.

The only objection against regulation of this kind as carried out now is that it is done by State officials who are alien to the body of the people, and that it is liable to the abuses springing from this. But this does not invalidate the principle; it only shows the disadvantages under which it and every other principle, good in itself, works at present.

A SOCIALIST.

[We cannot insert any more letters on this subject.—Eds.]

### LITERARY NOTICES.

The *Roll Call* is a small four page journal, published monthly in Chicago, devoted to the anti-usury agitation. It is a smart, readable production, and should have effect.—S.

The last volume issued of the *Camelot Classics* (Walter Scott, 24, Warwick Lane, 1s.) is a selection of Swift's prose-writings. It includes his famous essays on "Political Lying" and the even better known "Modest Proposal" in which he proposes to lessen beggary by making human flesh an article of merchandise. His mordant satire upon "remedies for poverty" is even more forcibly applicable to-day than when written.—S.

The *Facts about the Unemployed*, by H. H. C. (Modern Press) is a compilation written in the literary style of a Parliamentary blue-book. It deals chiefly with the action of the S.D.F. in the recent phases of its agitation. For the palliation of the distress, the writer puts forward a number of well-known and well-worn schemes, which he rather strangely admits will operate only "until further development of machinery and invention increase the productivity of labour, and bring about a repetition of the miseries of the last few months." This admission seems to upset all the rest of the pamphlet, and the writer gives no indication of what is to happen when his plan of temporary relief has exhausted itself. The pamphlet, however, will be useful to those of the capitalist class who would like to save their skins and their social system. If the writer's views were adopted and fully carried out, we might have a bourgeois paradise where the poor would still be poor, but just far enough from starvation to keep them from becoming revolutionary. It is doubtful, however, if the capitalist class can be got to understand this, the only means of staving off Socialism.—J. L. M.

*Daylight* (Norwich) is a lively democratic paper which has always been very fair to the Socialist movement. When the Socialist League Branch started in Norwich and proved that it was making way among the people, *Daylight* set aside two columns of its space every week for the discussion of Socialism. Last week's number contains a verbatim report of Wm. Morris's new lecture on "Socialism: the End and the Means." Copies can be obtained at 13 Farringdon Road. Country Branches might order a dozen or a quire, and could have them sent with their usual weekly parcel of the *Commonweal*. It is to be hoped that *Daylight* will not suffer for leaving the usual narrow track of the weekly press, and being fair to the revolutionary movement.—J. L. M.

The *Haymarket Speech* of Albert R. Parsons, as re-delivered in the Court-room in Chicago on August 9, has been printed as a 12-page pamphlet, and is being sold to raise funds for the defence. It is a comprehensive review of the rights and wrongs of labour, a swift analysis and exposure of the present system, and a stirring appeal to the slaves to combine. It is logical, clear, and admirably moderate, though it is the speech which the hiring press described in such rabid terms when first delivered. Everyone who can should send for and read this now historic address. (Labour Press Association, 76, Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A., 10c.)—S.

The *Model Commonwealth* is the organ of the Puget Sound Co-operative Colony, and is published weekly at the Seattle, Washington Territory. Its aim is the practical solution of the subject of Entire Co-operation: i.e., a separate community of collective industry, means, utilities, public and private, and of persons under a single management, and responsibility for the health, usefulness, individuality, and security of each and all.—S.

In Southern Russia a large number of Nihilists have just been arrested. Twenty-eight Nihilists are in prison at Resin and sixteen at Odessa, Nicolaieff and Yekaterinoslaff. It is curious to note that these arrests were made almost simultaneously with those connected with the suspected Anarchist plot to burn Vienna.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NEWS.

## BRITAIN.

Williams, the member of the Democratic Federation who was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for obstructing Bell Street, was released on Saturday morning last. In order to prevent a demonstration, he was released at 5.45 a.m., instead of at the usual time, 8 a.m. He remained, however, in the vicinity of the prison until 8 o'clock, when a number of members of the Democratic Federation and delegates from the Radical clubs arrived to welcome him.

SCOTLAND.—Evictions still continue with almost undiminished severity amongst the Skye crofters. It seems probable that, owing to the severity of the landlords, there will be another rising amongst them before very long. In the district of Edinbane, where writs were served a few days ago, the poverty of the people is very great, as their squalid appearance shows.

On October 14 the miners employed by Messrs. Baird and Co. at Kilsyth, near Glasgow, were locked out. Several hundreds of men are thus thrown out of employment, and must starve with their wives and children until society will again permit them to work.

IRELAND.—Rents are being reduced all over Ireland from twenty to thirty-five per cent, so that although Mr. Parnell's Bill was not passed into law it has been put into practice. The only place where conflict appears inevitable seems to be on the Clanricarde estate, in county Galway. Here the landlord refuses to make any reduction in the rents. The National League has declared war and advised the tenants to refuse to pay more than the reduced rent.

DUBLIN.—The city van drivers are about getting up a society for their protection. These men are exposed to all weathers and the moment an illness comes on they are slung aside for the hospital or poorhouse.

During an inquiry held recently it transpired that a guardian's refreshments, who conducted the removal of a pauper imbecile from London to Kanturk Co. Cork, cost £2 16s. The idiot's came to 7s. 6d. What a gaudy time they must have had together!—*Evening Telegraph*.

CORK.—The Trades held a meeting lately to denounce severely the conduct of Nationalist and other members of the Corporation, who blocked a motion proposing to provide corporation employment for destitute artisans and labourers during the coming winter.

## AMERICA.

NEW YORK.—TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND PERSONS THROWN OUT OF EMPLOYMENT.—In consequence of a decision of the majority of the members of the National Association of Knit-Goods Manufacturers, fifty-nine mills—located at Cohoes, Waterford, Hudson, Schectady, Little Falls, Philmont, Amsterdam, and Valatie, all of which are situated in the State of New York—will close on Saturday Oct. 16. Twenty-five thousand persons will thus be thrown out of employment.

RICHMOND.—One of the things most talked of in Richmond during the sessions of the K. of L. has been in reference to the social status of the coloured delegates. In the delegation of sixty-five members from D. A. 49, of New York, there is a coloured delegate, Frank Ferrell, who was refused admission to the hotel, upon which the whole delegation determined to take quarters in coloured boarding-houses. Brother Powderly made the next movement in the matter by asking Brother Ferrell to introduce him to the Governor and General Assembly. Among the nineteen Knights from Baltimore at the St. Charles Hotel was a coloured brother, whom the proprietor was compelled to admit on equal terms.—*John Swinton's Paper*.

CHICAGO.—THE CONDEMNED ANARCHISTS.—The triumphant prediction made by State's Attorney Grinnell, at the close of the Anarchists' trial, and echoed since by Capt. Schaack and others of the State's forces, that the verdict of death against Spies and his fellow prisoners was a verdict of death to Anarchism in Chicago, has not been made good by subsequent developments. Even at the time it was made, well-informed persons must have known that the boast was ill-considered or insincere. Most likely it was the former, for Grinnell but reflected the popular feeling that there was no real difference between Anarchism and Socialism, and that all concerned in either alike ought to be hanged. Proceeding upon this cheerful theory, there are not less than 30,000 candidates for the gallows in Chicago to-day—to say nothing of many thousands in other cities of the Union. Certainly there are fully that number of able-bodied workmen in this city who are daily labouring and contributing of their substance to the defence and support of the convicted eight now languishing in jail. The money of these sympathisers paid the expense of the trial, including 100 dols. a day for the services of Capt. Black; it has paid for the support of the wives and dependent relatives of the prisoners since May last, and it is pouring in in thousands to defray the expense of the new trial. There is no reason to doubt that there is an ample fund at hand for the prosecution of a long and expensive appeal to the Supreme Court of the State. In a word, so far is it from true that the convicted eight are alone and friendless, that they should rather be described as revelling in the substantial sympathy of their friends.—*Cor. N. Y. Sun*.

The Anarchists in Chicago have been sentenced to be hung on Dec. 3. Judge Gary, in passing sentence, admitted that the accused were not the actual murderers and that it had not been proved they had anything whatever to do with the throwing of the bombs. Nevertheless they are to be sacrificed to the cry for revenge that has arisen from the capitalist press. The authorities will soon learn that instead of in any way diminishing the ardour of the Anarchists, they will only have incensed them by this judicial murder of their comrades.

A first-class ticket, local, judicial, and congressional, was nominated upon a first-class platform by the Working-men's Convention, which was composed of about 400 delegates from the great labour organisations of Chicago. . . . The plan of organisation and platform prepared by the Committee of Twenty-One was adopted unanimously by the Convention. The platform is divided into three sections, National Demands, State Demands, and County Demands. The first covers the eight-hour law, government ownership of means of transportation, an anti-bank monetary system, an anti-contract labour policy, a tax on luxuries, the forfeiture of unearned land grants, and the disbandment of such private armies as the Pinkertons. The State platform deals with such questions as prison contract labour, the eight-hour law, the weekly payment of wages in lawful money, compulsory education, child-labour, the eligibility of women to service on school boards, and an employers' liability law. . . . The preamble to the platform is well worth quoting, as follows:—

"We, the representatives of organised labour of Cook County, in Convention

assembled, declare that experience has taught us that no legislation in our interests can longer be reasonably expected from either the Republican or Democratic party; that the power of aggregated wealth has such control over the managers of these parties that they have become the mere creatures of corporate monopoly, serving its purpose, obeying its mandates, and using all the functions of government to subjugate and enslave the labouring people; that henceforth, by manly, intelligent, and independent political action, we will endeavour to secure those measures of simple justice which our begging appeals and humble petitions have failed to obtain; that the time has come to drive the political go-between from our ranks, for as no man can faithfully serve two masters, so it is impossible for a trades-unionist or a Knight of Labour to be an active political worker in the Republican or Democratic parties, and remain an honest man in the ranks of labour; that as the economic encroachments of aggregated wealth have caused the defensive organisation of the producers into trades' unions, Knights of Labour, and grangers, so must the political encroachments of the same aggregated wealth (which are still more dangerous to the liberty and existence of the people) inevitably force the people into defensive political organisations as distinct and antagonistic to capitalistic political parties, as the trade union is to the club, cabal, or clique of the monopolist; and that to the recognition of this fact is due the organisation of the united labour party."—*John Swinton's Paper*.

## FRANCE.

Since the acquittal of Lafargue, Baudin, etc., Louise Michel who was convicted to three months' imprisonment for speaking at the same place and at the same time, has been offered her freedom; but she has refused to be liberated unless the Government will grant her a complete amnesty.

The Mayor of Levallois Perret, a large suburb of Paris, has opened a free registry for men out of work, by means of which over eleven hundred situations have been obtained for the unemployed within a few months.

M. Lockroy, Minister of Commerce and Manufactures, is just about to introduce a bill into the Chambers for the institution of State loans for the working-classes.

## AUSTRIA.

It now turns out, as was pointed out in this column last week, that the reports about the Anarchist plot to burn down Vienna were grossly exaggerated, being founded, indeed, upon the slenderest basis. All the information came from a supposed informer who was pretty certainly merely a police spy. It was not to be expected, of course, that the authorities would object to any "corroborative details" of an alarming kind which might be added to his pretended disclosures by his fecund imagination. False as they were, they have served their purpose. The report of the plot sent a thrill of terror through Europe, the doom of the Chicago Anarchists has been made more assured, and the way has been paved for an international agreement by which Anarchists, Socialists, Nihilists, and kindred propagators of "sedition," may be given up to the tender mercies of their respective governments. However the three emperors may disagree politically, the police of their several empires will always be ready to unite against their common foe.—*U.*

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Mile-end, to June 30. Birmingham, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Dublin, Hackney, Leeds, Merton Abbey, North London, Norwich, to August 31. Bloomsbury, Croydon, Hammersmith, Manchester, Marylebone, to September 30. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to Dec. 31.

## BRANCH REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, October 13, A. K. Donald gave a continuation of the subject, viz., "Education of the Proletariat," to a fair audience; an interesting discussion followed. The usual open-air meetings have been held on the Green. On Sunday, October 17th, Fred Henderson addressed a good meeting on "The Socialist Ideal;" a lively fire of questions and brisk discussion ensued. *Commonweal* has sold well at our meetings. Collected for the Defence Fund, 1s. 11½d.—W. B., sec.

HACKNEY.—On Wednesday, October 13, we held our usual meeting in the Broadway, London Fields, when Lane and Graham spoke. Graham also addressed meetings at Well Street and Victoria Park. The sale of *Commonweal* is increasing.—H. G.

HOXTON.—On Thursday evening, the usual outdoor meeting was held; Davis, Barker, Graham, and Pope spoke. On Sunday morning, Lane and Barker addressed a good audience outdoors. In the evening Chambers lectured on "Socialism Explained and Defended;" good audience and discussion; sale of literature good.—H. A. B., sec.

MERTON.—Last Sunday, comrade Burcham addressed our meeting on the Mitcham Fair Green, and in the course of an able address he said that the proletarian classes had planted the fear of God in us to preserve their supremacy, it was our duty to plant the fear of man in them to achieve our emancipation. Sale of *Commonweal* and other literature good. In the evening we held a meeting at Merton club-room, addressed by comrades Kitz, Dalehon, and Gregory. Three new members made.—F. Kitz, sec.

MILE-END.—On Saturday, October 16, comrade Henderson addressed a good meeting on the Waste. He explained the economic position of the workers to-day, and showed how they were completely dominated by the landlord and capitalist classes. H. Davis also spoke, and appealed to the workers to join hands with the Socialists to obtain their rights.—C. BENSON.

NORTH LONDON.—Comrade William Morris gave a splendid lecture on "Socialism, the End and the Means," on Friday evening, at Milton Hall. In the face of a heavy storm of rain a good audience came to listen, and showed its keen sympathy with the principles of Socialism as our comrade laid them down. Some opposition was given, chiefly by a representative of the Liberty and Property Defence League.—A good meeting was held in Regent's Park on Sunday morning, addressed by Fred Henderson. The speaker was well received; and 2s. 2d. was collected for the Defence Fund. The report of the Harrow Road meeting will be found in another column.—F. H.

BILLY.—We had a fair meeting on Tuesday night, and took two names. On the Saturday previous Lea and Shutt visited Keighley and sold 1½ doz. of *Commonweals*. We intend to try and spread the light there. On Sunday evening, the 10th inst., Lea read Morris's lecture on "The Labour Question," at the Glen Hotel, to an attentive and appreciative audience. There were a number of questions asked after the lecture, and we promised to go again.—J. W. L., sec.

EDINBURGH.—On the evening of Thursday, October 14th, members of the Edinburgh University Social Reform Society and their friends, were favoured with a most interesting economic lecture from Patrick Geddes, of the Edinburgh University. He reviewed the history of labour, from slavery through serfdom



to the present régime of "Wagedom." He pointed out that in passing out of one state into another, though there was gain, there was in other respects loss. By way of illustration he gave it as his opinion that though modern weavers were more rapid producers than those of Flanders in the olden time, they were utterly incapable of a military feat at all parallel to that brilliant exploit of the Flemish when they completely routed the flower of French nobility. The modern idea of life was very much as follows: Society was the sum total of individual lives, which lives had been called into existence in order that they might produce "things." When we had made the "things" we collected them into exhibitions—the modern cathedrals—where we worshipped said "things." He thought, however, that we might look forward to a time when this state of matters would be entirely reversed, when "things" would not be considered an end in themselves, but only as a means towards securing a greater efficiency in individual life, and individual life would exist for Society. An interesting discussion followed.—On Sunday forenoon, comrades McMillan and Gilray attended a lecture by J. H. Levy, of London, on "Freedom v. Socialism." The lecturer made little or no attempt to show how Socialism would extinguish Freedom. McMillan reviewed the lecture in a thoughtful and telling manner; and in reply to some Malthusian remarks of the lecturer, Gilray pointed out that it was impossible, even were it desirable, to manipulate the number of the workers to suit the ever-varying requirements of Capitalism. It was satisfactory to find that the Socialist speakers were not without sympathisers in the audience.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—On Wednesday evening, comrade Glasier addressed a meeting of the Govan district miners at the Polmadie Hall, Polmadie, where his exposition of the labour question was received with great approval. On Saturday evening, comrades Warrington, Downie, and Glasier addressed a large open-air meeting at Hamilton. On Sunday evening we held a meeting in the Harmonic Hall, Hamilton, for the purpose of inaugurating a Branch of the League. Comrades Scheu, Small, McLean, Warrington, and Glasier addressed the meeting. Over forty members were enrolled, and arrangements made for future meetings. Comrade William Marshall, Hamilton, was appointed secretary. On Sunday evening, comrade Adams gave a lecture on "The Commune of Paris," in the Secularist Hall, Glasgow, which was well received.—J. B. G.

LEEDS.—On Thursday evening, October 14, the members of this Branch held their first meeting in their fresh meeting-place at the New Fleece Inn, Pemberton Street, off Dewsbury Road. It was agreed that we should hold a meeting there every Thursday evening at 8 p.m. for the purposes of lectures, debates, and to transact the business of the Branch. On Friday, October 15, comrade Maguire delivered a lecture on the "Principles of Socialism" to the members of the Primrose Conveium. The only opposition came from an individual who trotted out the usual platitudes about thrift, etc., to the evident disgust of the audience. On Sunday morning, we held our usual open-air meeting on Hunslet Moor. Comrade Corkwell gave an address on the "Anomalies of the Present System." On Sunday evening, comrade Maguire went to the Royal Oak Hotel, Shipley, to take up the adjourned debate on the "Breakdown of the Present System."—F. C., sec.

MANCHESTER.—On Friday evening, comrade Unwin lectured on "Socialism and Happiness" at the Lower Moseley Street Mutual Improvement Society. There was a good attendance, and some spirited discussion followed. Comrade Parkinson made a very effective little speech in defence of our principles. Sunday was too wet for open-air work.—R. U.

IPSWICH.—Comrade Mahon delivered two lectures here on Sunday, in the open-air, to good audiences. In the morning he lectured on "Emigration and the Unemployed," and in the afternoon on "Socialism and the Unemployed." Four quires of *Commonweal* sold. In the evening, a meeting of several members of the Branch was held, when comrade Mahon impressed upon those present the great importance of each member doing something to help the movement, and to bring about a true feeling of brotherhood. The question of comrade Morris coming and giving us a lecture was also discussed, and it was felt that the week following the Lord Mayor's farce would be a fitting time for our comrade to visit us. We are certainly taking a firm hold of the workers here, and I hope our London comrades will do all they can to help us. The local papers and politicians are vieing with each other in their abuse of our London comrade, "Professional Agitator," "Paid to Gull the Public," and "A Foreign Importation with the Gift of the Gab," are among the elegant epithets used towards him.—C. REYNOLDS.

NORWICH.—We held our usual meetings on St. Mary's Plain and in the market place, our audiences being very large though the weather was showery. C. W. Mowbray lectured at No. 6, St. Benedict Street, at 7.30, to an overcrowded audience, many having to be refused admission; the subject was "Who Are Our Opponents?" A great quantity of literature was sold, and nine new members made. Our fortnightly sale of literature has amounted to £2 8s. 4d. Comrade Crotch and Slaughter also held the usual meeting at St. Faith's, and took four names for the formation of a Branch. C. W. Mowbray lectured last Monday evening on "The Unemployed."—C. W. M., sec.

### The Free Speech Fight.

On Thursday October 14 Henderson appeared for the second time at the Marylebone Police Court on a charge of obstruction. The case was at once adjourned *sine die*. On Friday Mahon appeared at the same place on the same business. A sergeant and constable were witnesses for the Crown, and swore the truth, and more than the truth, and something else besides the truth, with a pleasant facility and unscrupulousness that was quite engaging. Mahon explained that the witnesses for the defence were not present, as it was expected that this case would be adjourned as the others were. He asked for an adjournment for a week, which was refused. He then explained that the Socialists were only asserting the right of speech that were enjoyed by other people; they had no wish to obstruct traffic or passengers, and did not persist in speaking at places where a real obstruction was caused; but they were not to be deprived of their right of free speech under pretence of a technical obstruction. Whatever the law might do or say, they were bound to defend that right even in defiance of the law. The magistrate was of opinion that Mahon (or "Mohann," as the police ingeniously Germanised it), had wilfully caused an obstruction, and, but for some dispute about the Act under which the prosecution took place, would have dealt with the accused. The case was adjourned for a few weeks till this dispute was settled and the defendant would then be called upon to be dealt with by the court.—J. L. M.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST SOCIETY, Industrial Hall, Clark's Buildings, Broad Street, Bloomsbury.—Wednesday 27. Frederick Verinder, "New Testament Socialism." ROYAL SUNDAY AFTERNOON SOCIETY, Liberal Association's Room, ground floor, Grosvenor Buildings, Railway Station.—Oct. 31, at 3.30, Edward Snelling, "Socialism."

SOCIALISM IN NEWCASTLE.—A Society for the discussion of Socialism has just been formed in Newcastle. All Socialists and others interested in the subject are invited to join. The secretary is Edward R. Pease, 29, Claremont Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

**A CONCERT** will be held at FARRINGTON HALL, 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C., on Saturday Evening, October 30, at eight o'clock, for the purpose of raising funds for the HACKNEY SOCIALIST CLUB. Admission by Programme (6d. each), which can be obtained at the Office.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday Oct. 22, at 8 p.m. W. A. Chambers, "How to Help the Cause."  
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday October 24, at 7.30 p.m. J. L. Mahon, "The Trades' Congress." Wednesday 27, at 8.30 p.m. W. H. Utley, "Science and Socialism."  
Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7.30 p.m. George Bernard Shaw, "Why we do not act up to our Principles."  
Hackney.—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street.  
Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday at 8 p.m.  
Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pittfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday October 24, at 7.45 p.m. H. A. Barker, "The whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth."  
Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee meets every Thursday.  
Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. The Club Room will be open after the 26th every evening from 7.30 till 11. A Concert will be held on the evening of the 26th.  
North London.—Business Meeting at 32 Camden Road Fridays at 8 p.m.

### Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Tuesdays, at 7.30 p.m.  
Birmingham.—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.  
Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Rd. Wednesdays, at 8.  
Dublin.—102 Capel Street.  
Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m.  
Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. On Saturday evening at six o'clock, open-air meeting on Glasgow Green.—On Sunday at 11.30 and 4.30, open air meeting on Glasgow Green.—On Sunday comrade Andreas Scheu will deliver a Lecture on "The Socialist Systems of Owen, Blanqui, and Marx," in the Albion Halls, at 7 p.m. Admission, 3d. and 6d. Members earnestly requested to attend and bring friends.—On Monday evening at 8, open-air meeting at Parkhead Cross.  
Hull.—This Branch hopes to open a Club Room in a very short time, and gifts of money, pictures, books, etc., will be very useful. Address, Eugene Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street, Hull.  
Ipswich.—"George Inn," Woodhouse Street.  
Leeds.—New Fleece Inn, Pemberton Street, Dewsbury Road. Thursday October 28, at 8 p.m. Comrade Corkwell, "Nationalisation of Land."  
Leicester.—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.  
Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 8 p.m. Afterwards discussion on the Manifesto. Members and friends please attend.  
Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.  
Oldham.—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9 Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.  
Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

### Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

#### LONDON.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 23.	Hyde Park (Marble Arch).....	4	A. K. Donald	Clerkenwell.
	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales") 8		T. E. Wardle	N. London.
	Mile-end Waste .....	8	H. Davis	Mile-end.
S. 24.	Marylebone—corner of Salis- bury St. and Church St.	11.30	Somerville	Marylebone.
	Hackney—Well Street .....	11.30	T. E. Wardle	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—Beadon Rd. ....	11.30	Tochatti	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street.....	11.30	Pope and Lane	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste .....	11.30	H. A. Barker	Mile-end.
	Mitcham Fair Green .....	11.30	J. L. Mahon	Merton.
	Regent's Park .....	11.30	D. J. Nicoll	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches.....	11.30	F. Henderson	Bloomsbury.
	Walham Green, opposite Station	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch) 3		W. A. Chambers	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park .....	3.30	T. E. Wardle	Hackney.
	Clerkenwell Green .....	7	H. Graham	Clerkenwell.
Tu. 26.	Euston Road—Ossulton St. ...	7	Somerville	N. London.
	Mile-end Waste .....	8	The Branch	Mile-end.
	Soho—Broad Street .....	8	T. E. Wardle	Bloomsbury.
W. 27.	London Fields—Broadway, opposite "Sir Walter Scott"	8.30	Somerfield	Hackney.
Th. 28.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street...	8	The Branch	Hoxton.

#### PROVINCES.

Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m., Sundays.  
Manchester.—Corner of Gorton Lane and Ashton Old Road, Sundays at 11.30.  
Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, 11 a.m.; Market Place, 3 p.m.—Sundays.  
Oldham.—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Edward Carpenter ...	£5 0 0	Bloomsbury Branch (weekly) £0 5 0
Collected by W. Morris for		T. B. (two weeks) ... 0 1 0
his lectures ...	2 10 0	
Hammersmith Branch (weekly)	0 10 0	£8 10 0
Mile-end Branch (by Davis)	0 4 0	PH. W., Treasurer, Oct. 19.

### FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

By Mainwaring, collected in		By T. Wardle, further on acct.	
Hyde Park ...	£0 7 2	of (Mainwaring) Concert £0 1 6	
Clerkenwell Branch (Oct. 10			£0 13 2½
and 17) ...	0 4 6½	Owing ...	6 12 7
		Deficit ...	£5 19 4½

(In last week's list, for "Mrs. Harris" read Mr. Harris, and for "Mrs. Beckett" read Mr. Beckett.) PH. W., Treasurer, Oct. 19.

#### THE

## PRACTICAL SOCIALIST.

AN EXPONENT OF EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM; BUT DISCUSSION OF ALL ASPECTS INVITED.

EDITED BY THOMAS BOLAS.

MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

W. REEVES, 185 FLEET STREET.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE, at 13 Farringdon Road, London

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 42.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

THE democratic side of the new Tory Democracy will be severely tried by the new development of the land-war in Ireland, of which the "battle" of Clonakilty was a dramatic incident. Whether the plan of campaign given in *United Ireland* be carried out or not, we may be at least sure that the resistance to rent will take some definite and organised shape. Under these circumstances the Government will doubtless find the Closure a necessity to them, and Lord Randolph Churchill may well bid a high price for it, and Tories and Whigs of all shades must put up with it.

Or is his lordship really going further on the democratic path? If so here is an opportunity for him. Let him bid the Home Secretary to release the lately imprisoned crofters, and administer a good, snub to the judge for his vindictive and cruel sentence; some of us might be shaken in our views of him then, and suppose him capable of something else than the most barefaced chicanery.

"The quality of mercy is not strained," says Shakespeare, apparently thinking of the jelly-bag. But on this occasion the judge must have strained it very fine indeed, since the jury recommended the convicts to mercy, and the judge admitted that those who had the lighter sentence were little more than lookers-on. Perhaps taught by this judicial champion of common-sense, they will remember a familiar proverb next time, and do something more than look on.

According to the story given of an incident in the Czar's life those who are engaged in defending him run almost as great a risk from his Majesty's hand as those who are plotting his death. This story, though it has been denied, may be true in spite of that, but true or not, it was clearly not thought an impossibility; and even that fact gives us a curious indication of the joys of a tyrant's life, still more curiously emphasised by Mr. Ralston's apology, that it was a true story of the late Czar.

The war cloud meanwhile seems to be gathering and darkening. It may well be that with Russia in such a condition the Czar may think it the best chance of prolonging his dastard's life to stir up Russian Jingoism to the utmost, and that the risk, fearful though it is, must be borne. Whatever may happen, the advance of Socialism is not likely to be retarded. Nay, it is difficult to conceive but that a war must inflict a terrible wound, and probably a fatal one, on one or other of the great reactionary powers. Nevertheless, from the point of view which is presented to us English Socialists, a war is to be deprecated for other reasons than the natural human horror at causeless slaughter and misery. It is rather the miseries of bourgeois peace than those of war which will force on the workers perception of the fact that our commercial system is rotting into a chaos which, but for the steady advance of Socialism, would mean a return to a savagery a thousand-fold worse than that from which mankind has slowly and painfully emerged.

For if Europe were to be at war again many worthy persons would point out that all our misfortunes were due to it, and that peace obtained once more all would be well again. Moreover, the pleasurable excitement of reading every morning stirring news of the hopes and fears of the contest, while we sat safe at home, would arouse our latent Jingoism, and would take people's attention off the really important social matters which they are now forced to consider, and the pressing nature of which is now educating the people surely if slowly.

But that is not all, nor the most important side of the matter. It is a frightful thing to have to say, but a true one, that a war would at first benefit those of the workers who were not immediately concerned in it: it would "give employment" by destroying before they were used some of the commodities made by the workers, not for their own livelihood, but as counters for "making money." The miseries of war would not really be felt till peace came again, the sham peace of our class society, bringing with it once more lack of employment, over-production, over-population, and the rest of it, till men at last, unable to bear the consequences of their own folly any longer, would rise in a body and accept the social revolution, thrusting aside the turnip-lantern boggy of fear so sedulously held up to them by interested fools, scoundrels, and cowards. When they do that they will find no

tremendous difficulty in making what they want for their own use, and using it.

But all that they might come to without the intervention of war and slaughter, and probably the sooner, since, as aforesaid, they will feel the pinch more speedily, and see the only remedy more clearly.

Meanwhile, it is a favourite amusement with the middle-classes to try to prove to the workers that they do not suffer, or that if they do, yet things are getting better in spite of the depression of trade. Lord Derby (who, though an earl, is mentally as complete a specimen of the bourgeois as could be wished) is the latest player in this game. He professes, however, that he is perplexed at the figures that show that our prosperity is increasing while our trade-profits are falling off. It might be suggested to him as a solution of his "perplexity" that the ever-increasing productivity of labour, or, if you please, the increasing cheapness in the processes of manufacture, is telling more and more in favour of the "haves" and against the "have-nots"; that the tendency is for the middle-class, now that it has embraced the aristocracy and made them all traders, to extend downwards, and so to widen the basis of class-robbery or property; so that at first sight Lord Derby has some reason to be reassured as to the stability of the Robber Association, miscalled Society, which it is his sole business to uphold.

Nevertheless, this very process of the extension of the class to which his lordship (mentally) belongs, tends also to consolidate the genuine working-class by levelling them; and his lordship increases his perplexity, it may be said in passing, by confusing some of the working with the middle-class. But the great difficulty is now arising for the middle-class, which would increase Lord Derby's perplexity if he could turn his attention to it. The middle-class exists only as an employing class, and their success in cheapening the processes of labour is making it difficult for them to employ their—slaves. And unless they can get over that difficulty the days of class-robbery of our modern sham Society are numbered. Nor can they get over it; because competition will force them to go on cheapening manufacture in the teeth of an ever-increasing "reserve army of labour," which will at last (and surely before long) be forced to employ itself—and where will the middle-class and its economical earls be then?

Will Lord Derby explain a thing which one would think might perplex many people? Optimist economists are apt to show with great glee the advantages of our present working population in the cheapness of living, on account of the low price of necessities and small luxuries; but the very same persons are no less gleeful, and deduce the same lesson of the general rise in the comfort of the people when they are able to show that the prices of commodities are rising. Lord Randolph Churchill, for instance, clearly felt that he was on safe ground at last when he encouraged the Kentish lunatics (beg pardon, Tories) with the good news of the rise in pepper and quicksilver; and a writer in the *Daily News* gets really quite jolly (there is no other word) in recounting the fact that Cheshire cheese is rising beyond all manner of doubt. What does it all mean? Is it good that prices should rise, or that they should fall, or that they should both rise and fall? Here is perplexity for you, surely worthy of Colney Hatch—or Kent!

The Lord Mayor's Show is to change its character somewhat this year; there will be the usual sheriffs' and aldermen's carriages, and the usual company banners, and the usual circus show, and no doubt the usual amount of spectators, or perhaps more; but in addition there is to be a show, organised by the Social Democratic Federation, of the unemployed of London, which is likely to be a curious part of the pageant. Whatever differences of opinion there may be about the general tactics of the Federation as to this matter of the unemployed (and I for one do not agree with them), the demonstration will no doubt show the dominant classes the "difficulty" above mentioned in an impressive manner. Indeed, the mere announcement of the intention to organise the procession has set the whole of bourgeoisdom in a twitter, and has drawn from its press various obsequatory articles which betoken a bad conscience at least; the general tone of them, stripped of their verbiage is really "Can't you let it alone?" The bourgeois is hard to convince that what is on the whole a pleasant world to him is not as good for those whose misery makes his ease; and his peevish anger at any one trying to lift a corner of the curtain for him knows no bounds, unless it is done in a merely dramatic manner, with no hint at ulterior consequences.

Colonel Fraser's letter to the Council of the Federation is not a satisfactory piece; it seems at least possible to read between its lines a threat of letting loose the indifferent rough on the procession. Anyhow, since it is clear that the Federation will do their utmost to make the demonstration go off in an orderly manner, there will be no difficulty in the way of the police ensuring that result if they are in earnest in wanting to do so.

Meantime, the commercial classes are so nervous about the affair, that one gentleman has written to the *Daily News* proposing to withdraw the show this year, which a leader-writer in the same paper, with a strange appreciation of the value of words, calls a *bold* proposal. The truth is that the war of Commerce is getting so fierce, and so many people suffer from it, that the rich and well-to-do must expect to have their follies and pleasures interfered with by the necessities of those sufferers, just as they would be in a time of mere open war, and once more it is a good thing to reach their feelings through the tough hide of use and wont, by any means that will do so without doing damage to the Cause in other ways.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER XIII.

#### THE UTOPISTS: OWEN, SAINT SIMON, AND FOURIER.

It is now necessary for us to turn for a while from the political progress of Socialism, to note the school of thinkers who preceded the birth of modern scientific or revolutionary Socialism. These men thought it possible to regenerate Society by laying before it its shortcomings, follies, and injustice, and by teaching through precept and example certain schemes of reconstruction built up from the aspirations and insight of the teachers themselves. They had not learned to recognise the sequence of events which *forces* social changes on mankind whether they are conscious of its force or not, but believed that their schemes would win their way to general adoption by men's perception of their inherent reasonableness. They hoped to convert people to Socialism, to accepting it consciously and formally, by showing them the contrast between the confusion and misery of existing civilisation, and the order and happiness of the world which they foresaw.

From the elaborate and detailed schemes of future Society which they built up they have been called the Utopists; the representatives of the different phases of their school are three most remarkable men, born within a few years of each other, whose aspirations and insight have done a very great deal to further the progress of Socialism, in spite of the incompleteness of their views.

Robert Owen was born at Newtown, Montgomeryshire, in 1771, of a lower middle-class family; he became a successful manufacturer through his own industry and quick-wittedness in the beginning of the rise of the Great Machine Industries, when "manufacturing" was advancing "by leaps and bounds." He was a born philanthropist in the better sense of the word, and from the first shown in all matters unbounded generosity and magnanimity. In the year 1800, when he was not yet thirty, he became the manager of the New Lanark Mills, and set to work on his first great experiment, which was briefly the conversion of a miserable, stupid, and vicious set of people into a happy, industrious, and orderly community, acting on the theory that man is the creature of his surroundings, and that by diligent attention to the development of his nature he can be brought to perfection. In this experiment he was entirely successful, but it was not in him to stop there, as the plain words he said of his success showed clearly enough: "Yet these men were my slaves."<sup>1</sup> He took part in all kinds of projects of a philanthropical nature, still founding all his action on his theory of the perfectibility of man by the amelioration of his surroundings, and became the first great champion of co-operation, although he did not suppose, as the co-operators of the present day do, that anything short of universal co-operation would solve the social question. In 1815, he pressed a meeting of Glasgow manufacturers to petition Parliament to shorten the hours of labour in the cotton mills, and the change which he experienced from the approbation of the governing classes to their reprobation, may well date from that proceeding of his, as a bourgeois biographer of his hints. But he still kept his position of a popular philanthropist, even after his declaration in favour of co-operation, until he at last cut himself off from respectability by openly attacking Society through its received religions (August 21, 1816), from which date onward he was scouted by all that "Society," of which he was now the declared enemy. But he was in nowise daunted. In 1823, he proposed Communistic villages as a remedy for the distress in Ireland; he established, in 1832, an exchange in Gray's Inn Road, in which labour was equitably exchanged against labour; and in 1825 he bought New Harmony from a community already established there (the Rappites), and made his great experiment in living in common; and late in life he published his 'Book of the New Moral World,' which contains the exposition of his doctrine.

It will be thus seen that he was unwearied in practical experiments. His shortcoming was the necessary one of the utopist, a total disregard of the political side of progress; he failed to see that his experiments, useful as they were from that point of view, could never develop out of the experimental stage as long as the governors of

Society forcibly uphold the so-called "rights of property," and he ignored the antagonism of classes necessarily existing under this system, and which in the long run must bring about the Socialism which he, the most generous and best of men, spent his whole life in attempting to realise. He died in 1858.

Saint Simon was born of a noble family at Paris in 1760. He acquired and ran through a fortune, deliberately experimenting in the various forms of "life" from extravagance to abject poverty. There was in him none of that tendency to practical experiment in quasi-Socialistic schemes which characterised Robert Owen. His philosophy was mingled with a mysticism which had a tendency to increase, a tendency to form a new religion rather than to realise a new condition of life, and which was carried into the absurdities of a kind of worship by his immediate followers, more or less imitated by the Positivists of our own day, whose founder, Auguste Comte, was his most cherished disciple. His Socialism was of a vague kind, and admitted the existence of classes of talent as expressed by the motto of Saint Simonism, "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his deeds." In spite, however, of the tendency to mysticism, he showed singular flashes of insight in matters historical and economic, and intellectually was certainly ahead of Robert Owen. He may be said to have set himself the task of learning all life by whatever means and at whatever expense, in order to devote himself to the new religion, "whose great aim is the swiftest possible amelioration of the moral and physical condition of the poorest and most numerous class."

Frederick Engels well says of him: "As early as his 'Letters from Geneva,' Saint Simon laid down that all men ought to work, and that the Reign of Terror had been the reign of the non-possessing masses. To face the fact in 1802 that the French Revolution was a struggle between the noblesse, the bourgeoisie, and the non-possessing classes was a discovery of genius. In 1816 he asserted that politics were but the science of production, and predicted their absorption by economy. The knowledge that economic conditions serve as the base of political institutions only shows itself here in the germ; nevertheless, this proposition contains clearly the conversion of the political government of men into an administration of things and a direction of the process of production; that is to say, the abolition of the State, of which such a noise has since been made."

Internationalism also was clearly enunciated by Saint Simon. We quote Engels again: "With an equal superiority over the views of his contemporaries, he declared in 1814, immediately after the entry of the allies into Paris, and again in 1815 during the war of the hundred days, that the sole guarantee of the peace and prosperous development of Europe, was an alliance between France and England, and of those two countries with Germany. Certainly it needed a courage by no means common to preach to the French of 1815 alliance with the victors at Waterloo."

It is worth noting that one of the schemes of the Saint Simonians, which was most ridiculed at the time, was the cutting of the Isthmuses of Suez and Panama, and that M. de Lesseps was a Saint Simonian.

Saint Simon died in great poverty in 1825, with words of hope for the future of the party on his lips.

Charles Fourier was born in 1772 at Lyons; his father was a draper. He lost his property in the Revolution, and afterwards went into business as a broker. Amidst his dealings with Society, he was early struck by the shortcomings and injustices of individualism and competition. In his first book, 'The Theory of the Four Movements,' he elaborates the proposition that human nature is perfectible through the free play of the appetites and passions, and asserts that misery and vice spring from the restraints imposed by Society. His criticism of modern Society is most valuable as anticipating that of scientific Socialism; unlike his contemporaries he has an insight into the historical growth of Society: "He divides it into four periods of development, Savagery, Barbarism, Patriarchalism, and Civilisation, meaning by the latter the Bourgeois Civilisation."<sup>1</sup> His saying, "In civilisation poverty is born even of superabundance," may well be noted in these days, and compared with Robert Owen's in 1816, "Our best customer, the war, is dead."

As a basis of the reconstruction of Society, Fourier advocated Industrial Co-operation; but here his Utopianism led him to the trap of formulating dogmatically an electorate scheme of life in all its details, a scheme which could never be carried out, however good the principle on which it was based might be. His scheme arranges for phalanxes as the unit of co-operation, in which all life and all industry, agricultural and other, should be carried on, and all details are carried out by him most minutely, the number of each phalanx being settled at 1600 souls. His most valuable idea was the possibility and necessity of apportioning due labour to each capacity, and thereby assuring that it should be always pleasurable, and his dictum that children, who generally like making dirt-pies and getting into a mess, should do the dirty work of the community, may at least be looked on as an illustration of this idea, though laid down as a formal law. His system was not one of pure equality, but admitted distinctions between rich and (comparatively) poor; and advocated a fantastic division of wealth between labour, capital, and talent. The abolition of marriage was a tenet of his doctrine.

In 1812, Fourier's mother died and left him some property, and he retired into the country to write his 'Treatise on the Association of Domesticity and Agriculture.' Afterwards he came to Paris again, became a clerk in an American firm, and wrote in 1830, his 'New In-

<sup>1</sup> Yet in 1806, when owing to the rise in cotton he could not continue manufacturing, he stopped the mills and paid his people their full wages till he could go on again in four months' time, a proceeding which cost him £7000.

<sup>1</sup> Frederick Engels in 'Socialisme Utopique,' and 'Socialisme Scientifique,' as also the quotations above.



dustrial World.' It is lamentable to have to relate that in 1831 he wrote attacking both Owen and St. Simon as charlatans, in spite of the curious points of resemblance he had to either of them. He died in 1837, but not till he had founded a school, of which Victor Considerans, author of the 'Destinée Sociale,' was the most distinguished member. The Fourierists started a paper in 1832, which expired in two years, but was revived in 1836, and finally suppressed by Government in 1850. A scheme for realising the Phalanxtery experimentally was set on foot in 1832 by a deputy of France, but it failed for lack of funds; so that of the three great Utopists, Owen was the only one who had the fortune, good or bad as it may be considered, of seeing his schemes tried by experience. Cabet, indeed, a revolutionist of '48, founded a community in America under the name of Icaria, which was (and is, for it still exists) more nearly an approach to genuine Communism than any of the other communities which have owed their origin to Utopian Socialism. Of these communities there remains a word to be said as a warning to those who are young in Socialism. Although as experiments in association something may be learned from them, their conditions of life have no claim to the title of Communism, which most unluckily has often been applied to them. Communism can never be realised till the present system of Society has been destroyed by the workers taking hold of the political power. When that happens it will mean that Communism is on the point of absorbing and transmuting Civilisation.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

## MACHINERY AND MOONSHINE.

ONE of the platitudists-in-ordinary of the *Daily News* has, in the issue of that paper for 19th inst., solved finally, to his own satisfaction, the whole question of the way in which machinery affects labour. Dealing with a paper read at the Iron and Steel Institute, this juvenile misleader says: "Diminished cost of production naturally affects the labour market in a direct fashion. This much is matter of commonplace observation. But few persons may be prepared to learn that a single lace-making machine, as stated by Dr. Percy, does away with the services of 2000 women. This is, in itself, a startling fact. No less so is the statement that wood-planing, which formerly cost 13s. per square foot, is now accomplished at the rate of 2d. or 3d. The cost of manufacture of gold chains has sunk from 30s. to 3s. 6d. A gross of steel pens may now be had for fourpence, while the former cost was seven pounds sterling. These are facts startling enough in connection with the relations between hand and machine labour." When people begin to discover things like these, where will they end? Mr. Lucy must look after his enterprising subordinate!

But that there exist compensating conditions of course goes without saying. The cheaply-produced article is in the first place as a rule superior to the old hand-made product." This is either downright lunacy or deliberate lying. Steel-pen making, and wood-planing of certain kinds may be better done by machinery, but nothing less than ignorance or madness can excuse the statement if extended to the manufacture of lace or gold chains or anything of the kind. "A greater demand is also created for the articles thus thrown in quantity into the market. Extended demand means increased supply, and the labour dissipated by the machine is gathered up anew for work in fresh channels." Any benefit to the labourers? or opposite? "Machinery does not really produce a stagnation in the labour market beyond that which is of temporary character. The balance of trade soon adjusts the relations between the machine and the workman." At the cost of how much needless suffering inflicted upon the productive classes? And are machines "temporary?" And, in the end, who gains? "Every great factory to-day is a protest against the doctrine that machinery destroys trade, or that improved methods of manufacture imply ruin to those whose labour for a time is supplanted."

Machinery has, in itself, no tendency to "destroy trade," but, held and used by individuals for their own benefit, it has a tendency to lessen the number of labourers required, to lower the wages of those that remain, and to degrade them from workmen to machine-tenders. There can no evil come of the use of machinery in a free community labouring for its own good, but where used as an instrument for the exploitation of labour it is powerful for evil and fruitful of misery. Despite the hired lying of venal apologists there are no "compensating advantages" worthy of mention.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

Emma Andrews, well known to police-court reporters, was charged at Westminster with being drunk and disorderly. The wretched woman, who looked more pinched and haggard than ever—her clothes in rags—had only come out of prison the day before. She said, "I am starved; I live in prison and in the streets. You come to be in prison month after month, without anything but a little bread and water, and see what you'd be like." The good-hearted magistrate gave her another month! She had been convicted thirty-six times before, all for trifling offences. The law makes outcasts and criminals and then punishes them. Emma Andrews has no home but the streets and the prison, and will have no other till the parish provides her with a coffin and a grave. And this is a civilised country—a nation whose middle-class heart overflows with Christian kindness and charity, or say with humbug and hypocrisy!

D. N.

## THE LORD OF BURLEIGH.

(FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF HIS DISAPPOINTED RIVAL).

(Continued from p. 235.)

BUT you want to be told my tale, and to get you away and go On the road that your own fate leads you, and straight to forget my woe, And the dismal sound of my sighs, and the sight of my woe-begone face, And to leave this chill churchyard, and pass to a pleasanter place: Well, listen again yet awhile; I will tell you, as best I may, How the bloom of our life was blighted and snatched by the fates away.

It was early as yet in the summer, but spring had been dusty and dry: The earth was parched and athirst, and cloudless the broad blue sky; Our hay was housed already—what little there was to get— Some six weeks sooner than usual; for springs are windy and wet, As a rule, in our upland meadows; the distance was dim with haze; A spark unstamped would have set our whole hill-side in a blaze, So dry was the heather and furze and the long grass grown to seed, For all green things were withered, and scarcely a single weed Was left for the sheep to nibble that was not as dry as a stick, And the blade that grew in the field was as brown as the hay in the rick.

And still the days grew hotter when June had in drought gone by, And had left the crops to cope with the ardours of fierce July. Folk said that in town they suffered a nigh unendurable heat, And that each rich lord had gone to the cool of his country seat; While as for the toiling poor, why, the poor must always sweat, And a few drops less or more make no great matter; and yet 'Twas pity to think of them then—all night in the poisonous gloom Of the hell they have for home, their single cellar-room, All day in the crowded workshop with never a breath of air, And never a pause or a lull in the din and the toil and the glare, Till again the gas re-lighted sent each like a beast to his den, For surely such slaves as these are liker to beasts than men. And we wished that we two had been rich, for we fain would have helped them, and fain

By the spell that is wrought with gold would have lightened the load of their pain.

And we spoke with scorn and contempt of the rich and the great who fly From the squalid sight of the toilers who pile their wealth so high. And again we longed to be wealthy, if only that we might save Some few of the children at least from the great town's living grave, For the death-rate there was doubled, men said, because of the heat, And we knew that a child must be dying in each foul pestilent street, Who might have been saved by the gold, as our hearts grew hot to think, That the rich could do nought but squander in folly and vice and drink.

'Twas thus we talked as we went in the long hot afternoon To the meadows behind the wood-land, and still to the self-same tune We spoke, and in all were agreed, for our hearts were as one in twain, As hand in hand we went through the meadows athirst for rain— For the rain that would not come; and we found that the beasts had strayed In search, mayhap, for water or shelter of cool green shade, For water was scarce for the herd, though none from the drought had harm, So careful and kind was my Annie to each live thing on the farm, And we filled the tank with buckets we drew from the deep dug-well, And wondering went in search of the herd, nor at all could we tell How it was they had strayed, nor whither, for Annie had fastened the gate With her own neat hands in the morning; but now was her anger great To find it wide thrown open, the bolt-bar broken in two, And the cord cut clean asunder by one too dull to undo, Too rude to respect the knot that her fingers had carefully tied.

And vainly at first for the culprit we looked, till at last we espied, Stretched out full length on the grass and watching the clouds go by, A man who seemed by his looks some ten years older than I; At his ease in the shade of a tree he was lazily lolling there In an idle careless way with an indolent insolent air, Vacant and lordly, and yet with a kind of delicate grace, And a look of command in the lines of his aristocratic face. A broad flat book lay near, and some artists' tools in his hand, And surely an artist ne'er need look for a lovelier land, How far soe'er o'er the world in an alien clime he may roam, Than the whole sweet length of the valley that Annie and I called home. And surely he might not have found, where'er in the world he had spied, A lovelier maiden's face than hers who stood at my side.

But as yet he had made no sketch: he had found him a shady seat, And there he lounged at his length, nigh faint with the fervent heat. For he looked like one who so deeply had drunk of the pleasures of life That little of vigour was left him to cope with the strain of its strife; Whose energies all had ebbed in folly's vain pursuit, Till its wine was little but lees in place of the grape's rich fruit. And Annie would fain have gone by; but I, like a fool, must ask If he knew whose field he was in; and loudly I took him to task For cutting the cord of the gate, and for leaving it open wide, Till all this cattle were lost, astray on the wild hill-side. For more and more it provoked me to see him lounging there, With his calm, supercilious, careless, graceful, negligent air, While we looked forward to spending the rest of the summer day In trying to find the cattle his folly had sent astray.

Well, I was a fool for my pains, as I knew ere long to my cost, And yet it was hard to be patient, when there were the cattle lost; And I knew that the flies and the heat might make them wander for miles, For out on the open common were no more gates and stiles To keep them at all in bounds; and for aught that we could know, They might be gone for good, while the man who had let them go From mere sheer idle mischief, lay lounging there at our feet, And fanning his face with a fern because of the flies and the heat.

J. E. JONES.

(To be continued.)

The capitalist motto is "Help yourselves," the Socialist, "Help one another."



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

*Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.*

*As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.*

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

**NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.**—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 27.*

ENGLAND	NEW HAVEN (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	SWITZERLAND
Justice	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Norwich—Daylight	Herald	Geneva—Bulletin Continental
Worker's Friend	Tribune	ITALY
The Present Day	Paterson (N. J.)—Labor Standard	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Freethinker	Salem (Oreg.)—Advance-Thought	SPAIN
INDIA	Portland (Oreg.)—Avant-Courier	Madrid—El Socialista
Allahabad—People's Budget	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Bombay Gazette	FRANCE	Barcelona—La Justicia Humana
CANADA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	El Grito del Pueblo
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Le Socialiste	PORTUGAL
UNITED STATES	Le Revolte	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
New York—Volkszeitung	La Revue Socialiste	Voz do Operario
Freiheit	Guise—Le Devoir	Villafranca de Xira—O Campino
Truthseeker	Lillo—Le Travailleur	AUSTRIA
Der Sozialist	HOLLAND	Arbeiterstimme
John Swinton's Paper	Hague—Recht voor Allen	ROUMANIA
Spread the Light	BRUSSLS—Le Chante-Clair	Bucharest—Pruncul Roman
Boston—Woman's Journal	En Avant	Jassy—Lupta
Denver (Col.)—Labor Inquirer	LIEGE—L'Avenir	NORWAY
Cincinnati (O.)—Unionist	Antwerp—De Werker	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
Toledo (O.)—Industrial News		SWEDEN
Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor		Stockholm—Social-Demokraten

RECEIVED.—"Copyright and Piracy"—"What are the Principles of the Primrose League?"

### NOTES.

There is an interesting correspondence on "Lady Companions" in the *Daily News*. The sort of treatment these unfortunates have to put up with from the "refined and cultured" women of the upper middle class is well described in a letter that appeared in last Friday's issue. The letter runs as follows:—

"Although the lines have fallen to me in pleasant places, I know many who are just working themselves into early graves under the title of 'Lady Companion.' One, a young girl, brought up in ease and luxury (not idleness), over whose home poverty has thrown its mantle, rather than be a burden on those she loves is striving to do her little to help herself. She rises early and goes to bed late, her hands and head ever busy with the thousand-and-one duties heaped upon her by the *Christian* lady who, in return, pays her the noble sum of £14 per annum. When her feet are allowed to rest, the needle is thrust into her hand; and this is every day alike, and the time to write a few hurried lines to the loved ones at home has to be stolen from the hours she should be in bed. If at any time she asks for an hour for a quiet walk, etc., she cannot be spared. Only a few years ago this girl was the pride of her brothers and the light and brightness of her home. It won't take many years of such grinding to crush out all the brightness and make life, even to the most hopeful, only a burden."

After reading this one is not surprised to see in the police columns of the same paper that "a young woman, who gave the name of Annie Hill, and described herself as a nursery governess, was charged before Mr. D'Eyncourt at Westminster Police-court, with attempting suicide. She had left her place (possibly to escape from similar slavery), could get no work, and being in great distress, homeless, and starving, had only tasted a piece of bread that day. She had taken poison, preferring death to a worse fate." Is it not time to end a system where even the well-to-do cannot feel certain that their daughters may not find themselves in the same position as this poor girl? Let us join together, rich and poor, to wipe out this infamous system, and make an end of the misery of mankind.

I notice also in this correspondence that Miss Emily Faithful recommends emigration as a panacea for the ills that afflict "Lady Com-

panions." They become domestic servants in the Colonies. Yes, to be exposed to slavish drudgery of boarding-house, and to the brutal insults of the young ruffians who inhabit the delectable mansions, and then to be thrown on the streets to a worse fate directly the next shipload of young girls arrives. The best advice to young girls about to emigrate can be given in one word, "Don't!" D. N.

Commenting on a case at the Marlborough Street Police Court, the Magistrate said it was a monstrous thing that no due provision was made for unfortunate and helpless waif and stray children, in order to enable them to become respectable members of society. Would it not be cheaper in the long run to so amend our system of society that it produce no waifs and strays to be thus "reclaimed?"

At an anti-tithe meeting at Tunbridge a Mr. Bolton said that "the compensation would be paid by the landowners, and the growers would get relief from the burden." But the landowners do not produce the wealth they possess, it is paid to them as rent, and is part of the product of labour, and the tithe or compensation is therefore just as much paid by the labourers as though it had never passed into the landlord's hands.

A good deal of hifaluting sentiment is being laid thick upon the Marquis of Bute because he has consented to a "readjustment of the rent" and is paying the expenses of a survey to that end. However rent be "readjusted," until it be adjusted out of existence, it must remain a tribute wrung from labour in return for being allowed to live, and must be accounted an *absolute loss* to labour, no equivalent being rendered.

The late Lord Aylesbury owned about 66,000 acres of land, 40,000 in Wiltshire and nearly 16,000 in Yorkshire. Will any one pretend that this man on any count was worth so much to the community at large as to balance the enormous tribute his control of such an extent of territory enabled him to wrest from those rightfully entitled to enjoy it?

An east-end Radical club has recorded its opinion of the great benefit likely to result from the opening of the "people's palace" on Sundays. Upon reflection they may awake to the fact that, were the wealth produced in a community fully under the control of the whole community and not "cornered" by a class, it would be easy to have true "people's palaces" all over the place, and *not* have to wait for Sunday to enjoy them either. S.

In the Norwich local parliament the following amendment to the address in reply to the queen's speech will be proposed by some Socialists:

"That we humbly call your Majesty's attention to the existence in your realm of a class of men called capitalists, landlords, merchants, financiers, and divers other names, who get rich by cheating the working-men, and who disturb the peace and bring misery to your Majesty's subjects. We entreat your Majesty to stop these men's evil and dishonest ways, and make them earn their living by their own labour."

So much for "home affairs." Now for the "foreign policy" of Socialist patriotism:

"That we humbly call your Majesty's attention to the fact that the 'empire' is simply a contrivance for helping the traders to swindle the people; that the so-called 'mother country' only tries to drain all the wealth it can from the colonies and India and sends them our unemployed and paupers in return. And we entreat your Majesty for the good of your people to smash up the empire, so that each country may mind its own business and look to the interests of its own people."

This may be the right sort of parliamentary action, but our comrades are hardly likely to become famous as practical legislators. But this may not be their ambition. A "practical legislator" being one who has a genius for doing nothing in a pompous manner, preventing everybody else from doing anything, and sagely prophesying the end of the world when an attack is made on the slightest abuse. J. L. M.

### THE DELIGHTS OF LAZINESS.

WITHIN, a comfortable fire glows cheerily upon a pretty room; without, one sees between stone mullions of a quaint old window the shrubs and bushes of a well-kept garden; beyond, upon the right, are laden fruit-trees, and grey roofs and gables upon the left. Steep trees etched sharply upon the blue sky close in all round the peaceful place. From the river comes the rippling splash of a distant weir, mingled with dreamy rural noises, that to a Londoner only relieve and emphasise the prevailing quiet.

Amid such surroundings it is that there is borne in upon one the delight there is in laziness, when one is able to loosen the joints of one's whole being, body and mind, and lie supine. In the sense of utter rest, the release from strain, there is something wholly beyond the ken of those who have not laboured, but there is something also fully as distinct from the sodden exhaustion which follows continuous monotonous toil. Not least among the terrible deprivations that are inflicted upon the labouring-folk by the system under which we live is the loss of most part of their leisure and the ability to enjoy the infinitesimal fragment that remains.

It is oftentimes flung as a reproach at the working-class that they are "lazy." Many other things beside, but always lazy. Most part of their poverty is attributable to their incurable laziness, say the orthodox, and the balance is accounted for by their shiftlessness and impro-

vidence, which again grow out of laziness. People who speak thus are usually those who have an interest in belying labour, and they buttress their alleged belief by reference to the ancient dictum that man is a lazy animal, and many other sayings that are convincing testimony to those determined to be convinced. Man is a lazy animal, we know; most of the progress he has made is quite clearly attributable to his incessant effort to shift his work on to the shoulders of Mother Nature and her children, the forces of the universe. Throughout the long battle which man has waged for his subsistence against the blind opposing powers of the earth, as he has advanced in the scale of being it has been by mastering power after power of external nature and subduing them to his service; winning thereby leisure for meditation upon the facts of his experience, and their assimilation and use in his further life. As the time grew that he could spend as he would, in which exertion was unimpelled but by his own abounding energy, man's knowledge and his love of life grew swiftly side-by-side, science and art swept onward to heights of discovery and application that bade fair to place man where he had ranked his gods. But hitherto the sweet fruits of leisure have been destroyed ere they ripened by the destructive influence of its unfair division. Society has consisted, still consists, and will consist until the social revolution has completely developed itself, of a class whose lives are all leisure, and a class in whose lives there is none. The one satiated with idleness from which all pleasure has been taken by the lack of foregoing labour; the other degraded and brutalised by never-ending toil, unlightened by leisure, unrefreshed by rest. The one enervate, emasculate, filling its futile time with vain restlessness and growth of luxury; the other bruised and beaten out of human semblance, rendered incapable of aught but the coarser delights of an animal existence. Thus has society grown again and again a hollow shell of false culture and diseased art, behind which were masked the forces and vices of a real barbarism that at length destroyed the rotten structure and cleared the ground for laborious rebuilding.

To-day, the so-called laziness of the labour-class is, consciously sometimes, but oftener not, a revulsion from uninteresting toil unanimated by hope. Dimly recognising that what they do is for another's benefit; that what they produce is not their own; that, labour as they will, they are dependent upon another for the leave to live, it is small wonder that they perform their compulsory task with scant interest in its ultimate result. Who can blame the thrall, grinding ceaselessly, knowing full well that the grain is not his nor large share of the meal, if his muscle relax and effort cease? The lash may goad his energies awhile, but it hastens revolt!

Time and again have the oppressed arisen, and wrecked the society that held them captive, only to be enslaved anew after another manner. Now we are once more calling upon our fellows to combine for the achievement of their freedom. Let the slaves unite! this time for a sure and certain overthrow of human bondage. This time we must utterly destroy all that has hitherto enabled a class to usurp the leisure of a community, leaving the labour of it to slaves, bought bodily or piecemeal.

We, Socialists, who claim for all men the right to live and the right to labour, do not forget the equally important right to enjoy the fruits of their labour. When all men labour, all men will have leisure. Not only will each man's necessary share of labour be less but it will be for his own benefit, he will be free to accomplish it how and when he likes, to linger over it and make it a labour of love, he will bring to it recuperated powers, and a mind enabled in his resting-time to wander at will in the fields of knowledge and assimilate all helpful facts. Only a leisured man can be in any true sense of the word an educated or complete man. Universal education is infallibly a delusion until all men have time to think; no cramming of facts and figures will educate; learning is useless unless men have leisure to meditate upon and understand that which they see and hear.

Until leisure is no longer the exclusive appanage of a class, until it is not only the fortunate worker who can at unfrequent intervals release himself from labour and enjoy the sweetness of physical calm amid pleasant surroundings—in other words, until the social revolution has been accomplished, the lives of those who labour must be wellnigh joyless, devoid of beauty or repose, untouched by culture and unglorified by art. But the revolution advances, and Freedom calls to them that are weary and heavy laden, not least among the boons she proffers being that she will give them Rest! H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

CAMBRIDGE.—At the Cambridge Quarter Sessions, Henry Shedd, 42, was brought up to be dealt with the other day as an incorrigible rogue, he having refused work offered him at three shillings per day, and consequently gone into the workhouse. The Recorder, Mr. Bulwer, Q.C., sentenced him to one month's hard labour and twelve strokes with the "cat," remarking that he was like some vagabonds in London who imposed on the sympathetic as the "unemployed." Is it a crime in this country for a man to refuse to enter into a contract which he considers unfair to himself? Had he accepted the offer, he would very likely have been directly injuring other men who may be receiving higher wages for the same class of work. And having refused to do this mean thing, Henry Shedd applies to the workhouse for relief from starvation—that relief being his right as an Englishman. Where in all this is the crime that justifies the application of a punishment reserved almost exclusively for garotters and the most brutal of wife-beaters? A pretty pass the "free" labourers of England are coming to if they are to be forced to sell their labour at the price fixed by any thievish lawyer who may have the power to order the punishment of the "cat" as an alternative. It would be interesting to know what is the minimum wage allowed by Mr. Bulwer, Q.C., who charges for his services probably as much for every ten minutes of his time, as he would compel a more useful member of the community to toil a long day for.—T. B.

## THE KERNEL OF SOCIALISM: A WORD OF WARNING.

It is impossible for any progressive movement not to suffer misrepresentation. Take the Protestant Reformation; its leaders were robbers, they were fit only for the stake; their aims too were the subversion of authority. For the early Free-traders epithets sufficiently opprobrious could not be found. Even Christ himself, after all the vials of wrathful authority had been poured out on him, and after suffering every kind of misrepresentation and calumny, was slaughtered by official ruffians because he dared to take up the cause of the poor and the oppressed.

Socialism is not—indeed it cannot be—exempted from the misrepresentation and persecution common to every righteous cause. We call it a righteous cause for the reason that, as we shall see by-and-by, its aim is to restore to the disinherited what they have been robbed of, and the way that it is to accomplish this aim is by unmasking the frauds that under high-sounding phrases, backed by brute force, are practised upon the people of every land. Even if we did not know anything about Socialism itself, we should still be inclined to think it a righteous cause from the mere fact that it is called by such hard names in the world. Did not Jesus himself say: "Blessed are you when all men speak ill of you?"

We have just spoken of the method whereby Socialism is to accomplish a grander and greater restitutional act than history knows anything about. Now, when one comes to think of it, everything that is rightly called a reform is really an act of restitution. What, for instance, are these things called Reform Acts in English history but a restoring of certain privileges to classes that other classes, being able to command more brute force, took from them? The reader may be inclined to ask here, How can the extension of the franchise be an act of restitution, seeing that the classes to whom it has been successively extended never possessed it at all? To restore anything it must have been first possessed certainly, and as the right of voting was never possessed by the classes on whom the Reform Acts conferred it, that right could not have been restored to them by these Acts. True—but it is not the right of voting that these classes struggled for, it is the power that is implied in this right, and previous to their receiving this power they had not a whisper in the management of affairs that were as much theirs as anybody's else. What had been taken from them was the management of their own affairs; this these Reform Acts are an endeavour to return.

Let us refer again to the repeal of the Corn Laws, the greatest reform of the century. It was purely a restitutional act. Under the operation of the Corn Laws, from the people of this country a tax was taken which went into the pockets of landlords. This money was by Free-trade allowed to remain in the pockets of the people; in other words, it was restored to the people. Then there is that religious agitation that we have already mentioned, viz.: the Protestant Reformation. When we come to strip it of all its accessories, of all its trappings and all its mystic adornments, we find only a question of £ s. d. remaining. What the devil did the peasants of Bohemia or anywhere else care about freedom of thinking? Their thinking never—at any rate seldom—went beyond their own little homesteads. Anyway, whether it did or not matters not; what set them and the rest of the world aflame was the discovery that the Pope had no right to demand and to make them pay money. To resist the Pope's demands, they had of course to combine; for the Pope had all the power. This combining cost them just as much, perhaps more than they had been obliged to pay the Pope. That, however, is usually the case when people begin to fight—law-suits instituted for the recovery of a few pence, to wit, often costing thousands of pounds.

These rambling remarks about reforms are put forward here to enable us to answer the question as to the accomplishing of the aims of Socialism by force. Take the Protestant Reformation again. There was a great deal of blood shed over that. But whose fault was it? If the Papal authorities had been wise, they would have said to the people: "You have found us out, you have got the best of the argument, it is quite true that we can in no way help you to save your souls, it is quite true that we have been only pretending this with a view to getting money from you so that we might live all the more comfortably, and now that you have found out the trick, it is quite useless for us to hope to extort anything more from you." Instead of adopting this sensible course, however, the authorities set themselves to thrust down the necks of the people a lie. Of course the people revolted, and of course the people succeeded.

Now let us take Socialism. The industrial classes have found that it is quite unnecessary for them to give of the fruit of their toil to certain other classes. They have found out the trick whereby the greater share of the produce of their labour is taken from them. He is a poor conjuror that thinks of deceiving his audience once his methods are discovered: is he going to intimidate them into astonishment at his performance by any amount of force? Certainly not. Now why will the authorities persist in trying to force the people to believe in a trick that has been found out? It is absolutely impossible; they can never succeed; the secret is known to too many.

What the authorities ought to do and those that have been taking money from the workers of the world is to say to the people: "You are quite right, all these things that we have taken hold of are yours, we see it is perfectly useless for us to try this game any longer, you are just as clever now as we ourselves are. We must, therefore, come to



some new arrangement. We and our families have as much right to live as you and your families have; besides there is plenty and more than plenty for us all." Now that would be the way for one set of men to address another set of men, and there would then be some hope of settling things amicably. Men, however—real honest, truthful, outspoken men—are scarce, especially scarce amongst the governing classes, so there is little hope of such manly proceedings as those indicated. Let those in authority take warning. "A man," says Carlyle, "can have himself shot with cheerfulness; but it needs first that he see clearly for what. Show him the divine face of Justice, then the diabolic monster which is eclipsing that; he will fly at the throat of such monster, never so monstrous, and need no bidding to do it. Woolwich grapeshot will sweep clear all streets, blast into invisibility so many thousand men; but if your Woolwich grapeshot be but eclipsing Divine Justice, and the God's radiance itself gleam recognisable athwart such grapeshot—then, yes then is the time come for fighting and attacking. All artillery parks have become weak, and are about to dissipate: in the God's thunder, their poor thunder slackens, ceases; finding that it is, in all senses of the term, a *brute* one!"

If then there be a resort to force in the struggle for the aims of Socialism, it will not be the fault of those that see "the divine face of Justice," it will be the fault of "the diabolic monster" that seeks to eclipse that face, that seeks to perpetuate a lie, that seeks to keep nations in bondage and poverty. Socialism is of all things the gospel of peace; of course no refined idea can appear so to addle-headed authorities.

Really they must be addle-headed these rulers of ours; for after all Socialism aims at realising one of their own doctrines. Even Sir Charles Warren practices it amongst his men; for did he not the other day reward certain men for their industry, and we take it that their rewards were apportioned according to their industry. Now, this is what Socialists want; they want to have industry rewarded, and idleness and frivolity discouraged.

Then as to the allegation that Socialism means the destruction of property. Let us for a moment consider why we have such a thing as property at all. The reason that society puts itself about to insure this or that man in the possession of such and such goods is to encourage industry. This is the recognised theory, the orthodox theory if you like, the theory that would have the support of these heaven-descended patriots called lawyers and statesmen, to differ from whom is expressly forbidden—at any rate it ought to have been forbidden in a commandment all by itself! However, never mind these wiseacres begirt with red-tape, though they are on our side on this point they will never be of any use to us.

To resume our argument then—Why does society have such a thing as property at all? Why should it put itself about to insure any man in the possession of whatever goods he may have got hold of? The only reason that can be given for this, and a very good one it is, is as already mentioned, to encourage industry. For instance, I make chairs; suppose that as soon as I have done so a stronger man than myself comes along and takes them from me; I should most certainly come to the conclusion to make no more chairs, because I would derive no benefit from pursuing such a course, and would at once betake myself to procuring whatever I wanted by stealing also. Of course there would very soon be nothing to steal and society would at once collapse. To prevent this collapse, however, and to preserve its own life, society steps forward and says that these chairs are mine, that they are mine because I made them. The reason that such a course of conduct on the part of society preserves its life is because I am thereby encouraged to make more chairs and every other maker of other things is encouraged in the same way. Thus are the members of the community kept supplied with such commodities as are required.

The institution of private property then is maintained, or ought to be maintained, for the sake of encouraging industry and for the sake of nothing else. How far does society practically adhere to this the recognised theory of property? It has departed from it as far as it can. To see that this is so the merest glance round is sufficient; for those that have made everything have got nothing, while those that have made nothing have got everything, and for this reason modern society is in great peril—a very good reason too why it should be in peril. Now Socialists want to remove this peril and they propose to do it in the only way that it can be done, viz., by securing to the workers the results of their toil. They want each man to be rewarded according to his industry, and they want the people that go idle to enjoy the fruits of idleness, viz., nothing at all.

Now can any cause be more righteous than this? Can Socialism be more grossly misrepresented than when the destruction of society is ascribed to it? Why it offers to society the only way of escape from destruction! Moreover can any honest man be anything else than a Socialist? Can any honest man support the present system, which is based upon and maintained by fraud and violence? R.

"Little and often," as the land-grabber said when he moved his fences a foot a week.

"Bear ye one another's burdens," as the capitalist said when he lifted the load of wealth off his workmen.

What is competition as far as the labourer is concerned? It is work put up at auction. An employer wants a man. Three men present themselves. One demands sixty cents a day because he has a wife and children to maintain; another has a wife, but no children, and will take fifty cents. A third, who has neither, is satisfied with forty. What becomes of the other two? Who then is so blind as not to see that under the empire of unlimited competition wages must reach their lowest ebb.—*St. Simon.*

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NEWS.

### BRITAIN.

The wrought nail-makers of Staffordshire and Worcestershire have obtained from the employers an advance in wages of ten per cent. A strike was threatened, but it has been thus averted.—U.

NELSON.—ONE WAY OF REDUCING WAGES.—On Monday, at dinner-time, at a firm in this district, the weavers were surprised at the door being locked until after the engine started. But when all got to work it is stated the reason was soon found out, as the tackler, who it appears had been changing the wheels, so as to make the cloth  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a pick per quarter of an inch stronger, had failed to fasten one wheel, and the weavers' attention being called to the wheel being loose, they naturally looked at the wheel, and found that it contained three teeth more than the wheel they had on before dinner. Other weavers did the same, and found theirs had been changed also. It has caused no little comment in the district.—*Cotton Factory Times.*

OLDHAM.—A HARD CASE.—"At a certain mill, one of the minders was recently discharged under peculiar circumstances. It appears the minder in question was a tenant of one of the houses which belonged to the company for some years, and having suffered severely in his family through ill-health, he took it in his head to remove his abode to some more healthy locality. This he did about a fortnight ago. He received a week's notice as the result to quit his employment. This he would not stand, and said he would not work the notice, so the manager said he could give over at once, alleging that he had not turned as much work off as the other minders. It is strange they could not find that out until then, as he had worked for the firm many years. The doctor attending the minder's family had advised him to leave the house a long time before. During the last month of his residence there he had three of his children and his wife down ill at one time."—*Cotton Factory Times.*—It is becoming quite a common thing for men to be discharged because they refuse to live in their employers' cottage. It only shows how much the workers are slaves, that they can be compelled on pain of starvation to live in houses belonging to their masters however unhealthy they may be. But this is not the worst of it. Supposing there comes a dispute between the men and their master, and the men strike, the employer has nothing to do but give them a week's notice and turn them out into the street, where they stand a very poor chance of getting a decent house let to them. In manufacturing villages where accommodation is limited, this puts the men quite at the mercy of the employers, as was seen at the strike of miners at Denaby Main Colliery some little time ago, when the men had to improvise tents and camp in a field in the worst of weathers. Surely it is time the trades' unions learnt that they can never get justice for the workers while they simply go on higgling for a bit here and a bit there. Let them make up their minds to strike at the root of the evil, and do away with the opposition of interest between the employers and employed altogether.—R. U.

IRELAND.—The Clanricarde estate, on which the battle between landlords and tenants seems likely to be fought out to the bitter end, is situated in county Galway in the West of Ireland. The estate consists principally of mountain heather land, and whatever parts of it are tilled have been reclaimed by the tenants. Lord Clanricarde never resides on his estate, but he draws from Galway alone more than £20,000 per annum. The Land Commissioners have already made reductions of from 40 to 50 per cent. on several of his farms. In November last, 216 tenants occupying mountain land applied for a reduction of 25 per cent. on the rents then due, accompanying their request by a memorial, showing that through bad seasons it was impossible for them to pay the full amount. No answer was made to this except the substantial one of eviction. Four tenants were evicted, and sixteen others have threats of eviction hanging over their heads. Fifty-six neighbours and sympathisers who garrisoned the houses and resisted the police and emergency men, are now awaiting trial in Galway gaol. All the tenants have bound themselves to pay no rent until the evicted ones are allowed to return to their holdings. Lord Clanricarde refuses to make any concession, and a pitched battle will probably be the result. It is noticeable that 100 police and 200 soldiers were employed to evict the four tenants, at a cost of over £1000 to the State. This shows clearly how the rights of property are only maintained by and at the pleasure of Society, and so soon as it is convinced that these rights are not consonant with the common good, Society will be justified in withdrawing its protection, and these so-called rights will then cease to exist.—U.

DUBLIN.—A few poor Jewish refugees have been trying to support themselves here by supplying the proletariat with goods at 1s. per week. The shopkeeping classes are in arms against them. Placards and letters in the press call for their expulsion bag and baggage, but as the workers say the Jews give them good value and take the money when it can be given, I am afraid the bourgeois must let their rivals alone.—J. M.

The largest brewery in the world is for sale, Tower "Guinness's," it covers forty-two acres; present profits half a million a year; price only six millions. Poor Sir Edward can't stand, the strain it requires to manage the vast concern. He had a hard time of it, having like Sir Boyle Roche's bird, to be in two places at once, viz., in England or the Continent, and now it appears was managing at home at the same time. Well, the Guinness's were the best employers in the world. I fear the company will not be so liberal as to pensions and sick pay, etc.—J. M.

### FRANCE.

More than twenty fresh condemnations have been made against those accused of instigating the disturbances at Vierzon. The terms of imprisonment vary from six months to fifteen days. Féline, editor of the *Cri du Peuple*, is among the number, which also includes several women.

At the sitting of the Municipal Council on the 18th, Citizen Vaillant moved that the following proposition be laid before the Commission of Labour: "The Council deliberates that a sum of 4000 fr. be put at the disposal of the Mayors of Vierzon-ville and Vierzon-village for the relief of the inhabitants of their commune, victims of the stoppage of work of the Société Française, etc."

The Socialists of Paris held a successful meeting in the Salle Rivoli last week, to express their sympathy with the Vierzon strikers and the victims of the Bourgeois prosecutions. Camélinat took the chair, and among others Guesde, Pyat, Vaillant, Roche, and Susini addressed the meeting amid much applause. Resolutions were passed condemning the action of the police and the government, and commending the attitude maintained throughout at Vierzon.

At the "Creolit Industriel" the salary of the majority of the employés varies from 50 fr. to 100 fr. a month. The regulation hours are from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., but during eight or nine months of the year they have to work overtime, that is from 8 a.m. to 11 p.m. without increase of pay. Those who take it into their heads to claim an increase are shown to the door "like dogs," as the head of the staff elegantly terms it.—*Cri du Peuple*.

The delegates of the League organised against the Registry Offices have been charged with the duty of presenting a petition to the Chamber insisting on the speedy suppression of the same. They accordingly assembled the other day and marched along to the Palais Bourbon, accompanied by from 200 to 300 comrades, who waited about on the Boulevard Saint-Germain while the ten delegates penetrated the building. Their commission over they marched through the streets, the *cortège* swelling to about a thousand calm and orderly manifestants. On reaching the Porte St. Martin, the calm was disturbed by the uncalled-for interference of the police. In spite of the polite reception previously accorded to the delegates by Sieur Gragnon, the police now barred the way and received the procession with their usual brutality, the result being some resistance and disturbance, and the arrest of several citizens.

The late events at Vierzon have been this week the subject of a lively discussion in the Chamber, and of a certain show of temper on the part of the Minister of the Interior, which is magnified by some of the papers into a short-lived Ministerial Crisis. Several Socialist Deputies took part in the debate, and spoke clearly and to the point. Basly made an energetic, straightforward speech, in which he censured the violent conduct of the authorities at Vierzon, and the verdict at Bourges, and struck a note of warning in touching on the rapid and menacing development of the Disinherited class and their future action. He said it was not by putting in prison men who demanded bread and labour that you would arrive at social calm and order. "Not only at Vierzon but throughout the country workers are thrown on the streets because perfected machinery produces twenty times more than manual labour, costing only a centime an hour, while a worker requires from 35c. to 50c. This army of starving men, formed throughout the country of honest men claiming bread and labour, do you not consider this as the presage of a bloody revolution?"

An indignation meeting has been held at Bourges, where those arrested in consequence of the disturbances on October 5th at Vierzon are detained. Jules Guesde made a vigorous speech, and a vote of sympathy with those involved and a protest against the verdict passed on them was unanimously carried by the meeting.

HAVRE.—Among the divers branches of industry of the Havre, few have suffered so much as that of basket-making. Our trade has been languishing for several years, and now we are receiving the last blow, for the goods we are principally employed in making are now manufactured at the prison. If we do not want to lose our work we have to produce at the same price as the prisoners do.

LYONS.—Last week, the first National Congress of Working-men's Syndicates was opened at Lyons, the number of delegates present being about 150. The Commission concerned with discussing the relations between capital and labour unanimously voted the socialisation of production and distribution. A manifesto giving a *resume* of the work of the Congress, and declaring social-revolutionary principles, was received with acclamation. The "tricolor rag," which had been flaunting it throughout the sittings was exchanged for the "holy red" of the Revolution, which was hailed with thunders of applause by the public.

### ITALY.

Traiani, Minister of Justice, has moved by a special bill in Parliament, the pardon of Amilcare Cipriani, condemned to twenty years' imprisonment and twice elected as deputy in Forlì a Ravenna.

A Congress of Co-operators was held in Milan from the 10th to the 13th of this month, a congress pompously and noisily announced by those interested in confusing and mystifying the people, and ending up in a wilderness of chilly discontent. Among the crowd of doctors, advocates, deputies, etc., that were assembled to discuss the question according to their lights, the voice of the Labour Party made itself heard with vigorous persistence through the mouth of the Socialist Lazzari, who moved several resolutions bearing on the true aims of co-operation as it should be. The deputies Costa and Moneta and some few others treated the question honestly on its right footing; the rest of the two hundred or so assembled lost themselves in a sea of words, the four days being spent in inconclusive and futile discussion.—*Fascio Operaio*.

The members of the Central Committee of the Italian Labour Party, having fulfilled their eighty days' term of imprisonment in the prison at Milan (although the greater part of them are only liberated upon sufferance), they have again taken to the field with zeal unabated, and brought out a new number of their organ, the *Fascio Operaio*, and all goes merrily along—till next time. All success to our fellow-workers!—M. M.

### International Union of Glass-Bottle Makers and the Socialist League.

On Tuesday evening the 19th inst. the members of the Socialist League gave a supper to the International Union of Glass-Bottle Makers, who have recently held their first congress in the Hall of the League—Bax (Socialist League) was in the chair. He welcomed them in the name of the League. Mahon proposed "Success to the International Union of Glass-Bottle Makers." Graham, in answer, said they had tried first a local then a national union, but it had failed. They now attempted an international one, and he believed it would succeed. He related how they once went out on strike against a certain capitalist in Dublin named King, who tried to reduce their wage. King, to force them to submit, brought from Denmark a number of "hands" to take their places. The Danes were, however, all Socialists, and through their international spirit they refused to compete against the Irish workmen. King was therefore defeated; and as he had told these men there was no strike in Dublin they threatened to take proceedings against him for bringing them over under false pretences. Ultimately he had to send them home, the whole affair costing him over £3000. The Irishmen then returned to work on their previous scale of pay. This was one instance which taught the value of an international union of the workers.

Blundell, Nicoll, Webb, and Chambers, of the League, also delivered short addresses in proposing other toasts of a similar nature. Hagan and Bentling spoke in Danish and German in reply. Their speeches were translated by Dave and Charles. We concluded a very enjoyable evening by singing and recitations, and parted after giving three hearty cheers for the Social Revolution.

W. A. CHAMBERS.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Mile-end, to June 30. Birmingham, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Dublin, Hackney, Leeds, Merton Abbey, North London, Norwich, to August 31. Bloomsbury, Croydon, Hammersmith, Manchester, Marylebone, to September 30. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to Dec. 31.

### Executive.

At their usual weekly meeting on Monday night, the Council accepted the Fulham and North Camberwell Branches. Fred Henderson was appointed Lecture Secretary. Instructions were issued to the Strike Committee: to which Charles and Mahon were added.

*Instructions to Strike Committee:* 1. That the Committee appointed on Sept. 13th, on the Labour Question, be called the Strike Committee, and instructed to meet on Saturday next at 6 o'clock. 2. The instructions to this Committee to be that they are to enquire into all strikes and report to the Council with a view to sending literature and speakers to those places to make propaganda. 3. That they collect notes and statistics on the Labour Question the cost and results of strikes, &c., for the *Commonweal*. 4. They shall also enquire into and keep a record of wages paid in different trades, now and forty years since. 5. That the Committee obtain all possible information on International Labour questions, especially in reference to the capitalists taking advantage of the low standard of living of the workers in one country, to introduce these labourers, to compete against their brother workers of another, and every possible occasion be taken of bringing about the solidarity of the workers the world over, opposed to the universal oppressor, the capitalist. 6. That a Propaganda Strike Fund be opened in the *Commonweal*, and the Committee be empowered to raise money by concert or otherwise for this purpose.

### BRANCH REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

BLOOMSBURY.—The usual weekly meeting of this Branch was held at the Communist Club, Tottenham Street, on Friday, October 22, when W. A. Chambers delivered a short address upon the "Way to Help the Cause." He advised members to educate themselves preparatory to teaching others, otherwise they would retard and not advance the cause of Socialism. A good discussion followed. It may be of interest to the members of the Bloomsbury Branch and the League to hear that a comrade of ours named Abel has established two Socialist clubs, one in Stockholm and the other in Christiania.—W. A. C.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, October 20, H. A. Barker gave a very interesting discourse on "The Whole Truth, and Nothing but the Truth" to a fair audience; a good discussion followed. The usual open-air meetings have been held during the week. On Sunday, October 23rd, J. L. Mahon addressed a good meeting on "The Trades' Congress." He pointed out that leaders of certain trades were "aping their betters," and that such men as Broadhurst, Burt, Burnett, and the other trimmers, should be regarded as obstructionists to the Cause of Labour, that cause being the right of every one to the full result of their work. Fair sale of *Commonweals*. Collected for the Defence Fund, 11d.—W. B., sec.

CROYDON.—Last Sunday, G. B. Shaw gave a most entertaining lecture on "Why we don't Act up to our Principles." He pointed out in an amusing way how impossible it was for any society, rich or poor, to act up to his belief in this individualistic state of Society. However he may try he finds himself baffled at every turn. A long and warm debate followed, upon which the lecturer replied conclusively. Two new members made; good sale of literature and collection.—A. T., sec.

HAMMERSMITH.—Although the readers of the *Commonweal* have not heard much of this Branch lately, nevertheless we have not been idle. The outdoor meetings on Sunday morning at Beadon Road and at Walham Green have been regularly continued, comrades Tarleton and Tochatti being the usual speakers. At the latter place, where the average attendance numbers from two to three hundred, we often get what is so much to be desired, honest and intelligent opposition, and so much interest has been aroused in the neighbourhood, that some of our members residing hereabouts have determined to start a Fulham Branch. Suitable premises have been taken at Walham Green, and on Sunday evening next we hope to commence a course of lectures. Comrade R. McCormack will be pleased to receive the names of Socialists desirous of joining. The outlook at Hammersmith is decidedly encouraging. The Sunday lectures have been generally well attended. Besides lecturers from other Branches, we have received much valuable help from the Fabian Society.—E. W., sec.

HOXTON.—On Thursday evening, a good outdoor meeting was held; Pope, Davis, and Barker spoke. On Sunday morning, Lane addressed a good audience; a lively discussion followed, in which a local magnate and comrade Barker participated; literature sold well. The indoor meeting in the evening was a good one, H. A. Barker lecturing on "The Whole Truth, and Nothing but the Truth." A resolution expressing approval of the action of the Social Democrats, in connection with the unemployed, was passed unanimously.—H. A. B., sec.

MERTON.—On Sunday evening, a joint meeting of the committees of the Merton and Mitcham comrades was held to consider the winter campaign, and to draw up a deed of affiliation together. It was resolved that whilst we join the two Branches, we recommend to the Council to have a general affiliation card issued that will admit to all the Socialist clubs in the country.—F. KIRZ, sec.

MITCHAM.—On Sunday, we held a brief meeting upon Mitcham Fair Green, and afterwards adjourned to the new club-room, where Mahon concluded his address on "The Aims of the Socialist Party." He urged upon his hearers the necessity of joining an organisation like ours, and to raise themselves out of the humdrum slave life at present led by the working-class, to consider themselves as part of a great human brotherhood, and to work to realise true human liberty; also the right to the means of happiness and comfort, and not as now, the mere right to starve. The lecture was loudly applauded by an attentive and numerous audience. Our progress to and from the Fair Green to our premises was attentively watched by a strong contingent of police and detectives, who seemed to apprehend a design upon our part either to steal the Fair Green or to loot the new bastille facing our door; one of the detectives applied his ear to our keyhole and listened to Mahon's speech, whereby we hope he profited much. They strove by an irritatingly offensive demeanour, which only these semi-educated uniformed buccolics know how to assume, to intimidate the working-men from entering our room. Our Mitcham club-room was a dilapidated ruinous shed, which by purely voluntary efforts on the part of our Mitcham and Merton comrades, has been transformed into a comfortable club-room, and we hope that during the coming winter it will be the means of drawing the working-class of the neighbourhood into fraternal union.—F. KIRZ.

BINGLEY.—We had comrade Mitchell from Bradford to give us a lecture on Tuesday evening, on "Principles of Socialism." No opposition. Two of our comrades visited Keighley again on Saturday, and sold some *Commonweals* and pamphlets.—J. W. L., sec.

BRADFORD.—On Sunday, October 24th, comrade S. Mitchell read a paper on "Usury," at the Exchange Hotel, City Road; a lively discussion followed, the audience showing much appreciation and sympathy.—C. H., sec.

GLASGOW.—On Thursday evening, on the invitation of comrade Small, miners' agent, comrades Greer and Adams addressed a meeting of some three hundred miners at Blantyre. The reception accorded to our comrades' exposition of the labour problem was of the heartiest description. On Saturday afternoon an open-air meeting was held on the Glasgow Green, when comrades Warrington, Greer, Downie and Glasier spoke to a large and very sympathetic audience. On Sunday morning the Secularist lecturer, Mr. Levy (the "D" leader writer of the *National Reformer*), lectured on "Freedom v. Socialism" in the Secularist Hall. Those who went there to hear a clever attack on the weak side of Socialism were rudely disappointed, as Mr. Levy in one breath asserted both that Socialism was to be the tyrannical scourge of future generations of humanity (if we had not courage enough to "remain free!!") and that its exponents took the liberty of differing on material points so that he could not get a clear notion of what Socialism really meant. He wanted an "authority," and, of course, found that handy in the inevitable Mr. Cairns (Mill no longer holds good with Mr. Levy.) The lecturer recommended as a cure for our undeniable evils: "Individualism," tempered by a little land reform in the style of Mr. Bradlaugh! He defended the profits of the capitalist by defining it (1) Interest on capital; (2) Premium for risk; and (3) Wages for superior performance in the "organisation of labour." In short, the commonest Liberal clap-trap ever heard of. Comrade Hutchison was right indeed in saying that if that was all that could be said against Socialism, there was no danger for us from argument. Comrade Scheu vigorously showed up some of the most glaring fallacies and inconsistencies of the lecturer, and got a good deal of encouragement from the audience who evidently enjoyed the treat of hearing for once a spade called a spade. While Scheu was assailing Levy in the Secularist Hall, comrades Downie, Greer, and Glasier were addressing an open-air meeting of some 200 people at the Green. No one who heard Downie and Greer speak on this occasion could but acknowledge their masterly exposition of Socialist teaching. On the afternoon comrades Greer and Warrington addressed another large open-air meeting on the Green. At seven o'clock in the evening comrade Scheu lectured in the Lesser Albion Hall on "The Socialisms of Owen, Blanqui, and Marx." For the first time we made a charge for admission, viz., 3d. and 6d. Notwithstanding this fact we had a very good audience. Comrade Scheu spoke for nearly two hours with masterly clearness and eloquence, and during that time the entire audience listened with rapt attention. At the conclusion of the lecture a few questions were asked, and Mr. Shaw Maxwell of the Land Restoration League, and Mrs. Neilson, a warm friend of the League, spoke in support of Socialism—the latter earnestly deprecating any resort to violence. Some new members were enrolled, and one of the best propagandist meetings we have yet held then terminated. On the same evening our comrade George McLean, of Cambuslang, addressed a large meeting in the Henry George Institute on the "Social Condition of the People of Jamaica."

HAMILTON.—The first weekly meeting of this Branch was held on Thursday in the British Workman meeting-room, comrade John McMunn, President of the Lanarkshire Miners' Union, in the chair. There was a very good attendance of members. A deputation from the Glasgow Branch of the League, consisting of comrades Warrington, McLean, Muirhead, and Glasier, attended, and advised the members regarding the constitution of the League and matters of organisation. Arrangements were made for a course of weekly lectures, comrade McLean of Cambuslang, giving the first on the following Thursday. The best means of promoting the sale of *Commonweal* in the district was then discussed. The prospects of the new Branch are very hopeful, the promptness with which the members paid their first contributions being of itself a very encouraging sign.—J. B. G.

HULL.—This Branch has taken a house and shop at 11, Princess Street, off Mason Street and Sykes Street, as club-room and depot for literature, which will be opened next week. We intend to make a vigorous attempt to push Socialism here, and hope our London comrades will heartily co-operate as far as possible.—E. T.

MANCHESTER.—A good open-air meeting was held on Sunday morning at our usual station; at the close some lively discussion took place with a man who objected to hear the great leaders of the people, Broadhurst and Co., spoken of as mere political bosses. We have arranged to have lectures in our club-room every Thursday evening. Members will please turn up early, so as to get the business over in time for the discussion.—R. U.

NORWICH.—We held our usual meeting at St. Faith's on Sunday morning, though the weather was very cold; also a very large meeting in the market-place. In the evening C. W. Mowbray lectured to a crowded audience on "The Poor Laws and Socialism." Sale of literature this week amounted to £1 2s. 10d. which must be doing some good. Our membership is now over 60.—C. W. M.

READING.—William Morris lectured here Monday, October 18th, at the "British Workman" for a Radical debating club, on "The Coming Epoch." The lecture was attentively listened to, and well discussed by a good audience.

LECHLADE.—On Friday, October 22nd, H. H. Sparling lectured here to an attentive audience of about 200. The only opposition was from a clergyman, and consisted of the usual stupid personalities. The audience was with the lecturer throughout.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday Oct. 29, at 8 p.m. Comrade Lessner will open the discussion on "Socialistic Tactics."  
**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday October 31, at 7.30 p.m. A Lecture. Wednesday November 3, at 8.30 p.m. P. Barry, "The Bankruptcy of Labour."  
**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7.30 p.m. J. L. Mahon, "The late Trades' Congress at Hull."  
**Fulham.**—1 Shorolds Road, opposite Liberal Club. Sunday October 31, at 8 p.m. H. H. Sparling, "What we want and how to get it."  
**Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 31, at 8 p.m. C. M. Wilson, "The Revolt of the English Worker in the Nineteenth Century."  
**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Oct. 31, at 7.45 p.m. T. Binning, "The Irish Question."  
**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee meets every Thursday.  
**Matcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.  
**North London.**—Business Meeting at 32 Camden Road Fridays at 8 p.m.

### Country Branches.

**Bingley.**—Coffee Tavern. Tuesdays, at 7.30 p.m.  
**Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.  
**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Rd. Wednesdays, at 8.  
**Dublin.**—102 Capel Street, every Tuesday at 8. Lectures and Discussions.  
**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. On Sunday open-air meetings on the Green at 11.30 and 4.30. A lecture in favour of Socialism will be delivered by C. F. Jamieson on Sunday morning at 11.30 in the Ram's Horn Assembly Rooms, Ingram Street. On Sunday evening, in our Rooms, James Mavor will lecture on "Political Economy."—On Monday evening open-air meeting at Parkhead

Cross.—On Tuesday evening at 8, a full meeting of members requested, to hear financial statement and arrange winter series of lectures.  
**Hamilton.**—Branch meets every Thursday evening at 7.30 in the British Workman Meeting Room. On Thursday first comrade John M'Munn will lecture on "What is Socialism?" Discussion after lecture and members enrolled.  
**Hull.**—11 Princess Street, off Mason Street and Sykes Street. Reading-room open every night, 7 to 11 o'clock. Lectures on Sundays at 7 p.m. Any one wishing to help towards furnishing the rooms should write to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street, or J. Devlin, 11 Princess Street.  
**Ipswich.**—"George Inn," Woodhouse Street.  
**Leeds.**—New Fleece Inn, Pemberton Street, Dewsbury Road. Thursday Nov. 4, at 8 p.m. T. Maguire, "Socialism and Political Action." 11. Comrade Allworthy, "Socialism: Will it Benefit the People?"  
**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. prompt. Lecture with discussion at 8 o'clock.  
**Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.  
**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9 Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.  
**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 30.	Hyde Park (Marble Arch).....	4	H. H. Sparling.....	Clerkenwell.
	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales") 8		The Branch .....	N. London.
	Mill-end Waste .....	8	The Branch .....	Mill-end.
S. 31.	Marylebone—corner of Salis-	11.30	D. J. Nicoll .....	Marylebone.
	bury St. and Church St.			
	Hackney—"Salmon and Ball" 11.30		Graham and Lane	Hackney.
	Cambridge Heath Road			
	Hammersmith—Beacon Rd. 11.30		Tochatti.....	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street.....	11.30	H. Davis .....	Hoxton.
	Mill-end Waste .....	11.30	H. A. Barker .....	Mill-end.
	Mitcham Fair Green .....	11.30	F. Kitz .....	Merton.
	Regent's Park .....	11.30	H. Charles.....	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches.....	11.30	W. A. Chambers.....	Bloomsbury.
	Walham Green, opposite Station 11.30		H. H. Sparling .....	Hammersmith.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch) 3		A. E. Donald .....	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park .....	3.30	H. A. Barker .....	Hackney.
	Clerkenwell Green .....	7	H. H. Graham .....	Clerkenwell.
Tu. 2.	Euston Road—Ossulton St. ...	7	F. Henderson .....	N. London.
	Mill-end Waste .....	8	The Branch .....	Mill-end.
	Soho—Broad Street .....	8	The Branch .....	Bloomsbury.
W. 3.	London Fields—Broadway,	8.30	W. A. Chambers .....	Hackney.
	opposite "Sir Walter Scott"			
Th. 4.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street... 8		H. Davis .....	Hoxton.

### PROVINCES.

**Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m., Sundays.  
**Manchester.**—Corner of Gorton Lane and Ashton Old Road, Sundays at 11.30.  
**Norwich.**—St. Mary's Plain, 11 a.m.; Market Place, 3 p.m.—Sundays.  
**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

**RICHMOND SUNDAY AFTERNOON SOCIETY.** Liberal Association's Rooms, ground-floor, Grosvenor Buildings, Railway Station.—Oct. 31, at 3.30, Edward Snelling, "Socialism."

"THREE KINGS' TAVERN," Clerkenwell Close.—Sunday October 31. J. D. McGregor, "Speeches in Recess."

**CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST SOCIETY, Industrial Hall, Clark's Buildings, Broad Street, Bloomsbury.**—Wednesday November 3. T. R. Wright, "Social Perspective: or Appearances and Realities."

**LANCASTER.**—William Morris will lecture in the Palatine Hall, on Tuesday, November 2, on "Socialism, its Aims and Methods." Friends in the neighbourhood willing to help in any way are asked to communicate with Rev. Z. P. Hall, Lansdowne.

**SOCIALISM IN NEWCASTLE.**—A Society for the discussion of Socialism has just been formed in Newcastle. All Socialists and others interested in the subject, are invited to join. The secretary is Edward R. Pease, 29, Claremont Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

## "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Bloomsbury Branch (weekly) £0 5 0 E. M. Pilter, Sydney, N.S.W. £0 5 0  
 Hammersmith Branch (2 weeks) 1 0 0 £1 10 0  
 PH. W., Treasurer, Oct. 26.

## FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

By Mrs. Mainwaring, collected  
 in Hyde Park ... £0 6 3  
 North London Branch (Oct. 17 and 24) ... 0 18 6  
 Clerkenwell Branch (Oct. 24) £0 0 11  
 £1 5 10  
 Owing ... 5 19 4  
 Deficit ... £4 13 6  
 PH. W., Treasurer, Oct. 26.

**A CONCERT** will be held at FARRINGTON HALL, 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C., on Saturday Evening, October 30, at Eight o'clock, for the purpose of raising Funds for the HACKNEY SOCIALIST CLUB. Admission by Programme (6d. each), which can be obtained at the Office.

**AN EDITOR** wanted for a German Newspaper (weekly) based on Socialist Principles to be started in the near future in London. Comrades acknowledging those principles and understanding both languages are requested to communicate at once with A. HOCHHEIM, Secretary of the Communistic Working Men's Club, 49 Tottenham Street, W.

### THE

## PRACTICAL SOCIALIST.

AN EXPONENT OF EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM; BUT DISCUSSION OF ALL ASPECTS INVITED.

EDITED BY THOMAS BOLAS.

MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

W. REEVES, 185 FLEET STREET.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE, at 13 Farringdon Road, London



# THE COMMONWEAL

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL'S speeches at Bradford were perhaps principally important because he said nothing very new in them. As at Dartford, he thought it necessary to wave the Jingo flag, while warning people against supposing that its waving meant anything at all; and if a Tory audience ever takes the trouble to think, the hearts of some of his hearers must have sunk with forebodings of dull times in foreign politics as far as the Tory Government is concerned. As to home politics, he began the course of explaining away his threat of three acres and a cow, which clearly lies before him. As to that notable scheme, indeed, he spoke more truth than he intended to speak when he claimed it as a Tory measure—which indeed it would be if it could be passed and enforced. He tried to reinforce his hopes of a revival of trade, based at Dartford on those two articles (not *very* filling at the price) pepper and quicksilver, by a conversation with a railway official. All this, however, was but half-hearted, and, as at Dartford, it was quite clear that the part of the political game which he was really interested in was the Irish question.

Of course he felt, first, that neither the Tory Government nor any other could really deal with the economical condition of Britain; and next, that the less they dealt with it the better he would be pleased; and thirdly, that he had done quite enough to give the Whig-Liberal-Radicals an excuse for supporting him: while on the other hand that, as far as Parliament is concerned, it is possible for the Government to block the way to Home Rule and the beginnings of expropriation in Ireland. Accordingly he hinted at the possibility of a new Coercion Bill, and entirely repudiated anything like concession to Home Rule, poking great fun at the *Daily News*, which he or some of his party had hounded with much success; and finally he waxed eloquent and eager over his intention of clapping the muzzle on the Home Rulers; showing by his reservation of this subject to the last that it was the one matter of real importance that he had to deal with.

He showed with much frankness how he had changed his opinion on this point; that he had resisted the application of the muzzle as unconstitutional when Mr. Gladstone proposed it, only because the then small Irish party had to be dealt with; but that as he saw that the Home Rule party was growing strong, and formed at least a respectable minority, he began to be concerned, and at last saw the necessity for silencing arbitrarily an opponent who was listened to by the people at large. In short, this latter part of Lord Randolph's speech, which has not been so much noticed as it deserved to be, is a model of impudence and brutality, and implies probably a fair appreciation on the speaker's part of the qualities of the audience whom he was addressing. It was no insult to them; but it would have been a dire insult to any other audience than the rump of a ridiculous party, with no chance of sustaining their worn-out theories in practice.

And yet, cynically as Lord Randolph put his proposals, his firm resolve to carry them out shows that he has grasped the true idea of Constitutionalism face to face with Revolution; for in spite of Mr. Parnell's respectable Parliamentary methods the Irish claim is revolutionary, and will be dealt with accordingly; Constitutionalism will not put up with Revolution in its midst, and will not find it difficult to lay hand on some weapon old or new in its armoury to put it down. In all probability Lord Randolph will find himself well supported in his attack on the Home Rulers in Parliament. What will the Home Rulers outside Parliament do?

Russia seems, having counted the cost, to have made up her mind to lay hands on Bulgaria, on the grounds that no great harm can come of it, since England has now with many big words declared that the quarrel is none of hers. The stroke once struck, the "conscience of Europe" will not be very uneasy at the robbery; nor as far as any of the respectable powers go can they afford to be very sensitive, as each of the said powers would do as Russia is going to do, if opportunity served it. Certainly England with her pockets crammed with stolen goods, would cut but a poor figure as the defender of injured innocence—at any rate if she were beaten.

The three great Absolutist powers, unless they are forced to fall out, seem on the surface as strong as ever; the true development of nations,

the harmonious and free development of their varied qualities, still awaits the time when "national life" in the sense in which we now use the words has come to an end, and the setting up a standard of rivalry, striving after an approach to the monopoly of a market under the name of patriotism, will have come to be looked upon as a monstrous folly, remembered only to be ridiculed.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## THE UNEMPLOYED.

THE title of this contribution refers to two widely different classes in society—one at the top ever seeking to escape labour, and one at the bottom ever engaged in a vain search for labour. The rich unemployed, falsely styled the upper classes, have called to their aid the French word *ennui* to describe the languor bred by sheer pampered idleness; the poor unemployed find the word *starvation* express their condition. Not always the actual deprivation which gives occasion for those annual returns of death from starvation, which forms one of the strongest counts in an indictment against the present system, but the slow lingering stinting which, allied with anxiety for the morrow, brings strong men down to weakness and hurries the old, young, and weakly to premature graves. Whilst the wealthy are asking where and how to vary their pleasures, and the journals which pander to them are discussing the merits of the brothel stage-displays they affect, thousands are facing a fate in preference to which summary execution would be humane. Week by week the roll of pauper and suicide deaths mounts up, whilst the rich are canvassing the qualities of their cellars and viands, or the lachrymose details of three-volume novels.

The unemployed have at the present moment many champions, who were silent when some few years back a band of men strove to draw attention, not only to the distresses of the unemployed, but to the normal wretched state of the mass who constitute the fringe of labour, and who ought certainly to have the largest share of sympathy from the true revolutionist. The noisiest always secure the greatest attention, and the present agitation anent the unemployed receives its chief impetus from a totally different cause than that ascribed by the capitalistic press, which with singular blindness attributes all the commotion to the unfortunates of our bastard civilisation, those whom they describe as "social wreckage." On the contrary, it is because the wave of commercial depression has reached a higher grade of workers that the present outcry is heard. It may be writing with bitterness, but not without truth, to state that this class has looked upon the gradual development of machinery in the hands of capitalists, and the consequent displacement of hand labour and increase of pauperism, prostitution, and crime, with great indifference. They have joined chorus in the harsh epithets which the upper thief class has bestowed upon the lower; and the often involuntary idler of their own class receives from them his full share of censure, whilst they ignore the profligacy and luxurious living of the idle rich, who prey upon all. They have passed without protest and often with approval, on the ground "that it makes good for trade," the criminal atrocities committed by our troops abroad in order to make fresh markets for the shoddy products they think are goods. But now the fear of starvation is before them, they clamour for a huge system of out-door relief in a tone that is at once pitiable and degrading.

No, sapient writers of the daily bond-grabbing press, it is the very "genuine working men" whom you are so fond of distinguishing from the "residuum," who are now your chief trouble, and who are not likely longer to bestow much attention upon your favourite dodge of erecting the meetings of coteries of ex-beer-duty, ex-fair-trade, ex-almost-everything agitators, and the renegade Socialist, into representative gatherings.

The aristocratic snob, some specimens of which are turned out fresh

from our universities, are contemptible; still more so are the snobs of the counter; but the worst of all are the contented slaves who only ask for work, work, work, however exhausting and wearisome, and regard with indifference those who are crushed by the system. This class will be readily appeased by relief works, and their revolutionary ardour will soon cool under the discipline of State-paid gangs, and the men who achieve these results, whether they belong to the possessing classes or not, will be the true saviours of society, as society stands to-day.

The fringe, the unhappy weaklings and others who cannot take part in the bitter struggle for existence as capitalist greed orders it to-day, will remain where they are, to be punished for others' failure in work-house, hospital, and prison. It is by no means the business of revolutionary Socialists to help the exploiters to save themselves for a time by "timely concessions," but by educating away the miserable prejudices and narrowness of the working class to proclaim the solidarity of all, instead of the frequent cry, "Am I my brother's keeper?"—to infuse a feeling of brotherhood and sympathy with those at the very base of society, as the result of enlightened views as to the cause of their position, and to join with the demand for work and bread, which is now heard alone, the demand for leisure, culture and refinement—in short, equality. A revolution must be accomplished by revolutionists, and is not likely to be accomplished by those who are simply discontented because an inherently rotten system can no longer afford them continuous toil. An agitation will commence not because they are unemployed but because they are ever poor, and instead of the miserable spectacle now so frequently seen in winter, of gangs of men accompanied by police asking alms of their enemies, there will be an irresistible demand for the restitution of the land and means of production, which will have a different echo to a cry for gang labour. F. KIRTZ.

### A WORD TO WOMEN.

WITHOUT your aid the Social Revolution will never be an accomplished thing. But so surely as you have tender and pitying hearts, so surely will your aid be ours in the great cause. There are those of you who need no teaching of the horrors that the present fearful system forces upon you. You, oh working women! have you not known what it is to toil with wearisome restlessness for a wage that barely kept you and those dear to you from starvation? You know too well how it was ere you left your parents' home to join hands with your husband; how your father was often out of work and your mother ill, and what terrible privations you all had to endure; how since then it has been one ceaseless struggle on your part. But you, oh women of the leisured classes! you have never realised all this; your hands are delicate and unsoiled; you have never known the pinch of hunger nor the sense of homelessness; but will you refrain from aiding us because the horrid system touches not yourselves with its misery, while you know full well that your sisters, less lucky than you, are being ground under its ruthless heel? You have fine robes and lovely mansions, your ears are often pleased with sweet music, and for your palate dainty dishes are prepared; but do you not know that many a woman to-day has a hard fight to keep even decent lives on coarse food, in a miserable home, working and slaving, whilst you enjoy what her labour has given you? Walk to-morrow in your coarsest dress into some of the workers' districts of your own city, and you will see pale women hurrying along, haggard and dirty men, out of work, lounging about, glad to drown their misery in drink, little children with naked feet so pinched that the very pavement seems to shrink away from the contact; and then ask yourself why is all this. Is it, as some will tell you, because these people are careless and thriftless? No, truly, for how can they be thriftless? If they spend all they get they cannot spend much. You yourself spend much more than they, yet you are not called "thriftless." Many a man who spends more than they do is called "thrifty," simply because he has more. Therefore when you blame these poor as thriftless you are really blaming them for having small incomes, and that is a condition that is forced upon them by our system of society. Besides, they produce value for what they consume; you do not. The cause lies deeper, in the system against which we fight—the system of competition and capitalism. Look again at its fruits—starving children, women almost destitute, young girls forced to prostitution, dens that you would shudder to look at called "homes" by these workers; and if you can turn away from these things gaily, and say "It touches me not; I am comfortable; let things be, it is no matter of mine," then do you belie your nature, your heart is not a woman's but a wolf's, and this appeal is not to you. But if, on the contrary, you feel yourself thrilled with horror at the contrast between your own state and that of your sister, knowing that it is no merit in you, but the mere accident of birth, that raises you above her, and if all your true woman's heart rises in a storm of indignation that such things should be, or if your pitying eyes weep to see the sufferings of your fellows, then do we know that you are with us in battling to the death with the monster horror that is cursing the lives of so many.

FRED HENDERSON.

### INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE GLASS BOTTLE MAKERS.

As soon as the Trades' Unions were established, we had every reason to believe that these associations which made such rapid progress in so short a period, would take in hand the cause of labour in all its aspects, and pave the way for Revolution. Unfortunately, however, we were soon disappointed in these our expectations; the individualistic spirit that prevailed from the very beginning among these working-men's associations, and the selfish tendencies which made themselves conspicuous among them, soon transformed them into reactionary institutions, incapable of solving a question so far-reaching as that of the organisation of labour, and disqualified them for bringing about in the future the triumphant realisation of Socialistic ideas.

Modern Society presents a strange picture; it shows us the working classes involved in a predicament full of contradictions, brought about too by the natural course of scientific and industrial development. On the one hand, in their hearts and minds, we find tendencies and longings growing ever stronger and stronger towards equality, dignity, and liberty; on the other, in actual fact, we have inequality growing ever more marked, pauperism growing ever more menacing, slavery growing ever more base and disgraceful. Here is a new anomaly, not less astonishing at first sight than that of the growth side by side of pauperism and wealth. When human intellect exclaims, "Progress and Freedom," economical fatality answers, "Decay and Servitude!" Clearly, a ruinous abyss underlies such a situation. To escape this, there are but two courses; the one, which is so extolled by the privileged class, would be that of arresting the intellectual tendency towards equality and liberty in order to make room for the economical tendency towards misery, a course as foolish as brutal, for then to be logical, science must needs be checked; and consequently also the progressive march of industry, the growth of riches, and the accumulation of capital, involving therewith the ruin of the capitalist himself. It would, in short, be imperatively necessary to stop the development of the human mind, and change the entire course of Nature itself, which everywhere shows us in the unbroken chain of being, in the successive formation of organisms, more and more perfect and complex, from the sea-weed to man himself, the great law of progress.

The other form tends to develop an intellectual disposition towards liberty, equality, and dignity, nay, to restrain that economical tendency which results in misery, a method as reasonable as humane, since the aim no longer is to hinder the cerebral development of men or impede the working of natural laws. Its only object is to bring into play on behalf of labour all the economic forces which serve now solely for the profit of capital. To attain that end it suffices to modify the relations of capital and labour, to bring henceforth capital and labour again into coalescence on an equal footing, so that every labourer shall be a capitalist, and every capitalist a labourer, every producer at the same time also a consumer, and every consumer a producer—in other words, it is to strive towards effecting the pure and simple abolition of wage-slavery.

To promote and to advance the popular tendencies towards liberty and equality, for the present to support labour in all its struggles against capital, and in view of the future to create adequate institutions to effect the transformation of social organisation—such ought to have been the mission, such ought to have been the vocation of the trades' unions, and this mission, this vocation, they have not as yet grasped.

To reach this consummation, which is simply to make the economical revolution a reality, it would, above all, have been necessary to internationalise the trades' unions, which have always been, so to speak, cantonised into purely national and even local associations. All the efforts that were once made by the General Council of the International Association of Working-men with the object of uniting these operative bodies with their comrades of the Continent, proved themselves vain and fruitless. And further, at the recent Paris Congress of trades' unions, the English delegates abstained from voting for the third resolution, in which the necessity of reconstituting an international society among the working-men of all countries came into question. This, however, does not prove that there are no intelligent men among the unionists, endowed with clear minds and generous aspirations, who long ago saw that if the trades' unions wish to maintain their right of existence they must range themselves under the banner of Socialism. In a masterly piece of popular literature, our comrade Thomas Binning, who is a unionist himself, said a short time ago:—

"I call upon the unionists frankly to recognise their mission, and to make common cause with all those whose fundamental principle is that the brotherhood of labour should be the basis of society. The emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem. Labour is of no country. The interests of the workers are everywhere identical. Whatever political party be in power, whether the form of government be republican, constitutional-monarchical, or absolutist—everywhere the workers have to contend with the same evils. The cause of all social misery is the economical subjection of the labourer to the monopoliser of the means of labour, whereby the masses of the people are compelled to sell themselves by a kind of Dutch auction to the capitalist classes in order to obtain the wherewithal to maintain a bare existence. There is absolutely no hope for the workers but in the utter abolition of wage-slavery, and the reconstruction of society on a labour basis. Everything that has been put forward as a panacea and for the purpose of keeping the people in a fools' paradise has been tried and failed, and left them in even a worse condition than they were in before.

Surely they must be blind indeed who do not perceive that neither free trade nor improvements of machinery, no appliance of science to production, no increased means of communication nor new colonies, emigration, opening of new markets, nor all these things put together, can do away with the miseries of the industrious classes; but that whilst society remains on its present false base, every fresh development of the productive powers of labour can only tend to deepen social contrasts and to embitter and accentuate the class struggle."

And again, he says:

"The paramount duty of the trades' unions seems to me to be clearly defined. It is to make plain to all men that they have no part nor lot with those who would maintain the existing unjust social arrangements, but that they recognise the absolute identity of their interests with those of the opponents of class privilege and domination. The trades' unions have hitherto kept commendably clear of party politics, but there appears some danger at present that they may be 'got at' by the professional politicians, and may be induced to turn aside from their proper work to waste their efforts in parliamentary pottering. The unions should steadily reject all alliances with any of the present political parties; they should refuse to take part in those disgusting farces termed royal commissions; and above all, they should guard against being cajoled by the blandishments which are being craftily bestowed upon some of the weak-kneed 'representatives' of labour. The attention of trades-unionists ought to be solely directed to the social question. Nothing short of an economic revolution can emancipate labour, therefore no amount of legislative tinkering is of any use, so long as private property in the sources of life is permitted."

Not only are there individual unionists who understand that the only way to their salvation is through Socialism, but we are happy to state that an entire *trades' union*—viz., that of the glass-bottle makers—has just entered upon the same path.

The Glass-Bottle Makers' Union held an international conference in London from the 16th to the 19th of October last, in which glass-bottle makers from England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Austria, and Denmark, were represented. To manifest the feeling of international solidarity with which they were animated, the representatives of this important branch of industry in their first sitting unanimously passed the following resolution, which the Socialistic papers of Belgium have already published in their columns:

"The International Conference of Glass-Bottle Makers, held in Farringdon Hall, London, on the 16th of October, expresses to their fellow-comrades of Belgium their sentiments of deepest sympathy and of international brotherhood, shares their sufferings, encourages them in their work, and wishes that comrades Falleur, Schmidt, and all the other fellow-workmen who were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for having sustained the cause of the workers, may be amnestied without delay, as this is the only means of doing justice to the Belgian workers.—On behalf of the Conference, CHRISTOPHER SWEETING, Chairman; JAMES HUNTER, Secretary."

Knowing that the local and national efforts of the glass-bottle makers had proved themselves thus far of no avail, they established an international union, and they did not shrink from setting forth at the head of the statutes of their new union principles which were thoroughly Socialistic. The Secretary-General of the Council recently elected to hold office for one year, has been entrusted with the drawing up of an address, which is to be translated into all the principal languages, and which will proclaim to the working men of all countries the constitution of the International Union, its aims, and its methods.

VICTOR DAVE.

(To be concluded).

## LITERARY NOTICES.

*John Swinton's Paper*, in its issue of October 10, announces the beginning of its fourth year of publication. In October 1883, when sturdy John Swinton cast himself loose and sailed in on the side of labour, there were none who imagined the vast progress in American labour matters shown since then. To him and his live paper much of that progress is due. All friends of labour should honour its birthday with the toast, "May it live until it is useless and then die respected."—S.

Few publishers of "popular editions" have the courage of John W. Lovell and Co. (16 Vesey Street, New York), who have included in their marvellously cheap series, "Lovell's Library," several very advanced books on labour and social questions, including Marie Howland's 'Papa's Own Girl.' They also publish "pirate editions" of a great many English copyright books.—S.

The only real difference between the robbers of ancient times and the monopolists of to-day is the mode of operation. The former robbed the producers by force of arms and carried their plunder into their castles, and defended it by private armed soldiers. The monopolists of to-day rob by class legislation and corruption of courts and officials, and keep their victims at bay by means of Pinkerton cut-throats. The robbery is precisely the same in both cases so far as the victim is concerned.—*Industrial News*.

The independent movement in State politics this year is sure to be a success. It may not succeed in electing its candidates, but the movement will be a success notwithstanding. It will succeed in showing those who have come into labour organisations for the purpose of securing the votes of such organisations for either of the rotten old parties that they cannot do so. It will succeed in showing the bosses of those parties that the labour-vote cannot be secured by buying a few of the self-appointed leaders or by getting a few of their henchmen into the ranks. What is still more important, it will succeed in permanently inaugurating a party that is squarely and unequivocally a labour party—one that will harbour none of the enemies of labour reform. This will drive the opponents of our cause into a union, and draw all of our friends out of both of the old parties. This is what can be accomplished by this movement, and to any friend of the principles of the K. of L. these are results worth working for.—*Hartford Examiner*.

## THE LORD OF BURLEIGH.

(FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF HIS DISAPPOINTED RIVAL).

(Continued from p. 243.)

He let me say out my say to the end, but well I could see  
He was gazing the while at Annie, nor thought for a moment of me;  
Then just with the least little trace of a faint satirical smile,  
As of one who will yet make answer, although it is scarce worth while,  
He gracefully, daintily said that he certainly never had meant  
To do any harm, we must kindly acquit him of evil intent;  
And as for the cattle, why, yes, he had seen some beasts go through,  
But they seemed, he thought, by their manner to know what they had to do,  
And the flies were teasing them sadly, he thought it was just as well  
They should try a change of quarters, and how could he possibly tell  
That they were not allowed to go? he had noticed a look in their eyes  
As though they knew what was best, and certainly fewer flies  
Had been there since the cattle had gone; but if he had only known,  
He ne'er would have been so careless, and what could he do to atone!

This much in excuse he said, and at first seemed trying to find  
A suitable coin in his pocket to gild it, but changed his mind  
As he gazed upon Annie, I saw; for the delicate roseate trace  
Of a blush fluttered out on her cheeks; and he kept his eyes on her face,  
Till the dull dead coal of his heart was slowly but surely lit  
By the spark of a smouldering flame devil-brought from the nethermost pit;  
And his pale lackadaisical face and his lustreless eyes took fire,  
And burned with the passionate heat of the glow of an ill desire.  
Alas, I saw it well, and it made me mad, and I said  
I know not what in my anger, but cast loud words at his head,  
Loud words thrown out like curses, instinct with a taunting scorn,  
To sting him out of the mask his manners had ever worn,  
And make him as rude as I; for the contrast of his restraint  
Still vexed me more than the mischief whereof I had made complaint.

Yet though I abused him soundly, I utterly failed in this;  
For he did but politely repeat his regret to have been so remiss;  
Asked how he could best make atonement, and might he come with us and  
try

If he could assist in the hunt; and a twinkle of mirth in his eye  
Showed just what he thought of the errand—a lord on the hunt for a cow—  
But I, seeing clearly the purpose it was not his plan to avow,  
And knowing full well from his face that all he wanted to see  
Was Annie's sweet little self, and neither the cows nor me,  
Made answer short and stern that we would not give him the pain,  
Although he had lost our cattle, of trying to find them again.  
And I turned on my heel, and left him; but Annie followed behind  
More slowly and ill at ease, and seemed to be troubled in mind,  
Because I had spoken harshly, and been, as she thought, so rough  
To a man who had done us harm, it was true, but was ready enough  
To do what he could to amend it, and no one could well do more;  
And it was not right to bear malice; she never had known before  
That my temper was quite so short, but 'twas well to be made aware  
Of the state of the case henceforward, and she must take very good care  
To study my whims and my humours—and more in the same light strain,  
Half jesting and half in earnest; but I was scarce in the vein  
For making so light of the matter; the man's ill eyes as he gazed  
On the eyes of my Annie had hurt me, and I was in secret amazed  
That she had not taken offence, and been angrier yet than I.  
But little she knew of the meaning that might in an ill look lie,  
And how could I tell her my thoughts? I answered I know not what;  
I own I was worried and weary and cross and peevish and hot,  
For the hill-side stretched away, and the cattle were not to be seen,  
And the sun had scorched the herbage to every colour but green,  
And we knew not whither to turn, and behind us a-lounge in the shade  
Lay the careless lazy scoundrel who all this mischief had made,  
While far and wide we must wander with eyes and wits on the stretch,  
And he lay idly lolling, or making a scrawl of a sketch.

Alas, I had lost my temper, and felt so jealous as well,  
That the earth I had thought pure heaven seemed now grown liker to hell.  
And instead of comforting Annie, I let my tongue run wild,  
Bewailing my own discomfort, as peevish as any child,  
And abusing the lazy lord, who, it seemed, had just come down  
To the country for change of air from his palace in London town,  
And was one of the rascally rich who grind the face of the poor,  
And lay on their bowed bent backs great burdens they will not endure  
To touch with their own fair fingers, the fingers they keep so white,  
And nice, and tender, and neat—'Twas thus I vented my spite.  
On the luckless lounging lord, as we climbed the hill in the heat,  
In words that had served before, and will serve again for the feat  
Of abusing behind their backs the lords who are lazy and rich.  
Till Annie was sick of my story, and said that she felt a stitch  
In her side, and was tired of climbing, and she would sit down, while I  
Went just to the top of the ridge, to get a look-out and spy  
If the cattle were hid in the hollow. To go was the least I could do;  
But I went with no good grace; and from such slight cause there grew  
A coolness between us twain that we never had known before.  
And still as I climbed the ridge, I wondered more and more  
Why Annie had not resented the fellow's insolent stare,  
Little knowing 'twas nought but my folly and rude imperious air  
That seemed to put him in the right who had nothing but wrong on his side.

J. L. JOYNES.

(To be continued.)

In order to get a broad view of the great problems of the times, you must rise out of the mud and mire of personal and selfish motives and let all private and personal projects give way to the general welfare of all. The man who cannot do this is always a stumbling-block.—*Industrial News*.

Jay Gould wants to know upon what terms he can join the Knights of Labor. Were he to give all his plunder back to his victims and then spend a couple of hours in a red-hot crematory, his admission would not make a "jar" that would seriously injure a well-managed assembly of Knights.—*Industrial News*.





"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

**As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages.** None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

**Rejected MSS.** can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

**Subscriptions.**—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s., six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

**Business communications** to be addressed to **Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.** Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

**NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.**—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

**FR. SCHR.**—Thanks for letter; shall be glad to receive communications from time to time.

**R. N. LUCAS** (Bacharach).—Not of sufficient interest.

**M. COLEMAN** (Bundaberg).—Too long.—We shall be glad to receive briefer notes on labour matters. Have sent MS. to address given.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 3.*

ENGLAND		
Justice	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	SWITZERLAND
Norwich—Daylight	Cleveland (O.)—Carpenter	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Anti-Sweater	Toledo (O.)—Industrial News	ITALY
Club and Institute Journal	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Church Reformer	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	SPAIN
Leicester—Countryman	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Madrid—El Socialista
National Review	Roll Call	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Personal Rights Journal	Paterson (N. J.) Labor Standard	Barcelona—El Grito del Pueblo
Ploughshare	Salem (Oreg.) Advance-Thought	PORTUGAL
To-Day	Portland (Oreg.) Avant-Courier	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Freethinker	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Voz do Operario
Freedom	FRANCE	Villafranca de Xira—O Campino
INDIA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	AUSTRIA
Allahabad—People's Budget	Le Revolt	Brunn—Volksfreund
Ahmedabad—Praja Mata	La Revue Litteraire	HUNGARY
Madras—People's Friend	Guise—Le Devoir	Arbeiter Wochen-Chronik
CANADA	Lille—Le Travailleur	ROUMANIA
Toronto—Labor Reformer	HOLLAND	Bucharest—Pruncul Roman
UNITED STATES	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Jassy—Lupta
New York—Volkszeitung	BELGIUM	NORWAY
Freiheit	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker	En Avant	SWEDEN
Der Sozialist	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
John Swinton's Paper	Antwerp—De Werker	DENMARK
Boston—Woman's Journal		Social-Demokraten

## WHAT ARE THE PRINCIPLES OF THE PRIMROSE LEAGUE?

This question, which forms the title of a leaflet circulated by the patriots of the Primrose League, "has often been asked" so the leaflet informs us, "through the last twelve months, especially by working men." This increase of intelligent curiosity on the part of the working classes is very satisfactory, for in former times the British workman, as in the case of Wordsworth's Peter Bell, was apt to be somewhat dull and unobservant on such points:

"A Primrose by a river's brim  
A yellow Primrose was to him,  
And it was nothing more."

But now it appears that the Primrose League is something more, and that the demand for further information has resulted in the publication of this explanatory leaflet. We learn that the Primrose League, so far from being devoid of principles, is the happy possessor of no less than four, which we will now proceed to enumerate.

"The first principle is to uphold"—No, reader, it is *not* what you and I were both expecting. Like a clever tactician, the writer of the leaflet reserves to the last the true, real, essential motive of the League, and first introduces us to two highly respectable, yet merely preparatory, principles, which are calculated to throw some venerable dust in our eyes and pave the way for the acceptance of the real thing. "The first principle is to uphold *Religion*." In these modern days, when, as the leaflet says, "bold bad men make a mock of all forms of worship," the members of the Primrose League (the followers, be it noted, of the mild, good Beaconsfield) feel it incumbent on them to stand forth and raise a protest. We will not attempt to dispute the fitness of the Primrose League to champion the cause of religion; so we

bow the head in respectful acquiescence, and pass on to principle the second.

"Our second principle is to maintain the *Constitution*"; for under this constitution the people enjoy more "personal liberty" than in any other country on the face of the globe. The Primrose League is deeply enamoured of the liberty of the subject; and working men will doubtless be quick to perceive that by supporting the Primrose League they are helping to prolong the existence of the present admirable system of free competition, under which they enjoy such complete freedom that they are in no danger of being interfered with, even if they should take it into their minds—to starve. This is the constitution that has made England what she is, the "foremost among nations, powerful, independent, and free."

The third principle is "to keep the *Ascendency of the British Empire*." This looks more like business; we are now beginning to get clear of the respectable old buffer-principles, and come into proximity with the real thing at last. A critical reader might perhaps be tempted to enquire why other nations may not also be allowed to be "powerful, independent, and free," instead of sacrificing those privileges in favour of the ascendancy of the British Empire. But that would be a petty and insular consideration. "Look at the map of the world," continues our leaflet, waxing eloquent in the warmth of its Jingoism; and seizing our atlas we learn with an imperial thrill of patriotism that "over a great part of Asia, Africa, and America, the whole of Australia and New Zealand, our Empress-Queen holds sway." "Shall we give up this glorious inheritance?" asks the leaflet. "No," is the indignant answer; "let us rather bind our colonies closer to us in the bonds of mutual interest." That *interest* is at stake in this matter we are not disposed to deny; but whether the interest be mutual or one-sided is a question of some importance, on which we can hardly take the word of the Primrose League.

From Jingoism to Capitalism is a natural and easy transition. We are therefore not surprised to find in the fourth principle the conclusion of the whole matter, the true and genuine *raison d'être* of the Primrose League. "Last" (but not least), "we would preserve the *Rights of Property*." The rights of property—that is the natural and appropriate battle-cry of those well-to-do gentlemen and ladies who feel a conscientious call to come to the rescue of religion and the British constitution. But even here they cannot make a candid avowal of their dominant principle without having recourse to subterfuges worthy of Mr. Pecksniff himself, who, by the by, would have made a fine specimen of a Primrose knight. "And this," they continue, "we advocate in the interest, not of the few, but of the many." The Primrose League is in arms not for the security of the rich man's wealth or lands, but to save "the poor man's deposit in the savings-bank," "the tradesman's stock," aye, and "the very tools of the workman." We confess that our breath is almost taken away by this insight into the lofty piety and noble disinterestedness of an aristocratic organisation. There is no parallel in history for so complete an abnegation of self-interest on the part of a dominant class. They unhesitatingly rush to the support of a religion which supplies the poor with such an abundance of spiritual consolation as to render any material remedies superfluous. They courageously rally round a national constitution which is carefully framed for a perpetuation of social inequality. They pledge themselves to maintain the ascendancy of the British empire—i.e., the inferiority of other races. And, finally, by a supreme effort of unselfish heroism, they band themselves together to preserve those "rights of property" (or shall we call them rather "wrongs of usurpation"?) under which they themselves happen, by the merest coincidence, to enjoy a monopoly of the comforts and luxuries of life. "These are the principles of the Primrose League," triumphantly concludes the leaflet; and our final reflection is that a more convenient set of principles has seldom been made to order for a very unprincipled class.

H. S. S.

## COPYRIGHT AND "PIRACY."

ONE of the standing grievances for general discussion in the literary world is the state of legislation, especially international, affecting copyright, and every other while one hears of a congress of authors and publishers, and men who are neither, to debate and agree upon what they shall recommend for adoption by the several governments of the civilised world.

Even as people, otherwise irreproachable, consistently defraud railroad, gas, and water companies, or the imperial revenue, so also do they indulge in "pirate editions," and smuggle them, in despite of the laws against such "nefarious transactions." In all cases the doing of any one of these things is an unconscious protest against restrictive tariffs and grasping monopoly. We Socialists are frequent offenders in thus "cheating an author of his rights," and folk who do not understand the question are apt to imagine that in so doing we desert our principles and "deprive a man of the fruits of his own labour." There may, perhaps, be hardship inflicted upon some individual author by an evasion or infringement of the Copyright Acts, just as there may be hardship inflicted upon some individual landlord by a refusal to pay rent, but the hardship or apparent wrong in either case does not prove the monopoly itself to be a rightful one.

We are prone to think and speak of copyright as though it were in the nature of things universal and could not be dispensed with. It is most emphatically a growth of the present system, and will end with it. The first Copyright Act was 8 Anne, c. 19 (1709), which fixed the term at 14 years from date of publication, and 14 years more if author

were alive at the end of first period; penalty for infringement, 1d. per sheet and forfeiture of illicit copies. The two following Acts (41, George III., c. 107, 1801, and 54 George III., c. 156, 1814) increased the penalty to 3d. per sheet in addition to forfeiture, and the term to 28 years from publication, or, if author was alive at its end, to the close of his natural life. The Act now in force (5 and 6 Victoria, c. 45, 1842) repealed previous ones, and made the copyright of books published during lifetime of their author extend to the term of his natural life and seven years beyond, if such period expire before 42 years it shall continue till 42 years are made up. For books published after an author's death the copyright is for 42 years from date of publication. This is quite consistent with the present system, and is very necessary so long as the system lasts. So long as it is made inevitable for each man to depend upon "individual enterprise" in an all-embracing scramble, it is impossible to do without some safeguard to his "rights." Where access to all the means of producing wealth is under the control of a class, where production is wholly regulated in the interests of that class, where producer and consumer are separated by men who live upon what they can wrest from either, it is necessary for all producers to combine who are in a position to do so, and in some way limit the exploitation they cannot wholly avoid. Viewed in this way copyright and factory legislation are akin, but in copyright is something more. Copyright as we now know it is also one of the many forms under which a man for something done is accorded the power of taxing other people's future labour for a term or in perpetuity. Royalties paid to an author have no essential relation to labour performed, and are paid for access to information in like fashion that profit is paid for access to the means of production or transit, and rent for access to land.

To every man is due the fruit of his labour, no more and no less. Working in association with his fellows it is impossible for each to tell what his exact share of production is; men working together under conditions which allow of their doing so, find it advantageous to adopt and work upon the formula, "From each according to his power, to each according to his need." An author has no special patent of exemption or heaven-granted grace, by virtue of which he may claim to rule his affairs differently from other men. Whatsoever the labour expended upon his book be worth to the community, to that he is entitled in return. If he be working in common with his fellows he will receive all he needs, whether his work be embodied in a book or in a chair.

Under a Socialistic state of Society it is very improbable that there will be men whose only work will be the writing of books. Where bodily labour is a delight, as it invariably is to a healthy man working amid pleasant surroundings, and uncompelled by force outside himself, men are loath to let any portion of their share of it go into the hands of another. The extra pleasure which lies in the consumption of the result of one's own handiwork, delight in the employment of one's creative faculties, these will impel men of sound body and mind to learn some craft and exercise it for the satisfaction of their material needs.

Those who think that an author or artist should do no "common" work, and that in some way other people must be compelled to support him, have yet to learn the truth that there is no really necessary work that is "common or unclean." Whatsoever is degrading, whatsoever is loathsome in any necessary task to-day, is traceable wholly to surrounding circumstances, and is not essential to the task itself. When the weight of unnecessary work is lifted that is imposed upon us to sustain idlers, it will be an agreeable task to provide "our daily bread." Then the keen delight a true man feels in expressing himself and his love of life will be an enduring reward for all ideal work, upon which is lavished the riches of his abundant leisure and unwearied powers. Released from the sordid fear of want which so cripples our highest energies, men in such days would have time and inclination to seek always that which is true, that which is beautiful, and every addition to the available store of knowledge would be eagerly received and gladly rewarded.

Secure of comfort as the outcome of moderate exertion, having to fear the frown or crouch for the smile of no master, each would give out all that was in him and be happy in so doing. Free from the sordid anxiety of to-day none would seek to retain to himself any exceptional advantage accruing from power of mind or body above the average, and would welcome whatsoever deepened his influence and widened its range. With the system which has made it necessary, copyright will vanish utterly. Like all other restrictions it will be flung aside when humanity demands free way to the heights of advancement that rise before it, inconceivable in their sublimity.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

All accumulation of personal property, beyond what a man's own hands produce, is derived to him by living in society; and he owes, on every principle of justice, of gratitude, and of civilisation, a part of that accumulation back again to society from whence the whole came. This is putting the matter on a general principle, and perhaps it is best to do so; for if we examine the case minutely, it will be found that accumulation of personal property is in many instances the effects of paying too little for the labour that produced it; the consequence of which is, that the working hand perishes in old age, and the employer abounds in affluence. It is, perhaps, impossible to proportion exactly the price of labour to the profits it produces; and it will also be said, as an apology for injustice, that were the workman to receive an increase of wages daily, he would not save it against old age, nor be much the better for it in the interim. Make, then, society the treasurer to guard it for him in a common fund; for it is no reason, because he might not make a good use of it for himself, that another shall take it.—*De Tocqueville.*

## SEWING THE SHROUD.

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

MEEKLY o'er silks and satins chained and bent,  
They stitch for the lady tyrannous and proud—  
For her a wedding gown—for them a shroud.  
They mend and mend, but never mend the rent  
Torn in life's golden curtains. Glad youth went  
And left them alone with time. If blind and bowed  
With burdens they should sob and cry aloud,  
Wondering, the Rich would look from their content.

And yet this glimmering life at last recedes  
In unknown, endless depths beyond recall.  
And here at the end of ages is this all—  
Is this the flower of all our cults and creeds—  
A white face floating in the whirling ball,  
A dead face plashing in the river reeds?

—CHARLES EDWIN MARKHAM.

## ANOTHER FAGIN GANG.

We have received a copy of the draft prospectus, shortly to be published, of another Fagin League now being formed to help on our work. It is good indeed when rogues and their friends come forward to proclaim themselves:

"THE LOYAL AND ANTI-SOCIALIST LEAGUE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND."

"Council: Duke of Manchester, K.P., Viscount Lewisham, Lord Rossmore, Lord Poltimore, and Baron De Worms, M.P.

"Director: Major W. N. Persse.

"Bankers: Cox and Co., Charing Cross.

"Owing to the constant efforts of Socialistic and kindred societies to spread disaffection amongst the less well-to-do classes, and their openly avowed determination to subvert the very foundation of social existence, and destroy the rights of property—rights which have been recognised from time immemorial—the period has arrived when all loyal and patriotic subjects of Her Majesty should combine, without reference to party or creed, to resist and suppress by all possible legal means, the spread of these evil doctrines, which, if not effectually stopped—and at once—will assuredly result in the speedy outbreak of crime, and in the intensification of the poverty existing among the very class these unscrupulous agitators seek to delude.

"To oppose such purposes this League has been founded, and the Executive appeals to all those possessing property, and professing the slightest interest in their country's welfare, and the maintenance of her pre-eminent position among nations, to assist in carrying out the object of the League, whose greatest claim to support is that, at the present time, there is no organisation in existence to uphold the rights of property owners, and combat advocates of revolution.

"In the metropolis, and in our large towns, local organisations are in course of formation, and the Council will be pleased to hear from any gentlemen willing to take charge of divisions, and otherwise assist in the work.

"The immediate objects of the League are as follows: To unite all loyal subjects of the Queen for the purpose of upholding the Constitution, and the integrity of the Empire; also to render, if necessary, active assistance to the civil authorities in the suppression of riot and tumult, having for its object the destruction of property and plunder.

"No engagement is required, but the request to be enrolled as a member would be regarded as implying a willingness to assist as far as possible in promoting the objects of the League.

"Further particulars may be obtained on application to W. A. Scott (late Lieut. 79th Cameronian Highlanders), Secretary. Temporary Office, 13, King Street, St. James's, S.W."

[Here follows form of application.]

Dr. Talmage's idea that if what working-men spend in drink were saved they would have houses, gardens, broadcloth, and silks, recalls the suggestive question of the confirmed smoker. "How many cigars do you smoke in a day?" asked the non-smoker. "Ten," was the answer. "How much do they cost you and how long have you smoked?" was the next question. "They cost me an average of 1 dol. a day and I have smoked for thirty years." "Well, do you know that if you hadn't smoked you might now have a fine house as the result of your abstinence?" persisted the non-smoker. "Perhaps so," said the smoker, "but how many cigars do you smoke in a day?" "I have never smoked in my life," the non-smoker replied. "Where is your fine house?" asked the smoker. Dr. Talmage, like a great many other well-meaning men, must learn that wealth results from production and not from saving. This is not a sermon in favour of drinking, or smoking, or against saving. It is only intended as a reminder that while some working-men may make themselves comfortable by saving so long as the masses of their fellows do not save, the comfort of the masses is to be attained not by saving but by freedom of production. The more economically the mass of people live the more economically they will be compelled to live. For workingmen as a class to discard a luxury is to make it easier for their employers to reduce wages.—*Spread the Light.*

There is no more accurate test of the progress of civilisation than the progress of the power of co-operation. What makes all savage communities poor and feeble? The same cause which prevented the lions and tigers from long ago extirpating the race of men—incapacity of co-operation. All combination is compromise. It is the sacrifice of some portion of individual will for a common purpose.—*John Stuart Mill.*

INDUSTRY WITHOUT REWARD.—The saddest aspect the decay of civic Society can exhibit has always appeared to me to be this, when honourable, honour-loving, conscientious diligence cannot, by the utmost efforts of toil, obtain the necessities of life; or when the working-man cannot even find work, but must stand with folded arms, lamenting his forced idleness, through which himself and his family are verging to starvation, or, it may be, actually suffering the pains of hunger.—*T. Carlyle.*

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## THE LATE CONGRESS IN PARIS.

Mr. A. Smith has published a report of the International Trades Congress held at Paris from August 23rd to 28th, 1886, in which he gives an extract of my speech containing some serious errors. Mr. A. Smith promised to send me if possible a proof of my speech before sending it to the press, but perhaps being prevented, he did not do so. As I have now no other means at my command, I feel compelled to put those errors right in this way:—

1. On page 11 on the bottom he makes me say something which I really never said at the Congress, but which I mentioned to him in a private conversation; and what I said in this private conversation he reports wrong. I really said this, that in Germany we have had for about 20 years, "Special Trade Courts" for the purpose of settling matters between employers and workers, and these Courts did not prove to be of very great benefit to the workers, simply because there is not and cannot be a friendly understanding between Capital and Labour. Yet the English trade unionists are just now going to fight for a similar institution, demanding working-men magistrates, so they are in my opinion behind.

2. In a similar way I spoke about factory inspection, as in my opinion this institution is not worth much in the present corrupt Society, where the all-powerful money is everything. But this was all private conversation. At the Congress I simply said that in Germany there are some institutions preferable to English and vice versa.

3. Page 12, nearly to the bottom, he reports, "He was an ardent advocate of trades' unionism." I never said that, what I said was "I am not against trades' unions when their aim is making recruits for Socialism, but I am against them when there is no other purpose than strikes, or out of work benefit, etc., because these modern weapons are only blunt instruments in the struggle between Capital and Labour."

4. On the same page he further reports: "For five and a-half years he had worked as a cigar-maker. During the whole time he belonged to the Union," etc. This whole remark is wrong, and this is the most serious error because any cigar-maker can prove it to be untrue when he reads the report, and I emphatically repeat, I never said it. I was only a member of my union about six or eight weeks, when I became included in a strike. We then reported the facts to the board of our Union, and we received such a remarkable answer that I at once decided not to be a member any longer, and since then I remained outside.

5. On page 12, 2nd column, 5th line from the bottom, the report runs: "In his trade the cigar-makers only work 8½ hours." This remark should stand behind the words "8—16 hours" in the very bottom line. By this alteration everybody will see that it then belongs to what I said about England, and not as it now reads to Germany.

I hope you will excuse me for trespassing on your valuable space, but considering the fact that what is said at such gatherings as the Congress at Paris must be correct and the full truth, and considering further that the 'Report' might have a large circulation, and for what is stated I might be held responsible on another occasion, I trust you will allow me sufficient space to contradict the 'Report' as far as necessary in my case. Hoping that all labour papers, and others who have taken an interest in the proceedings at Paris, will take notice of the above contradiction, I remain, yours faithfully,

HENRY RACKOW.

London, September 29, 1886.

[NOTE.—This letter should have been published before, but owing to the editor's absence was inadvertently overlooked.]

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NEWS.

## BRITAIN.

Winter troubles are beginning already. The trade-union of lacemakers at Nottingham have resolved not to submit to a further reduction of wages which the employers proposed to make, and a strike is therefore imminent. A number of winders at the Govan factory have struck against a reduction of ten per cent. in their wages, and in Lanarkshire the miners have restricted the output to four days in the week.

In Dunfermline a number of miners have been assessed in damages to the amount of 5s. per day for restricting the output by not working more than five days a-week, and in addition to pay the full expenses of the court. The action was brought by the masters, and the judgment, the first of the kind ever given in Scotland, will affect some 6000 men.

The wages of the colliers in South Wales have been reduced 2½ per cent.

The colliers in Lord Lonsdale's coalpits at Whitehaven have decided to lay the pits idle in consequence of a dispute between themselves and their employer.

The society for the winter help of painters and decorators has been driven to seek aid for its funds in a benefit at Drury Lane, which it has begged the public to patronise. Hitherto it has been self-supporting, but the last two winters have drawn so heavily on its funds for the support of the unemployed, that without begging help from outside it must go to pieces. This is one of the signs of the times, which is of course not isolated, and is a token of the present condition of labour in the face of over-production, and extreme cheapness of necessities, which cannot be set aside by any amount of figures and averages of good for the comfort of the well-to-do.

The United Kingdom Railway Officers and Servants' Association, under the patronage of the Prince of Wales, and with Sir Julian Goldsmid, Bart., M.P., for President, begs help of the general public, and notes that in 1884 while only 31 passengers were killed in the United Kingdom, "an army of 546 railway servants were killed and 2319 injured." At first sight it seems either owing to astonishing stupidity that the railway companies allow such statements to be published, that they do not in terror buy up such an association at any expense somewhat less than what would provide for the orphans and cripples they have made; stupidity at the first sight, but at the second impression, assurance in the stupidity of the public whom they tyrannise over. And after all, if the general public can be bled they should be, since

those from whom anything can be expected are all more or less guilty of wearing out the lives of men in the service of their idleness or uselessness.

THE SKYE CROFTERS have during the past week been subjected to the regulation amount of harrying and hunting. On Friday October 29 an expeditionary force, consisting of sixty marines and twenty policemen, under the direction of the notorious Sheriff Ivory, was engaged on Lord Macdonald's estate at Snizort, Skye, in making a search for the ringleaders in the defection of a sheriff's officer the preceding Tuesday. The expedition was delayed for two hours for want of a guide to point out the houses of the law-breakers. Constables in plain clothes were posted throughout the townships to stop the flight of any crofters who might endeavour to escape into concealment. The search resulted in the capture of eight men, one boy, and a woman carrying an infant. They were lodged in Portree Gaol.

Noble work this for the protectors of "law and order"! The preservers of society, after beating dogs to death and getting up sham obstructions to stop free speech, have now surpassed themselves by the heroic capture of "a woman carrying an infant"! If the people ruled themselves, how long would they allow their "servants" the police to be used as an engine for the extortion of rack-rents from the oppressed producers?

THE "RIGHTS OF PROPERTY."—Any one who doubts the truth of the statement that in England property is much more firmly protected than life, has but to glance at the police reports from week to week and he will find out his mistake. At the Durham Quarter Sessions an old man, for stealing a cotton shirt, was sentenced to five years' penal servitude! At the Borough Police-court another man, aged 67, was awarded twenty-eight days' hard labour for "stealing" a handful of potatoes and a few turnips when he and his mother (87) were starving. A former sentence was proved against him for "stealing" a few pieces of coal that had fallen from a wagon. What amount of assault and battery could not one indulge in for the same amount of punishment? That is, if committed on a worker.

## AMERICA.

A few days ago a colossal statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World" was unveiled at New York, a present from the French to the American Republic. France, that has imprisoned Kropotkin and Louis Michel, joins in a hypocritical hymn of praise to the bourgeois goddess with that other republic that has condemned innocent men to death at Chicago! Madame Roland's pathetic words come to mind: "O Liberty, Liberty, how many crimes are committed in thy name!"—U.

Mrs. Lucy Parsons, wife of Albert Parsons, under condemnation of death as an Anarchist, is making a tour of the country in the hope of raising means to support the orphans of the condemned, all of whom are poor men. She is reported to have made a thrilling speech to a crowded meeting in New York recently, devoting little time to the trial, but dwelling on the wrongs of the workers with a grave eloquence that often overcame her hearers.

One result of the George campaign in New York has been the formation of a Jewish Pedlars' Union, which already numbers 240 members. The "Jewish Working Men's Union" is working hard, and a large Jewish vote is anticipated for Henry George.

The southern coloured delegates to the Knights of Labor General Assembly have formed a bureau to procure accurate statistics relative to the condition of coloured people and their relation to white labour and to their employers, their wages, cost of living, and general treatment.

A resolution has been passed by the Knights of Labor to set aside ten thousand dollars every three months for the purpose of putting into effect practical co-operation. A standing committee on conspiracies against the people is also provided for.

The post-office clerks, letter-carriers, etc., in New York, have formed an Assembly of the Knights of Labor with a membership over 1000 strong.

CHICAGO, Nov. 1.—Six thousand beef-killers on the farms of Messrs. Swift and Nelson Morris went out on strike this morning against the ten hours' working day.

## FRANCE.

PARIS.—For those who are still doubtful of the inefficacy of the Organisation of Public Relief, we have collected authentic information which will strengthen our readers in the conviction that the offices are made for officials and not officials for the offices. Take for example the 7th Arrondissement, which is one of the richest in Paris. The Central Administration assigns to those with large families orders for bread according to the number of children, i.e., for three children 12 orders, for four children 16 orders, and so on. But in the 7th Arrondissement, whether a poor man has three children or ten, he can only hope for 4 orders (worth 1fr. 20c.) for the whole of a month, and one knows the number of humiliating applications that must be made to obtain this ridiculous pittance. In the 7th Arrondissement, the administration, through the carelessness of the officials, is left to the religious sisters, who naturally take advantage of the days of distribution to proselytise, and of course are responsible for the grossest hypocrisy among the poor wretches who would damn their souls if they believed in them, for bread wherewith to drag on life a day or two longer.—*Cri du Peuple*.

The local committees for the supervision of child-labour in France are a glaring farce, and the law of 1874 interdicting the factory-labour of children under thirteen is thus absolutely a dead letter at the present time. The local committees are supposed to consist of five members at least, yet the annual reports show that a large number consist of only one or two members. Now, as each committee is allowed a sum of 200fr. for general expenses, and as its expenses cannot be heavy judging from the amount of work got through in the year, this little sum is absorbed by individuals very softly and easily. At Sceaux, for instance, the committee for the supervision of women's factory-labour consists of two ladies who are notorious for the energy and perseverance with which they abstain from visiting the factories, their annual reports being "composed" at the Prefecture of Police. Sixty committees are inscribed for the Seine Department, of which at least thirty, says the *Cri du Peuple*, have no real existence. 6000 francs thus melts into thin air.

CALAIS.—There is an enormous number of workers without work in this industrial locality, and revolutionary ideas are spreading rapidly, the propagandists having been very active lately in organising public meetings and demonstrations.

LILLE.—A few days before the last elections, some of the employers warned their men that if Republicans were returned for the district they would exchange their French workers for Belgians. What one admires



about these gentlemen is the entire absence of all futile fine language and hypocrisy from their natures: they lay bare their souls with a frankness that touches one almost to tears.

**AMPLEPUIS.**—The secretary of the strike at Amplepuis writes to the *Cri* that the masters having reduced the diminished tariff which first caused the strike, that same strike has now become general.

### ITALY.

**COMO.**—A skilful and industrious silk weaver working for the firm of L. Taroni in this town, was lately fined 6 lire or so for the most trivial and insufficient reasons, it being intimated to him at the same time that if he objected to losing the sum of money "he was at liberty." At the same time the overseer made him wait over twelve days for his work, with now one excuse and now another, the poor man in the meantime being in actual want. A foreman in whose house he lodged, expostulating against this treatment, was threatened with dismissal for taking his part, and was fain to be silent.

**ALESSANDRIA.**—The working-class element here is in such extremities that it is feared with good reason that a conflict is inevitable between exploited and exploiters. Our agitation is chiefly directed against work "a cottimo" (bargaining for the whole price), and our various associations are strenuously seeking a remedy for this evil, which is truly the ruin of the worker, and the "cocaïne" of the masters.—*Fascio Operaio*.

**MONZA.**—We hear of a strike in a hat factory at Monza, in which the strikers have acted with much unanimity, energy, and promptitude.

**MILAN.**—Emilio Kerbs, former editor of the *Fascio Operaio*, has been exiled from Italy under the accusation of being one of the leading propagandists of the Labour Party in that country. The Italian Government is really very complimentary, and attaches a great deal of weight and importance to the members of a revolutionary body which has the modesty to think itself rather poor in numbers at present—though certainly it is not poor in spirit and activity.

### BELGIUM.

An immense demonstration, organised by the Working People's League to demand universal suffrage and amnesty for those convicted of rioting during the strikes at the beginning of the year, took place at Charleroi on Oct. 31. As early as nine o'clock the people began assembling at the neighbouring towns of Roux and Jumet, with red flags and placards borne on poles, and in an hour's time some 12,000 persons had come together. A procession was then formed, and, led by 500 women dressed in mourning, proceeded, to the strains of a funeral march, past the glass factory, where a sanguinary encounter occurred on March 27th between the troops and the strikers. The crowd of onlookers at this point was enormous, and the aspect of the solemn and perfectly orderly procession appeared to evoke much sympathy. The people next marched to Charleroi, where the greatest excitement prevailed. The Civic Guard was under arms, and the magistrates and communal authorities were assembled at the Town Hall. The procession, on reaching the town received a large accession to its numbers, and marched through the streets, many of the bands playing the Marseillaise, and as the demonstration passed the offices of the Glass Workers' League, shouts were raised of "Vive le suffrage universel!" and "Vive l'Amnistie!" By this time the procession had assumed colossal proportions, its numbers being estimated at 35,000, but nevertheless the most perfect organisation was maintained, and there was no sign of disorder. Ultimately the people dispersed quietly. The inhabitants of Charleroi were favourably impressed by the demonstration.

### AUSTRIA.

**BRUNN, Oct. 23.**—The situation of the labourers in Austria is even more miserable than in other countries. When the factory-inspector of Brünn speaks of a 12-18 hours working day; when the inspector for the two archduchies on the Danube states that in an Austrian mill he had found a 33 hours working time in the space of 48 hours; when the Galician inspector has to report officially of "petroleum slaves coming naked into the hospital"; when we consider that in the winter of 1885 there were often more than 40,000 unemployed in Vienna alone,—nobody, we think, will gainsay the above opinion. What does the Government do against these evils that cry to heaven. The Government issues firstly a law introducing the eleven-hours' normal working day—a law published indeed, but not everywhere completely executed; they forbid the labourers' assurance societies to form branches; they appoint factory-inspectors in such a number that they inspect in a year not even one per cent. of the industrial establishments; they make the Reichsrath pass a law determining that every man being found unemployed shall be punished as a vagabond! Such is the social reform of our governing classes, announced with a great noise, relating to economical affairs. And relating to political affairs, connected so closely with the economical ones? We do not exaggerate: except Russia perhaps, Austria has the happiness of being governed by the most reactionary government in all Europe. Our working men possess in reality no right of forming societies, of assembling in public meetings, without permission; no right of printing freely their minds. They are represented by no deputy in the Reichsrath; they are totally under state of siege. This month the bourgeois Opposition has submitted a project of law, creating labour chambers with the right to send nine deputies into the Reichsrath—nine labourers by the side of 353 representatives of landlordism and capital! All these fine things will be, when the said law passes and workers will be chosen; for the suffrage is open, not secret. No word is to be heard of the universal, equal and direct suffrage, such as aimed at by us.

The handicraftsmen and small landowners (peasants) are suffering severely under the present conditions. It is a good symptom, I state with satisfaction, that they—especially the latter—begin to perceive their situation and to proceed independently of the other parties in some regions, as in Lower Austria. They will, we certainly hope, soon know that their interests can be defended only by an alliance with the working-men movement.

Slowly but surely the workers' movement recovers from the blow occasioned by the discord in the party. The alleged "Anarchist plot" was lately discovered, a "plot" accompanied by such suspicious proceedings that the Austrian comrades suppose in it a manoeuvre of the Government to obtain support for a new coercion-law against the Social Democrats. A "conspirator," sculptor Liegel, once was an inmate of a lunatic asylum. More and more the opinion spreads among the Austrian workers that "the emancipation of the labourer cannot be the result of a sudden attack, but only owing to thoroughly organising labour in its political and economic relation."

Since October 6, we have in Brünn a new German labour-paper, *Arbeiter-*

*stimme* ("Voice of the Labourer"). A new paper will be soon published at Vienna. The party publishes now three papers also in the Cheskian (Bohemian) language: *Rovnost* ("Equality") in Brünn (Moravia); *Hlas lidu* ("Voice of Men") at Prossnitz (Moravia); *Věk svobody* ("Eternity of Freedom") at Prague in Bohemia. All these papers are published semi-monthly, owing to the reactionary press-law. Perhaps a project of a press-law lately submitted to our Parliament will remove the annoyances we labour under here. The editors of the *Volksfreund* have this year published a German labour-calendar, from which I have taken the data given in the first part of this letter.

All the symptoms show that the Austrian proletariat has awakened from its long sleep to renewed action. We are assured that the movement will continue on its way, will grow stronger and stronger, and achieve finally a brilliant victory over the corrupted bourgeoisie.—Fr. SCHR.

At Buda-Pesth not long ago the police were searching for vagrants, when they suddenly came across about thirty persons of both sexes who were lying undressed in a dirty but warm stream of water that flowed out of a mill. The water was shallow, and the poor creatures had got into it for warmth. They had taken stones for pillows, and had prepared themselves to spend the night comfortably in this strange bed. Some of them stated that they had had no other resting-place than this since the cold weather set in.

### RUSSIA.

**REPORTED REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN WARSAW.**—Our Odessa correspondent telegraphs: There are rumours here of impending political disturbances in Warsaw. The Government, it is stated, has received information of an extensively organised revolutionary movement. Recent events in South Europe, it is believed, led the leaders to build confidently on Russia being seriously entangled, and hence the conspirators were less reticent. I have been unable to obtain any particulars of the movement, which in the present position of affairs the Government will not if possible allow to transpire. During the five months from May to September inclusive, 11,735 persons were sent from the central prison at Moscow to Siberia and Saghalien.—*Daily News*.

### ALGERIA.

**CONSTANTINE.**—Socialism is in an embryonic condition in most of these territories at present, but it will not be long before it makes rapid progress, considering the great number of workers who arrive from all parts, leaving their own impoverished countries in the hope of procuring an easier livelihood. In short, whether in Europe, in America, or in Africa, in every part of the so-called civilised world the same misery attacks the "disinherited." The evil, therefore, being general, the remedy cannot be local or partial.—*Le Récolte*.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

### Notices to Members.

A Social Reunion of the League will be held in London on Monday, December 27 (Bank Holiday). Suggestions, subscriptions, or offers of help will be gladly received by the Committee appointed to arrange and carry out. Address Reunion Committee, at office of the League.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Mile-end, to June 30. Birmingham, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Dublin, Hackney, Leeds, Merton Abbey, North London, Norwich, to August 31. Bloomsbury, Croydon, Hammersmith, Manchester, Marylebone, to September 30. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to Dec. 31.

### Executive.

At the usual weekly meeting on November 1, the Council resolved that on Bank Holiday, December 27, a Social Reunion of the League be held, to which all members of the League, who can possibly attend, be invited. Mrs. Mainwaring, Mrs. Wardle, Blundell, Chambers, and Lane were appointed Committee to arrange and report. It was also resolved that a Christmas entertainment should be given to the children as was done last year. Sparling gave notice of resignation of secretaryship, resignation accepted, and resolved that successor be appointed in a fortnight.

### BRANCH REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Friday, October 29, F. Lessner opened a discussion on "Socialistic Tactics." He advised Socialists to help on all progressive movements. Many members afterwards spoke, leaning rather to the views of Lessner.—W. A. C.

**CLERKENWELL.**—Successful open-air meetings have been held during the week. On Sunday, October 31st, Chambers and Utley addressed a good audience on "The Unemployed Question"; a good discussion followed. Fair sale of *Commonweals*. Collected for the Propaganda Fund, 1s. 6½d.—W. B., sec.

**CROYDON.**—Last Sunday, J. L. Mahon gave an interesting lecture on "The Late Trades' Congress at Hull." He gave a short sketch of the scope of the Congress, and described the various meetings arising out of it. One new member made; good collection and sale of *Commonweal*.—A. T., sec.

**FULHAM.**—We held our usual open-air meeting at Walham Green on Sunday. The speakers were comrades Sparling, Tochetti, and Tarleton, who spoke to an audience of over 400. Received some spirited opposition, which was ably dealt with. The audience was in thorough sympathy throughout. Sale of literature good. The Property Defence League were selling literature in opposition. In the evening, H. H. Sparling lectured to a good audience on "What we want, and how to get it," at our rooms, 338, North End Road, which was followed by a good discussion. Two new members made, and every prospect of forming a strong Branch here.—F. McCORMACK, sec.

**HOXTON.**—On Thursday evening, Pope, Davis, and Barker addressed a good audience. On Sunday morning at our outdoor station, the above-mentioned speakers again spoke to a very large and sympathetic meeting. In the evening, T. Binning lectured on "The Irish Question," the lecture being most interesting. Our regular outdoor work has now practically ceased, and we commence work indoors on Sunday morning next, when comrade Westwood will lecture on "Whigs and Reformers."—H. A. B., sec.

**HYDE PARK.**—A very successful meeting was held here on Sunday afternoon, when comrades Mainwaring, Donald, Chambers, and Banner addressed a large and enthusiastic audience; comrade Blundell sang "The Starving Poor of Old England" and a parody on the "Red, White, and Blue," and the choruses of

both were heartily taken up by the audience. The collection for the Defence Fund amounted to 7s. 5½d. The meeting closed with a call for three cheers for the Social Revolution, which was heartily responded to by the large audience, who were thoroughly in sympathy with the views put forward by the speakers. The *Commonweal* was sold out.—H. G. ARNOLD.

**MERTON AND MITCHAM.**—Our meeting upon the Fair Green was the largest yet held. F. Kitz lectured upon the "Shams of Christianity," showing how those who extol the blessings of poverty took care of this world's goods and left such blessings to the exploited workers. A crowded meeting was held in the Merton club-room at night. The Mitcham comrades came over to assist, and F. Kitz lectured on "Socialistic Experiments." Sale of literature good; several new members joined in both Branches. We continue to receive the solicitous attention of the police. One of these "guardians of the peace" assured some of our members that if he only "ad an 'orse" and a sword he would delight in slicing us up. Perhaps some tradesman in the toy line would furnish the requisite tools.—F. KITZ and C. HARRISON, secs.

**BINGLEY.**—At our usual meeting on Tuesday evening it was resolved to change our meeting on Monday nights for the future, as Tuesday was an inconvenient day for most of our members.—J. W. L., sec.

**DUBLIN.**—A meeting was held on Sunday, October 31st, at 102, Capel Street, to take into consideration our prospects and settle our plan of propaganda for the winter months. There was a good attendance and full discussion, and a general agreement as to the tactics to be adopted. The following resolution was proposed and carried unanimously:—"That we protest in the strongest manner against the tyrannical action of the London police authorities in attempting to deprive a number of citizens of their undoubted rights, and that we approve of the contemplated action of our comrades of the S.D.F. on the 9th of November, and trust that they will carry out their programme in face of all opposition."—K.

**GLASGOW.**—On Monday evening, comrades Downie and Glasier addressed a large open-air meeting at Parkhead Cross. On Saturday evening, comrade R. F. Muirhead gave a lecture in the Southern Christian Literary Institute on "The Moral and Economic Aspects of Socialism." The lecture gave rise to an exceedingly lively discussion, the friends of Socialism having alike in debating power and the approval of the audience decidedly the best of it. On Sunday morning, comrade Mavor delivered a lecture in the Rams Horn Assembly Rooms (Secularist Hall), on the "Evolution of Industry." The lecture, which was an exceedingly thoughtful one—many passages exhibiting much original suggestion—traced the growth of industry from its infancy, and showed in a highly interesting way the evolution of the habits and forms it has assumed in modern times. The lecturer concluded with an earnest appeal for Socialism, which was well received. At the same time, comrade Glasier addressed a large and sympathetic audience on the Green, when a number of *Commonweals* were sold. In the afternoon another open-air meeting was held on the Green, at which comrades Greer, Downie, Warrington, and Adams spoke, the audience manifesting great interest in their exposition of Socialism. In the evening in our rooms comrade Mavor gave a lecture on "Political Economy." The lecturer in a very able way defined the present method of production and distribution of wealth. An animated discussion followed, especially concerning the exact nature of interest.—J. B. G., sec.

**HAMILTON.**—A meeting was held in the British Workman, on Thursday, when comrade McLean, of Cambuslang, gave a very interesting lecture on "The Social Condition of the People of Jamaica." The lecturer had been in Jamaica for over three years, and had thus been able to see that the introduction of our civilisation, with its shoddy goods and swindling officials, has been a curse to the people there. The lecture was listened to with the greatest attention. A brisk discussion followed, and McLean's reply evoked considerable applause. Comrades McQueen and McLeary, and J. B. Glasier, of Glasgow, afterwards addressed the meeting. A fair sale of *Commonweal* and pamphlets.—W. M., sec.

**MANCHESTER.**—We held our usual open-air meeting on Sunday morning, but the attendance was not so large as usual owing to the unsettled state of the weather. Unwin and Prince spoke. The audience seemed interested, and evidently regard Socialistic views with favour.—R. U.

**NORWICH.**—Our comrade Fred Henderson is down here for a week's campaign. On Sunday he addressed a very good meeting at St. Faith's. Parson Ballance was, as usual, present, and liberally scattered anti-Socialist leaflets amongst the audience, which, however, was entirely with the speaker. On Sunday afternoon, comrades Mowbray and Fred Henderson addressed the largest crowd that has ever gathered to hear our speakers. Our six quires of *Commonweal* were sold out before the end of the meeting. The audience was enthusiastic in its agreement with our comrades. In the evening our hall was crowded out to hear a lecture on "The Socialist Ideal" by Henderson. Some new members were made. A series of meetings have been arranged for the coming week at the schoolrooms through the city. At our market-place meeting we passed a resolution of sympathy with the S.D.F., in carrying out the unemployed demonstration.—C. W. M., sec.

**ROCHDALE.**—Comrade Unwin lectured in the Secular Hall on Sunday night, on "Early Communism, and what it teaches." There was no opposition.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

- Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday Nov. 5, a sociable evening will be held. All members with their wives are invited. Coffee will be set at 8 p.m., to be followed by music and readings.
- Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Nov. 7, at 7.30 p.m. W. B. Robertson, "Over-production and Over-population." Wednesday November 10, at 8.30 p.m. P. Barry, "The Bankruptcy of Capital."
- Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7.30 p.m. Mrs. C. M. Wilson, "The Revolt of the Workers of the Nineteenth Century."
- Fulham.**—1 Shorolds Road, opposite Liberal Club.
- Hackney.**—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street.
- Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Nov. 7, at 8 p.m. J. L. Mahon, "Socialism, and How to Attain it."
- Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday November 7, at 11.30 a.m. C. Westwood, "Whigs and Reformers." At 8 p.m. H. Davis, "The Unemployed."
- Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee meets every Thursday.
- Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.
- North London.**—Business Meeting at 32 Camden Road Fridays at 8 p.m.

### Country Branches.

- Bingley.**—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday evening at 7.30.
- Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.
- Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Rd. Wednesdays, at 8.
- Dublin.**—102 Capel Street. Sunday at 7.30 p.m.; Tuesday at 8 p.m.
- Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. On Saturday afternoon members will assist Hamilton comrades at their open-air meeting to be held at the New Cross, Hamilton, at 6 o'clock.—On Sunday open-air meetings on the Green at 11.30 and 4.30; and on George's Square at 12.30. In the evening, in our Rooms, at 7 o'clock, lecture by Archibald M'Kechie on "Capital and Interest."—On Monday evening, open-air meeting at Parkhead Cross at 7.45.

**Hamilton.**—Branch meets every Thursday evening at 7.30 in the British Workman Meeting Room. On Thursday first comrade Wm. Geer of Glasgow will lecture on "The Robbery of Labour." Discussion after lecture.

**Hull.**—11 Princess Street, off Mason Street and Sykes Street. Reading-room open every night, 7 to 11 o'clock. Lectures on Sundays at 7 p.m. Any one wishing to help towards furnishing the rooms should write to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street, or J. Devlin, 11 Princess Street.

**Ipswich.**—"George Inn," Woodhouse Street.

**Leeds.**—New Fleece Inn, Pemberton Street, Dewsbury Road. Thursday Nov. 11, at 8 p.m. Comrade Allworthy, "Socialism: Will it Benefit the People?"

**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. prompt. Lecture with discussion at 8 o'clock.

**Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9 Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

### LONDON.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 6.	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales")	8	The Branch	N. London.
	Mile-end Waste	8	J. Allman	Mile-end.
S. 7.	Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"	11.30	Charles & Mahon	Hackney.
	Cambridge Heath Road			
	Hammersmith—Beacon Rd.	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	W. Chambers	Mile-end.
	Mitcham Fair Green	11.30	H. H. Sparling	Merton.
	Regent's Park	11.30	Somerville	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	T. E. Wardle	Bloomsbury.
	Walham Green, opposite Station	11.30	The Branch	Fulham.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3	Arnold	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	J. Lane	Hackney.
	Clerkenwell Green	7	T. E. Wardle	Clerkenwell.
Tu. 9.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7	D. J. Nicoll	N. London.
	Mile-end Waste	8	W. A. Chambers	Mile-end.
	Soho—Broad Street	8	H. Graham	Bloomsbury.
W. 10.	London Fields—Broadway, opposite "Sir Walter Scott"	8.30	W. Morris	Hackney.
Th. 11.	Hyde Park—Marble Arch	7	T. E. Wardle	Bloomsbury.

### PROVINCES.

**Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m., Sundays.

**Manchester.**—Corner of Gorton Lane and Ashton Old Road, Sundays at 11.30.

**Norwich.**—St. Mary's Plain, 11 a.m.; Market Place, 3 p.m.—Sundays.

**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

**WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE,** Gt. Ormond Street, W.C.—Saturday November 6, at 8.30. H. S. Foxwell, M.A. "Money and Trade."

**HAMMERSMITH CLUB,** Grove House, The Grove.—Sunday Nov. 7, at 8 p.m. Members' Concert. Tuesday 9th, at 8. Mrs. Webster, "Free Education."

"THREE KINGS' TAVERN," Clerkenwell Close.—Sunday November 7, at 8.30. George Martin, "Free Education, and the London School Board."

**CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST SOCIETY,** Industrial Hall, Clark's Buildings, Broad Street, Bloomsbury.—Wed. Nov. 10. Percival Chubb, "The Inner Spirit of Socialism."

**SOCIALISM IN NEWCASTLE.**—A Society for the discussion of Socialism has been formed in Newcastle. The secretary is Edward R. Pease, 29 Claremont Road.

## LITERATURE OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

- The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and Wm. Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.
- For Whom Shall We Vote?** Addressed to the Working-men and Electors of Great Britain. 8pp. cr. 8vo. For distribution, 2s. per 100. ½d.
- Trades' Unions.** By E. Belfort Bax. 1d.
- The Factory Hell.** By Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling. 1d.
- The Commune of Paris.** By E. B. Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 2d.
- Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 1d.
- Art and Socialism.** By William Morris. Bijou edition. 3d.
- Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. 1d.
- The Labour Question from the Socialist Standpoint.** By William Morris. 1d.
- Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By Wm. Morris. 1d.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE OFFICE, 13, FARRINGTON ROAD, LONDON, E.C.

### THE

## PRACTICAL SOCIALIST.

AN EXPONENT OF EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM; BUT DISCUSSION OF ALL ASPECTS INVITED.

EDITED BY THOMAS BOLAS.

MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

W. REEVES, 185 FLEET STREET.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE, at 13 Farringdon Road, London

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 44.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

THE great rally of the Caucus at Leeds was no doubt of some importance to whatever party quality may be left in the remains of Liberalism, and also it was of importance that this body, formidable enough in the welter of broken principles, halting opinions, and intrigue, should declare definitely its adhesion to Gladstonian Home Rule. But if one had any lingering hopes in the Liberal Party—as who has?—it would be discouraging to note that what really roused the enthusiasm of the audience at Leeds was not the hope of the coming change in Ireland; not the joy of England discarding some part of its long tyranny and injustice to a people whom we call our fellow-countrymen, and will not allow to be anything else; it was not really these reasonable revolutionary aspirations which moved people, but Mr. Gladstone's name as a party leader. It is only too likely that the question of justice to Ireland was looked upon by this meeting of would-be progressive leaders, great and small, and their adherents, as an adjunct of Mr. Gladstone's personality; a whim of his to be indulged, and which we, the party, can at least imagine we sympathise with, though we don't in the least sympathise with the results which are sure to follow, or indeed guess what they are.

That the assembled Liberals did not think of or wish for the results of the political freedom of Ireland is not a matter of guess, but is proved by the barrenness of the programme put forward by them—a programme about as valuable as a proposal for the re-enactment of Magna Charta, and which, it must be said, seems to have excited no more enthusiasm than that would have done.

Mr. Morley, in a sentence likely to become famous, mentioned his fears of our being in for a period of "degraded politics." This was of course meant for a hit at Mr. Chamberlain, which doubtless he deserves; but there is more in it than that, whether Mr. Morley meant it or not. This "degradation," this slough of despond of personalities, intrigues, and trickeries, is the necessary outcome of parties walking about and pretending to be alive when the brains are knocked out of them. With the single exception of the Irish question the Liberal Party is now shutting its eyes resolutely to all the real questions of the day. The last six years of "crisis" it is determined to look upon as non-existent; it has now come to recognise finality in politics with as little misgiving as the old Tories. Doubtless it thinks itself very progressive as to the matters of Ireland, but the next stage of these will find it out, and "Liberal" will have the same meaning as reactionary.

As far as mere passing party politics go, this meeting has of course a very simple meaning—no surrender to the Unionist Liberals. They are going, when Lord Hartington can make it convenient to come amongst them, to have a field-day in their turn, which will have less interest than even the Leeds meeting to those who look upon the real politics of life and not the sham politics of Parliament. As far as concerns the game played therein, the result of all this means a quiet innings for the Tory Government, which by means of a few threats of "dishing," and a sham attempt to carry them out, can always paralyse the Liberal Party, both sections or either. "These be thy gods, O Israel!" Surely as mean a set of shufflers and blinkards as ever walked the earth.

Mr. Henry George has belied the confident predictions of the bourgeois press both at home and in America by gaining a substantial vote for the mayoralty of New York. Mr. George is not a Socialist, or was not when last heard of; his programme as candidate could not be considered a Socialist one in any sense. Nevertheless the Bourgeois are determined to consider him the Socialist candidate, and a dangerous one at that, and have done their best in a tremulous manner to belittle his success. We must conclude, therefore, that the robber society of New York feels itself beaten, and is anxious and unhappy under its beating. At the least its obvious terror, reflected by our own press, at what would seem to an onlooker a small matter, is a sign of a very bad conscience. In spite of all the bluster and conventional congratulation on the stability and progress of modern civilisation, it seems easily shaken after all.

The meeting at the Mansion House about the Beaumont Hall, or People's Palace as it is pompously called, was such a queer exhibition of stupidity that Guy Fawkes day seemed an appropriate date for it.

The obstinacy of the "saints" who want to teetotal and sabbatarianise Beaumont Hall (when they get it), the nervous anxiety of the Lord Mayor to muddle up the question till the money was got, and the empty conventional resolutions passed made a pretty kettle of fish of it. As a human being one is really irritated at such simplicity of stupidity as Mr. Charrington and Mr. Wookey showed in mixing up teetotalism and sabbatarianism. Surely if ever they want a job done which none but an incompetent person can do, they need not advertise for one in the papers. Yet we owe them thanks, nevertheless, for showing us what the saints' rule upon earth would be if we suffered it; and also for punching a hole in this patronage of the working classes by the thieves who have robbed them.

All this People's Palace business means is that "the people" are perforce such strangers to orderliness, cleanliness and decency, let alone art and beauty, in their own dwellings, that the upper classes, who force them into this life of degradation, do now and then bethink them if they cannot provide them with a place where they can play at being comfortable, so long as they behave like good children, between the spells of their stupid hopeless weary work and their miserable and hideous "homes." Time enough to think about People's Palaces when the workers and the people are one, and no artificial authority stands between them and their human wishes.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## A DREAM OF JOHN BALL.

SOMETIMES I am rewarded for fretting myself so much about present matters by a quite unasked-for pleasant dream. I mean when I am asleep. This dream is as it were a present of an architectural peep-show. I see some beautiful and noble building new made, as it were for the occasion, as clearly as if I were awake; not vaguely or absurdly, as often happens in dreams, but with all the detail clear and reasonable. Some Elizabethan house with its scrap of earlier fourteenth century building, and its later degradations of Queen Anne and Silly Billy and Victoria, marring but not destroying it, in an old village once a clearing amid the sandy woodlands of Sussex. Or an old and unusually curious church, much churchwardened, and beside it a fragment of fifteenth century architecture amongst the not unpicturesque lath and plaster of an Essex farm, and looking natural enough among the sleepy elms and the meditative hens scratching about in the litter of the farmyard, whose trodden yellow straw comes up to the very jambs of the richly-carved Norman doorway of the church. Or sometimes 'tis a splendid collegiate church, untouched by restoring parson and architect, standing amid an island of shapely trees and flower-beset cottages of thatched grey stone and cob, amidst the narrow stretch of bright green water-meadows that wind between the sweeping Wiltshire downs, so well beloved of William Cobbett. All these I have seen in the dreams of the night clearer than I can force myself to see them in dreams of the day. So that it was a natural thing for me to fall the other night into an architectural dream. I had begun my sojourn in the Land of Nod by a very confused attempt to conclude that it was all right for me to have an engagement to lecture at Manchester and Mitcham Fair Green at half-past eleven at night on one and the same Sunday, and that I could manage pretty well. And then I had gone on to try to make the best of addressing a large open-air audience in the costume I was really then wearing—to wit, my night-shirt, reinforced for the dream occasion by a pair of braceless trousers. The consciousness of this fact so bothered me that the earnest faces of my audience—who would not notice it, but were clearly preparing terrible anti-Socialist posers for me—began to fade away and my dream grew thin, and I awoke (as I thought) to find myself lying on a strip of wayside waste by an oak copse just outside a country village.

I got up and rubbed my eyes and looked about me, and the landscape seemed unfamiliar to me, though it was, as to the lie of the land, an ordinary English low-country, swelling into rising ground here and there. The road was narrow, and I was convinced that it was a piece of Roman road from its straightness. Copses were scattered over the country, and there were signs of two or three villages and hamlets in sight besides the one near me, between which and me there was some orchard-land, where the apples were beginning to redden on the trees. Also, just on the other side of the road and the ditch which ran along it, was a small close of about a quarter of an acre, neatly hedged with quick, which was nearly full of white poppies, and, as far as I could



see for the hedge, had also a good few rose-bushes of the bright-red nearly single kind, which I had heard are the ones from which rose-water used to be distilled. Otherwise the land was quite unhedged, but all under tillage of various kinds, mostly in small strips. From the other side of a copse not far off rose a tall spire white and brand-new, but at once bold in outline and unaffectedly graceful, and also distinctly English in character. This, together with unhedged tillage and a certain unwonted trimness and handiness about the enclosures of the garden and orchards, puzzled me for a minute or two, as I did not understand, new as the spire was, how it could have been designed by a modern architect; and I was of course used to the hedged tillage and tumble-down bankrupt-looking surroundings of our modern agriculture. But after a minute or two that surprise left me entirely; and if what I saw and heard afterwards seems strange to you, remember that it did not seem strange to me at the time. Also, once for all, if I were to give you the very words of those who spoke to me you would scarcely understand them, although it was English too, and at the time I could understand them at once.

Well, as I stretched myself and turned my face toward the village, I heard horse-hoofs on the road, and presently a man and horse showed on the other end of the stretch of road and drew near at a swinging trot with plenty of clash of metal. The man soon came up to me, but paid no more heed than throwing me a nod. He was clad in armour of mingled steel and leather, a sword girt to his side, and over his shoulder a long-handled bill-hook. His armour was fantastic in form and well wrought; but by this time I was quite used to the strangeness of him, and merely muttered to myself, "He is coming to summon the squire to the leet"; so I turned toward the village in good earnest. Nor, again, was I surprised at my own garments, although I might well have been from their unwontedness. I was dressed in a black cloth gown reaching to my ankles, neatly embroidered about the collar and cuffs, with wide sleeves gathered in at the wrists; a hood with a sort of bag hanging down from it was on my head, a broad red leather girdle round my waist, on one side of which hung a pouch embroidered very prettily and a case made of hard leather chased with a hunting scene, which I knew to be a pen and ink case; on the other side a small sheath-knife, only an arm in ease of dire necessity. Well, I came into the village, where I did not see (nor by this time expected to see) a single modern building, although many of them were nearly new, notably the church, which was large, and quite ravished my heart with its extreme beauty, elegance, and fitness. The chancel of this was so new that the dust of the stone still lay white on the late summer grass beneath the carvings of the windows. The houses were almost all built of oak frame-work filled with cob or plaster and well white-washed; though some had their lower stories of rubble-stone, with their windows and doors of well-moulded freestone. There was much curious and inventive carving about most of them; and though some were old and out of repair, there was the same look of deftness and trimness, and even beauty, about every detail in them which I noticed before. They were all roofed with oak shingles, mostly grown as grey as stone; but one was so newly built that its roof was yet pale and yellow. This was a corner house, and the corner post of it had a richly-carved niche wherein stood a gaily painted figure holding an anchor—St. Clement to wit, as the dweller in the house was a blacksmith. Half a stone's-throw from the east end of the churchyard wall was a tall cross of stone, new like the church, the head richly carved with a crucifix amidst leafage. It stood on a set of wide stone steps, octagonal in shape, where three roads from other villages met and formed a wide open space on which a thousand people or more could stand together with no great crowding.

All this I saw, and also that there were a goodish many people about, women and children, and a few old men at the doors, many of them somewhat gaily clad, and that men were coming into the village street by the other end to that by which I had entered, by two's and three's, most of them carrying what I could see were bows in cases of linen yellow with wax or oil; they had quivers at their backs, and most of them a short sword by their left side, and a pouch and knife on the right; they were mostly gaily dressed in red or brightish green or blue cloth jerkins, with a hood on the head generally of another colour. As they came nearer I saw that the cloth was somewhat coarse but stout and serviceable. I knew, I do not know how, that they had been shooting at the butts, and, indeed, I could still hear a noise of men thereabout, and even now and again when the wind set from that quarter the twang of the bowstring and the plump of the shaft in the target.

I leaned against the churchyard wall and watched these men, some of whom went straight into their houses and some loitered about still; they were rough-looking fellows, tall and stout, very black some of them, and some red-haired, but most had hair burnt by the sun into the colour of tow; and, indeed, they were all burned and tanned and freckled variously; their arms and buckles and belts were all what we should now call beautiful, rough as the men were; nor in their speech was any of that drawling snarl or thick vulgarity which one is used to hear in civilisation; not that they talked like gentlemen either, but full and round and bold, and they were merry and good-tempered enough; I could see that, though I felt shy and timid amongst them. One of them strode up to me across the road, a man some six feet high, with a short black beard and black eyes and berry brown skin, with a huge bow in his hand bare of the case, a knife, a pouch, and a short hatchet all clattering together at his girdle.

"Well, friend," said he, "thou lookest partly mazed, what tongue hast thou in thine head?"

"A tongue that can tell rhymes," said I.

"So I thought," said he. "Thirstest thou any?"

"Yea, and hunger," said I.

And therewith my hand went into my purse, and came out again with but a few small and thin silver coins with a cross stamped on each, and three pellets in each corner of the cross. The man grinned.

"Aha!" said he, "is it so? Never heed it, mate. It shall be a song for a supper this fair Sunday evening. But first, whose man art thou?"

"No one's man," said I, reddening angrily, "I am my own master."

He grinned again.

"Nay, that's not the custom of England, as one time belike it will be. Methinks thou comest from heaven down, and hast had a high place there too."

He seemed to hesitate a moment, and then leant forward and whispered in my ear: "John the Miller, that ground small, small, small," and stopped and winked at me, and from between my lips without my mind forming any meaning came the words, "The king's son of heaven shall pay for all."

He let his bow fall on to his shoulder, caught my right hand in his and gave it a great grip, while his left hand fell among the gear at his belt, and I could see that he half drew his knife.

"Well, brother," said he, "stand not here hungry in the highway when there is flesh and bread in the 'Rose' yonder. Come on."

And with that he drew me along toward what was clearly a tavern door, outside which men were drinking meditatively from curiously shaped earthen pots glazed green and yellow, some with quaint devices on them.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

### 'The Table.'

THE advance of Socialism is sometimes shown in unexpected quarters. We have been sent a copy of a weekly called *The Table*, which, as its name implies, is a journal of "cookery, etc.," and there, amongst recipes for dainty dishes, the fashions, accounts of entertainments, and the like, is an article (a leader) on Dives and Lazarus, which puts the indictment against our Robber Society in quite plain terms, and with a sensible appreciation of the facts of the case. "A hundred years ago," says the writer, "when the cost of necessities was greater, a merchant or manufacturer possessing £10,000 was deemed a wealthy man: to-day a business man with £30,000 balance is only talked of in the city as 'sound.' Does not this clearly prove that the immense balance in the advantage machinery has given has gone into the hands of the employers, and little if any has gone into the hands of the workers, who are the large majority of the people?" Yes indeed it does, amongst other things; and one must say that such straightforward observation of facts is the best weapon for breaking through the maze of sophistries and averages by which workmen are so often deluded. The writer of this article ends by saying, "We are no revolutionaries; we are not Socialists." That perhaps is only a way of speaking; but anyhow if he continues to keep his eyes open, and to clear his mind of prejudice, he will very soon discover that he is a Socialist, and probably that he has been one a long time. And meanwhile, like all honest men who will look the matter in the face, he is doing us good service.

M.

Some prosecutions of employers for infringements of the Factory Acts have been dismissed most unjustly. In two cases in the Blackburn district it was clearly proved that children were cleaning while the looms were running, but as it was stated that "the firm asserted that such cleaning was contrary to orders given by them," the prosecutions came to nothing. Let us see how much this excuse was worth. The Act allows for women and children 56½ hours per week. The machinery is kept at work the whole of this time and sometimes longer. When this kind of employers are asked when cleaning is to be done, they say it is no concern of theirs, the "hands" must do it as best they can. To stop their looms or frames means at least a stoppage of pay, usually the "sack"; the cleaning *must* be done; it is done—and the employer is "not responsible for acts done against his orders." S.

A writer to the *Echo* of November 5, thus lays down the law to "him who would be instructed": "It cannot be too well known that waste land does not repay the cost of cultivation; therefore cultivation must result in a loss either to the cultivator or to the nation. If wages were one-third lower, it might possibly pay to cultivate some of the best cleared land, if no fencing were required." If wages were one-third lower—well it is difficult to imagine what would happen if this were the case. To the writer's eyes it evidently presents a fair picture of prosperous farmers and decent economical cottage-life: to our eyes the possibility paints by no means a pretty picture. The naive and ingenuous writer goes on to confess that "two years ago hearing that 10,000 labourers were starving in the East-end" he tried to take advantage of the general distress by getting labourers at a lower rate of wage, i.e., 8s. 6d. a week with free lodging, "knowing that I could myself live well for a quarter of that sum. Ingenious man! one wonders how he did it or for how long? He is exacting too as regards the quality of the labour; the men must be steady, industrious, intelligent, well-versed in their business, etc. Getting the unemployed to work at lower rates under the pretext of charity or what not, is a game that will not be played every year, one is glad to think."

M. M.

## THE LORD OF BURLEIGH.

(FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF HIS DISAPPOINTED RIVAL).

(Continued from p. 251.)

Well, I mounted the ridge at last, and by great good fortune espied  
The cattle, and not far off. And homeward I drove them in haste;  
And Annie came up to meet me, and praised me, and thanked me, and graced  
Her soft-spoken praises and thanks with a sweet make-friends-again smile,  
Till I well was ashamed of my temper, and said so. But all the while  
That lazy knave had been sitting, and never had stirred from the spot  
Where we found him at first in the shade, for the sun was scarce less hot,  
Though now it was well on its way down the steep sky's westward slope.  
And silently we drew near him again, and I could not but hope  
He would let us pass in silence: but no; for he gracefully rose,  
Though the smell of the breath of the cattle offended his Roman nose,  
And came with a smile to greet us, and offered to show us a sketch  
He had made on the spur of the moment, he said, though he felt like a  
wretch  
To have given us all that trouble, but what he could do he had done,  
And would we accept in earnest the thing he had sketched in fun,  
And take his attempt at atonement, and kindly forgive his offence?

And I saw that the scoundrel had sketched it on purpose to have a pretence  
For making a present to Annie, but what could I do? He came,  
And put the thing in her hands, and told her his high-sounding name,  
And asked for the favour of her's, and she told him, and then for mine  
With a gesture of kind condescension to this rude keeper of kine.  
And nought could I do but tell him, and stand, and look like a fool,  
Or a boy new-caught in a theft and catechised gravely in school,  
Or an urchin bewhipped of an usher. And quickly to Annie I turned,  
To hide from his scornful glances the heat on my face that burned,  
And looked at the sketch that was moving her laughter and winning her  
praise,

And saw with keen irritation and stupid sense of amaze  
My Annie there to the life, enthroned on a rock like a queen,  
And a little way off myself—that the man could have been so mean!—  
Like a clod-hopping clumsy clown a-driving a skinny beast  
Toward Annie across the moor; and he might, as I thought, at least  
Have made me a little more like what I was; for the eyes were a-squint,  
And the legs all crooked and curved, and yet there was clearly a hint  
In the face that the mis-shapen booby was meant to be taken for me.

And still more foolish and hot and angry I felt, to see  
That no one could look without laughing at this contemptible scrawl;  
And I knew I was made a mock of; and humbled and silly and small  
Was the figure I cut in his sight; for I did not know how to sketch,  
Nor to sit so gracefully idle while other folk hurried to fetch  
Whatever might hap to be missing, nor yet could I draw and lisp,  
Nor look so much like a doll, nor curl my moustache like a wisp  
Of yellowish hay tight-rolled; and many another thing  
I thought of, that he could do and that I could not; and the sting  
Of feeling a helpless fool, and of not knowing what to say,  
And of seeing him staring at her, made me urgent to get her away  
Before I had lost control of my ever increasing wrath,  
For fear I might do him a mischief. But there he stood in her path,  
And never a jot did he budge, though I said we had work to do,  
And had lost much time already, and lost our tempers too.

At that he laughed, and in anger I turned me away, and went  
On the downward path to the farm; and my heart was ill content  
To leave him with Annie alone, but I thought she would follow me straight,  
And forgot that we had not fastened the severed cord of the gate,  
The cord he had carelessly cut—I would it had been a whip,  
And that I could have laid it about him, and made my gentleman skip.

But on I went to the farm, and I gave the beasts their food,  
And waited and fumed and fretted; and jealous and mean was the mood  
That I greeted her with when she came, for I asked with an ugly sneer  
How long she had left her beauty, and if I should find him near  
When I went to give him the thrashing the rascal so richly deserved.  
No answer did Annie make, but her delicate lip was curved  
In her scorn of my mean ill-temper and jealous pitiful spite,  
And she silently went within. But still more vexed at the slight,  
I turned on my heel and departed, and went to my home o'er the hill;  
And still as I went in my heart there rankled a sore, and still  
I was wroth with my own fool anger. At home I got me to bed,  
And slept not a wink till dawn; and rose with an aching head,  
And did what I had to do in an aimless stupid way,  
And crossed the hill again in the hot afternoon of the day.

Then in sooth, as I plodded along, I made up my magnanimous mind  
To forget and forgive what was past, and be happy. But whom should I find  
In the garden behind the farm, where none but Annie and I  
Were wont to wander at will unseen of the passers-by,  
Safe-seated there on the lawn, a self-satisfied smirk on his face,  
With his artist's tools about him, and making a sketch of the place,  
But the rascal whose knack of drawing had made me look such an ass.  
He was making himself at home; I had hardly room to pass,  
For his traps and his trumpery tools were littered about on the lawn,  
And lots of books full of scraps and sketches and things he had drawn,  
All brought, as it seemed, to be shown to my Annie. But Annie herself  
Was not to be seen; and I wondered, was I to be put on the shelf,  
And to miss her word of welcome, that brightened the whole long day,  
Lest this new flame should be jealous, nor care near Annie to stay.

But I loitered about on the lawn, and stood in the fellow's light,  
And did what I could by my presence to vex him for very spite;  
Till he looked up at last, and spoke—he had only nodded at first,  
But his nod had more of a sting for my pride than if he had cursed—  
And he begged of me, since, as it seemed, I had nothing better to do  
Than to stand in the way of his light, and prevent him from getting a view,  
To go rather more to the left, and stand a bit nearer the wall,  
And then, if I liked the chance, he would give me a place in the scrawl;  
Ten minutes would do for the study, he would not ask for more;  
And he thought this sketch would be better than that of the night before.

I looked in his insolent eyes, and I answered him never a word,  
But turned and went to the door in silence, as though I had heard  
Not a sound of the taunt he had spoken. And there on the threshold I stood,  
And I thought that when God made man, and pronounced his work to be good,  
He could not have meant such creatures as this to disfigure his earth.  
And I looked at him once again, and almost he moved my mirth,  
This puny dainty lordling compared with a proper man,  
Though I was not in vein for laughter. But then in my soul there began  
A dreadful doubt to arise if at all it were worth the while  
To fly in the face of fortune, that still did nothing but smile  
On all this lounge attempted, and nothing but frown on me;  
And whether, as all seemed hopeless, it might not better be  
At once and for good to resign this battle as lost, and yield  
Its honours to Fortune's darling, and leave him lord of the field.

J. L. JOYNES.

(To be concluded).

## "FOR LACK OF PENCE."

A LADY in the columns of the *Daily News* last week, apparently under  
the impression that something can be made out of nothing, set to work  
to teach "the poor" how to make the most of the wealth which they  
have not got, and which the upper classes will not allow them to have.  
Two remarkable letters in the same paper have since rebuked her ignor-  
ance or simplicity or silliness. The replies are so good that we reprint  
the larger portion of them without further comment:

"Knowledge alone without material means will not produce much change.  
The writer of that letter thinks the wife should provide 'good and varied  
food' for her husband, but if she had the skill of a Francatelli she could  
not make a pudding without flour. And what would a knowledge of  
hygiene avail the wife whose home is in a cellar or flat in a city slum, or  
even in a country cottage up a crowded yard, where the windows are not  
made to open, and where there is only one bedroom for the family, young  
and old? Every one who has tried it knows that the smaller the house the  
more difficult it is to keep clean. Before this writer forms her opinions  
would it not be well for her to gain some practical experience? I would  
suggest that she should try the experiment of living in her own scullery for  
a week with half-a-dozen children round her. This room will probably have  
more conveniences than a cottage, and will not open on a dirty street. Let  
her there do with her own hands all the cooking, washing, scrubbing, needle-  
work, and nursing, spending only about 15s. on the food, clothes, and firing.  
I venture to think she will find it difficult to keep 'a spotless gown' and  
smooth hair, to say nothing of purveying 'good and varied food.' No, sir;  
the causes of all the wretchedness are far deeper than the mere training of  
the girls. Is not the misery of the poor a necessary complement of the  
luxury of the rich? The writer seems to have a glimmering of this when  
she alludes to the working-man as 'one of the mainstays of the nation,' who  
should of course be well nourished in order that he may by his labour main-  
tain the idle classes.—Yours, etc., A Wife who has Tried both Riches and  
Poverty."

"I dare say the writer of that long letter 'For Lack of Knowledge,' in  
Tuesday's paper, is a person in very comfortable circumstances, and so can  
see the errors and mistakes of her less fortunate sisters through her own  
spectacles, and perhaps can write books to tell the poor man's wife how to  
spend the small sum of money her husband brings home to her as wages.  
In this district both shoe hands' and labourers' wages are very low, and  
many of us are at our wit's end to make both ends meet. It is impossible  
for women weighed down with domestic cares to keep everything in order.  
I know we are told to be content with such things as we have, and to eat  
our crust with thankfulness. But it is an impossible task to be content in  
our miserable condition. 'Waste not, want not' is preached to us by those  
who are not required to practice it themselves. And the spirit seems crushed  
out of us by the grinding tyranny we are subjected to. If we try to eke  
out the scanty earnings of our husbands by doing a little work in what  
should be our leisure time, our misery is only increased by the effort. There  
are married women in this village who will go to the factory and stand for  
hours every day waiting for the foreman's orders; and when his highness  
condescends to speak to them it is only to tell them to come another day,  
and he will try and give them a little work. And I have known some to go  
six times to the factory before they could get a bit of work home with them.  
These women would be quite willing to give their attention to their home  
affairs, only they cannot make it pay to do so. If the men could only earn  
sufficient wages to make their homes comfortable their wives would be very  
glad to make the best of their wages, and would be very proud if their  
homes could show some degree of comfort and refinement. I wonder how  
long we shall have to wait before the Have-alls will feel themselves con-  
demned by their exactions, and will try to bring about a better state of  
things?—I am, sir, yours obediently, A Northamptonshire Slave."

So far as the Socialist charges about the widespread and increasing misery  
in London are concerned, the reviews and magazines for the month give  
ample evidence of their truth. The authorities are waking up to the need  
of action. It is found that the old arguments about the laws of supply and  
demand, and the teachings of academic economics, will not be so readily  
swallowed by better-informed Demos. How the classes who claim to have  
all the culture must be irritated at the growing knowledge of "the mob"! Few  
of the erudite would believe that it was Adam Smith who declared that  
employers were in a conspiracy to keep down their servants' wages, and that  
where there is one rich person there must be many poor. And yet that is  
so. Professor Jevons, much to the horror of the orthodox, showed that the  
time may come when the workers will regard what we now call the "classes"  
as the hangers-on and the parasites. A greater—Professor Cairnes—told us  
that we need not be astonished if we rise some morning to find our institu-  
tions quivering or falling under the angry shake of the democracy. And  
only the other day Professor Sidgwick has shown us that a form of Socialism,  
modified by democracy, is the "coming boom." Poetry has always been on  
the side of the people; science has recently capitulated; and now it is satis-  
factory to find that political economy is hauling down its colours. When  
will the people improve their many opportunities?—*Reynolds's Newspaper.*



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

**As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.**

**Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.**

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

**NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.**—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 10.*

ENGLAND		
Justice	John Swinton's Paper	SWITZERLAND
Norwich—Daylight	Boston—Woman's Journal	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Die Autonomie	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	ITALY
Anti-Sweater	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Club and Institute Journal	Toledo (O.)—Industrial News	SPAIN
Church Reformer	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	Madrid—El Socialista
Leicester—Countryman	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Freethinker	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Barcelona—Acracia
Christian Socialist	Paterson (N.J.) Labor Standard	PORTUGAL
Practical Socialist	Portland (Oreg.) Avant-Courier	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
The Socialist	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Vez do Operario
To-Day	FRANCE	Villafranca de Xira—O Campino
	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	AUSTRIA
	Le Socialiste	Arbeiterstimme
	Le Revolte	HUNGARY
	Guise—Le Devoir	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
	Lille—Le Travailleur	ROUMANIA
	CANADA	Bucharest—Fruncul Roman
	Toronto—Labor Reformer	Jassy—Lupta
	Montreal—L'Union Ouvriere	NORWAY
	UNITED STATES	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
	New York—Volkzeitung	SWEDEN
	Freiheit	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
	Truthseeker	DENMARK
	Der Sozialist	Social-Demokraten

### LORD MAYOR'S DAY.

THE "wonted festivities" of the Lord Mayor's Day have had a gloom cast over them, and the red-nosed civic dignitaries have been shaking in their slippers for the last three weeks, owing to the Social Democratic Federation having announced that the Lord Mayor's Show would be made complete on this occasion for the first time in English history. It was the wont of the ancient Roman conquerors or plunderers to bring their victims to march at their triumphs, and so the S. D. F. thought that they would complete the triumph of the plundering horde of chicken-hearted warriors known as the Corporation of London, by having the legions of the disinherited to make up the rear of the procession. But these "captains of industry," warriors bold in the factory or the warehouse, now reducing a salary, now dismissing a poor girl, or again swindling a customer, are cowards at heart, and so that their own valuable hides should not run any risk of being damaged, they ordered their fighting man, Colonel Fraser, to prepare for emergencies. Every one knows how the gallant Colonel prepared. His "firm but conciliatory letter" and his "judicious proclamation" have been public property for some days.

The leaders of the S. D. F. being wise men in their generation, declined to undertake the responsibility of leading the unarmed disinherited legions against the blue-coats with bludgeons and the red-coats with bayonets. But they determined, instead, to demonstrate in Trafalgar Square, and to call on the most noble marquis and the little man with the big moustache, to do something for the unemployed. What could "the Most Noble" do? He would consider; and it is reported that he is still engaged considering, with the result that his hair is rapidly becoming whiter every hour. "The Most Noble" considered that it would probably be some considerable time before he had arrived at a conclusion, so thought it advisable to have the Christian hero Sir C. Warren to prevent the disinherited even demonstrating. Another "judicious proclamation" was issued forbidding any flags or banners being carried by people not part of the show, or any speeches being made.

At half-past two the west end of the Strand and Trafalgar Square was one dense mass of people, the only open space being that guarded by the police for the procession, and part of the centre of the Square. The windows and roofs of the hotels were all full of visitors. The sky was very gloomy, and a drizzling rain damped the enthusiasm of many of the sightseers. The crowd in the Square was of a very mixed kind; there appeared to be a large contingent of the unemployed, whose faces beamed with everything but contentment. Rushes were comparatively few, and very little horseplay on the part of the youngsters took place. A wave of expectation as to what was to happen imparted a sense of sobriety to the crowd. I met many friends of the S. D. F., all prepared to hold their meeting and do their utmost to preserve order. At last the sounds of the bands became audible, and those on tiptoe could see the banners of the show approaching. The first company was a detachment of cavalry, then bands, then a lifeboat, a stuffed elephant, an Australian trophy. At last the Forty (and more) Thieves that form the Corporation showed their red noses to a contemptuous multitude. Very slight greeting was given to the showmen, and now and then an ugly howl showed that there were plenty of dissatisfied men amongst the crowd. The show having passed, the "proclaimed" meeting was next looked for. Masses of policemen were placed at the corners of the Square to intimidate the Federation speakers. Word passed that the meeting was about to commence. Previously the pedestal of Nelson's Column was clearing rapidly. Suddenly a small red flag was waved by a man standing on the pedestal on the side fronting the National Gallery. Then another flag appeared. A loud "hurrah!" was raised, the first real good one I heard to-day, then a rush of people, and quick as thought from all sides the people rushed into the Square, and now there were red pocket-handkerchiefs being waved, and on every side the red flag held the crowd.

After a time Comrade Mann of the S. D. F. obtained a hearing. His voice rang clear out over the vast crowd, telling the people that their poverty was caused by the robber band they had just seen drive past, and others like them in every city and on every country side in our land; and advising them to unite to break up the robber league, and to organise to make every man and woman in England really free. Great shouts of applause went up to the heavens, telling that the workers of London are waking from their slumbers.

This great meeting shows that the cause of the people is marching on, and it bids us all pluck up heart to work with redoubled energy in spreading the gospel of Socialism, and it further shows that the working men of London do not intend to be bullied by the police, and to be dictated to as to where or when they shall or shall not hold their meetings.

A. DONALD.

### SOCIALISM AND LABOUR DISPUTES.

THE Council of the Socialist League has appointed a special Standing Committee to watch all matters bearing upon the struggle between Capital and Labour, especially in times of strikes, lock-outs, etc., and to seize every chance thus presented of educating the wage-earners on social and economic questions. The Committee is willing to work with other labour organisations, to keep up a regular correspondence and interchange of information with all societies, journals, and persons interested in the Cause of Labour, to send speakers and literature to places within Britain and Ireland when any labour dispute or other special circumstances excite exceptional interest in industrial questions, and to prepare a working chronicle of international labour notes for publication in the *Commonweal*.

Reports of labour societies, facts and figures on the condition and earnings of the working-class; newspapers, pamphlets, and letters containing information of any kind upon special incidents of the Labour struggle, will be gladly received, and in return copies of the publications of the Committee will be sent to regular correspondents. The Committee also wish to form a library of works of reference, statistics, and general information dealing with all phases of the labour struggle. Books, etc., for this purpose will be gladly accepted and acknowledged in the *Commonweal*. The wide circulation of the *Commonweal*, both at home and abroad, and the large number of labour papers among its exchanges, give a splendid means of spreading information, and the Committee hope that its efforts to collect, condense, and publish such information, will be helped by the hearty co-operation of all who are in sympathy with the Cause of the workers.

A special column in the *Commonweal* will soon be devoted to the publication of the Committee's work and a record and commentary by some of its members, on the current incidents of the labour struggle. To make this complete and interesting the help of provincial and foreign correspondents will be needed. Local papers and private letters on labour disputes are especially valuable, and should be sent without delay.

As this work will incur a good deal of expense, and will be effective only if funds are at the disposal of the Committee, a special subscription will be opened in aid of the Committee's work. Branches of the League are invited to subscribe regularly, which might be done by making a special monthly collection for this purpose.

The officers of the Committee are: H. A. Barker, general secretary; T. Binning, treasurer, to whom all subscriptions should be sent, and which will be acknowledged in the *Commonweal*; and H. Charles and V. Dave, secretaries for the European Continent. All matter for



publication in the *Commonweal* "Labour Notes" from Britain, Ireland, and America, should be sent to Binning and Mahon. All communications to be addressed to one or other of these officers at the Socialist League Office, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

Next week a circular letter to the Trades' Unions and other Labour Societies will be published in these columns, and further explanation of the plans and working of the Committee will appear from week to week.

J. L. MAHON.

## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE GLASS BOTTLE MAKERS.

### II.

To show how much more lofty are the views of the Conference than those still generally prevalent among other organised trade corporations in England, it will be sufficient to lay before our readers the ideas expressed in the discussion upon the general statutes of the International Union. Trades' unions are the product of the antagonism between labour and capital. They are the outcome, therefore, of strife and warfare, and as such they have been condemned by almost all the bourgeois economists, and even by some Socialistic writers. Yet it seems that they have been condemned merely because they have not as yet been sufficiently understood. Indeed, if it is true that the first appearance of these societies was marked by much that was startling and violent, it is no less true that there is a growing tendency towards the disappearance of those features; and when, thanks to them, labour shall have been organised, and shall have achieved, as a necessary consequence, its victory over capital, they will be transformed into associations acting with peaceful regularity, gathering about them every workman engaged in any given occupation, not in one country only but throughout all countries, publicly examining their common and distinct interests, and establishing their claims on the knowledge thus acquired. Far from making war their business in future, the trades' unions internationally united will succeed in eliminating all causes of strife inherent in our modern social state. Indeed, the discord which still prevails among working people, the comparative enfranchisement of some operating to the detriment of the rest, and frequently involving the complete ruin of others; the unequal and arbitrary distribution of labour, sanctioned by the masters to suit their own caprices and to render the right of labour a mere farce; the obstacles which lie in the way of certain branches of industry; the engrossment of labour by working men themselves, who allow the working day to be lengthened to an inordinate extent; the whimsical settlement of wages in accord with different prices of industrial products—dear here, cheap there, and still cheaper elsewhere,—all these causes of the present struggle will be banished by the good international organisation of trades' unions, which, when conscious of the mission they have to fulfil, will in future be crowned with peace and concord. Having a common aim and not being biassed by personal interests, these associations, embodying in themselves all the working people, will at the same time effect their full emancipation. United in all towns and all countries, they will form such a commanding force as to control capital under their sway, and subdue it under the authority of Labour, after taking the instruments of production from the wage-slave holders, who have unlawfully laid their hands on capital, and restoring them to those to whom they rightfully belong.

The delegates of the Conference have not only recognised in the internationalisation of their union the only and unmistakeable way towards the emancipation of labour in their own body, but they have also grasped the fact that in order to carry out this emancipation in a general and universal manner, all the other operative bodies of all branches of industry must be ready to take the same action. They have clearly seen that if the other associations enter upon the same path the way for the entire economic revolution will be prepared—the way for the Social Revolution; and it is certain that in the inaugural manifesto which will shortly be transmitted to the working men of all countries, they will give expression to these ideas. They thoroughly understand that in industrial countries, like England, France, Belgium, Germany, and Northern Italy, social revolution is unavoidable, because industry, as it is nowadays organised, based on the fiction of the "productive power of capital," and consequently on the pretended right of capital to claim for itself the lion's share in the distribution of the products of labour, can achieve nothing but the enrichment of capitalists and the constant gradual impoverishment of the working men; because all industrial forces, applications of science to industry, machines, the division of labour, etc., tend at present to lower wages, and they produce this distressing result all the more in that they work upon a wider scale than ever—that is, because industry is more developed; because, in a word, as the social order is now constituted, the more wealth an industrial people produce, the poorer they become.

If such is the outlook in industrial countries, it cannot be otherwise in agricultural countries, and there also revolution cannot be evaded. In all agricultural countries, such as Russia, Poland, Turkey, Southern Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Ireland, the field-labourer, the serf attached to the soil of his master, or the slave of the wage-holder or landlord, is the tributary of those whose forefathers seized the soil—the inalienable heritage of the human species. The more agriculture—which is in itself but the art of rendering the soil fertile and deriving from it as much produce as possibly can be derived—reaches the end towards which it is developing itself, the more exacting become the

demands of the proprietor, the higher becomes the rent for the ground, the richer grows the drone who takes the rents at the expense and to the detriment of the man of labour—in short, the more the hard-working peasant toils in order to produce, the more he is forced to throw away a great part of his earnings to feed that rapacious Moloch called Private Property.

Therefore, the same imperious exigencies press upon the industrial as upon the agricultural workers; industrial unions, as well as those of agriculture, must be formed everywhere, and must connect themselves in an extensive International Union in order to arrive at the realisation of the economic Social Revolution, by abolishing wage-slavery and taking possession of the instruments of production on the one hand, and by abolishing private property and restoring the soil to the entire community, on the other.

The International Union is well aware that this could only be the last achievement of its efforts, and that before arriving at the full realisation of these its expectations, which are however shared by the working-men of the whole world, it will have to fight boldly against employers in the sphere which lies closest, namely, that of its members' own interests, and will have of necessity to occupy itself also with this side of the question. We allude to the strikes it will have to enter upon and keep up; in regard to these, too, the Union, valiantly shows itself animated with a lofty spirit. As all the delegates were of the opinion that there are moments when strikes must be entered upon; that in certain instances they form the only weapon by which tyranny can be subdued; they unanimously declared that in cases where a strike cannot be avoided it must take place under certain conditions, not only with regard to justice and legitimacy, but also with respect to opportunity and organisation. It is mainly this last point that has been discussed to a great extent, and rightly so, since it is certain that without a well-constructed organisation, and without the support of international solidarity, the strike is almost certain to turn out a dangerous weapon in an unequal struggle; the "exploiting" capitalists being small in number, countenanced by fortune, and protected by power. We are unable to specify here any other details which, besides, do not appear to be of such a nature as to be brought before the public.

To summarise the whole, the International Union of Glass-Bottle Makers has made a serious step towards its complete organisation, and the example it has given deserves to be observed by all other trades' unions, and we are inclined to cherish the hope that all of them will soon come to the conclusion that only there, in the international assemblage of operative bodies, and in their advent to revolutionary Socialism alone, the common salvation and their common aim of the destruction of the universal misery of the proletariat is attained.

Still, I am happy to be able to inform our friends of the International Union of an event which will greatly contribute towards encouraging them in the work they have taken in hand. Comrade Wm. Small, Secretary of the miners of Lanarkshire, in Scotland, informed me recently that a Conference of Miners of England, Wales, and Scotland, will assemble at Manchester on the 22nd of November, and that an appeal is to be addressed to the miners of the Continent to call together a new International Union of all miners. Courage, friends! We shall get rid of every obstacle, we shall baffle every fatality, provided we keep troth with and never forget the old war-cry: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

VICTOR DAVE.

"Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven," prays the deacon, and then goes out and figures on how he can buy up all the best lots in town, and so make those who come along pay him a profit on his investment. Think of the deacon trying to do the same thing in heaven! Imagine him speculating in corner lots in the New Jerusalem! Fancy him waiting at the gates of jasper to catch the new comers and make a sale "on long time with easy payments," and taking mortgage security with interest! Why not? Is that which is right here wrong in heaven? Does God have one standard of right for earth and another for heaven? If He would not be pleased with an attempt to speculate in ground-rights in heaven, do you think He is pleased with the same thing here? "On earth as in heaven Thy kingdom come" is the prayer we are taught to pray; but if we had remembered that that meant to stop speculating in land, loaning money at interest, or trying in any way to take advantage of the necessities of our fellows, how many of us would have prayed it? Not the deacon, evidently, for his chief delight is in making "a good bargain," by which is understood a deal in which "profits" are large.—*Roll Call*.

BUT THREE WAYS.—Dr. Lyman Abbott, editor of the *Christian Union*, says: "There are only three ways by which a man can have anything—by producing it, by receiving it as a gift, or by stealing it. There is no shortcut to relief. Mr. Henry George tells us that if we have community in land all things will be well; but Russia has such a communism, and yet has the poorest peasantry in Europe. Another reformer blames the use of machinery, but China has no machinery. Some offer protection as a panacea, but Germany has protection; some free trade, but England has free trade, and the peasantry in those countries are in misery. We must find some way by which employment will be more general and remunerative, and we must recognise the principle that the labourer is worthy of a fair share of the profits of the work. As a whole, it may be asserted that the working-man has received only a bare means of living. You cannot have a great wealthy class without having a large poor class. We must learn in some way to distribute the wealth which they have learned only to accumulate and concentrate. Politically our country is democratic, but industrially it is aristocratic. The poor miners in Pennsylvania complain that ten men can assemble at Long Branch over their wine and cigars and decide how much coal shall be mined and how many men shall receive an opportunity to earn a livelihood. There must be something wrong in the system when 500,000 men seek in vain for work."

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## THE LATE CONGRESS IN PARIS.

The letter written by Herr Rackow, and published in your issue of November 6th, may lead your readers to infer that my report of the International Trade Union Congress, held in Paris last August, is somewhat inaccurate. Would you, therefore, allow me to quote the following sentences from a letter written to me by Dr. Cesar de Paepe, of Brussels:—

"Your report is very well done, and very faithful. Especially have you well rendered my arguments, and I find that you have presented them better than I had done myself. For this equally I thank you."

("Votre rapport est tres bien fait et tres fidele. Vous avez surtout bien rendu mes arguments et je trouve que vous les avez meme mieux presentes que je l'ai fait moi-meme. Ce dont je vous remercie également.")

When Herr Rackow was speaking the greatest confusion prevailed. The chairman, who did not understand a word of what he said, was constantly interrogating me and asking me to call him to order, if possible, and to abbreviate the inordinate length of his speech. Other persons were also speaking to me, and diverting my attention. Considering these circumstances, and the turbulence of the audience, Herr Rackow ought to feel very grateful that his speech was reported at all, particularly as I do not write shorthand. Also, I was not commissioned to write any such report, and have published the account at my own personal risk and expense.

Fortunately, a sufficient number of copies have now been sold to enable me, at no very distant date, to bring out a new edition. The alterations which Herr Rackow desires will then be made, though they must weaken his position, and prove that the English delegates had more reason, than was understood at the time, for challenging his mandate.—I remain, yours truly,

ADOLPHE SMITH.

## "SOCIALISME UTOPIQUE ET SOCIALISME SCIENTIFIQUE."

Please say if there is an English translation of Engel's "Socialisme Utopique et Socialisme Scientifique." If not, do you know if Engels has given permission to any particular person to translate it; and is there any likelihood in that case of its being issued shortly? Or is it open to any one who wishes to translate it into English, to do so?

E. T.

In answer to above I have got a translator for the pamphlet in question, and as it is rather difficult to translate, I should certainly not like any translation to be published without my first having revised it.—Yours faithfully,

F. ENGELS.

## LITERARY NOTICES.

The *Practical Socialist* this month is well up to the average, the articles and notes being of the usual kind.

*To-Day* is by no means a brilliant number this month, the only good part of it being the book notices.

The *Socialist* has another instalment of the interesting "Six Months as a Pinkerton Detective," and some smart verse, "The Human Auction."

"Where does your Interest come from?" by Caroline Haddon (John Heywood, 11 Paternoster Buildings, 2d.), is a well-written, thoughtful pamphlet, addressed to "lady investors." The author has not quite grasped the whole question, as shown by her remarks on page 7. Any one who needs a good pamphlet to give to women of the interest-receiving classes should make a note of this one.

The Gosse-Collins quarrel over the *Quarterly Review* article is of interest mainly to literary and educational circles, but is well worth watching by Socialists. It is bringing out very prominently the fact that there is "Jerry-building" of books as well as of houses, and shoddy "education" as well as cloth. After reading the "arguments" of both sides it looks as though Mr. Collins were in the right, although he has many times before betrayed an ignorance which Mr. Gosse could hardly surpass if he tried.

Articles in the November Reviews worth looking up. *Nineteenth Century*: "The Coming Winter in Ireland," John Dillon, M.P.; "Workhouse Cruelties," Miss Louisa Twinning. *Contemporary*: "Economic Socialism," Prof. Sidgwick. *Fortnightly*: "Materialism and Morality," W. S. Lilly; "The Moujiks and Russian Democracy," Stepniak. S.

The tremendous pressure under which we work has been often spoken of. *Wade's Fibre and Fabric*, quoted by the *Cotton Factory Times*, comments upon the unreasoning hurry of manufacturers to-day, prompted by a desire for "a big production for a small pay-roll." It says: "Everything is speeded up to the highest extent. . . . This high speed is making physical wrecks of the employes." And all for what? To pile up goods so that the makers will be thrown out of employment, the market be glutted, and waste be entailed all round.

Of what avail is it to say that we are labouring to establish a system of co-operation, when that which is most essential to the success of co-operation is lacking? A business training is necessary to successfully carry on a co-operative enterprise. If the management of the large or small concerns now in operation in this country were turned over to us to-day, we would but run them in the ground, for we lack the business training necessary to successfully operate them. Our vanity may prevent us from acknowledging this to be true, but we cannot deny it. It is through no fault of ours that it is true; but if it continues, it will be our fault.—G. W. M. Powderly.

Quixotism or Utopianism: that is another of the Devil's pet words. I believe the quiet admission which we are all of us ready to make, that because things have long been wrong it is impossible they should ever be right is one of the most fatal sources of misery and crime from which this world suffers. Whenever you hear a man dissuading you from attempting to do well on the ground that perfection is "Utopian," beware of that man. Cast the word out of your dictionary altogether. There is no need for it. Things are either possible or impossible—you can easily determine which—in any given state of human science. If the thing is impossible you need not trouble yourselves about it; if possible, try for it.—*Ruskin*.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NEWS.

## BRITAIN.

At the municipal elections held in Nottingham last week, T. Proctor, secretary Socialist Union, contested the Byron Ward against Mr. Brittle, Conservative. The poll showed—Brittle 764, Proctor 478.

In Bristol R. G. Tovey, the candidate put forward by the local Labour League and supported by the Socialist Union, contested the St. Paul's Ward against the mayor. The mayor was elected with only 18 majority over his opponent, notwithstanding the combination of Tories, Liberals, the clergy, and press, against the labour candidate.

"EMPLOYING" THE RUSTIC IN NORTH HERTS.—In the parish of T— there is a population of about 1500 engaged solely in agriculture. Nearly the whole of the land is in five or six farms, and these, again, in the hands of two families of farmers. The weekly wages of an adult man do not average more than 10s. a-week when he is in regular work; but already there are a number of men thrown out, and the outlook for their families in the coming winter is gloomy indeed. The poor have an inveterate hatred of the "union," and will endure almost any privation sooner than go there. A magistrate-parson takes £1500 a-year as his share for gulling the people, and enjoys their dislike and suspicion in common with the workhouse master. The "little" men, who used to farm from ten to twenty or thirty acres, and do a little pig-dealing or higgling to help out their other earnings, are gradually being swallowed by the money-bag, who reigns supreme, and literally makes his sway felt. As an instance of the state of agriculture about here, I may mention that one of the master-farmers of this parish is reported to have said, when some one pointed out the foul state of his barley stubble, that "it didn't matter how many weeds there were, so long as the barley came"; and this barley he has probably sold for *something* less than 25s. per imperial quarter (eight bushels), the crop perhaps averaging eight to twelve bushels per acre! The men have far more knowledge of farming than most of their "masters," and if one hints that the masters will some day have to be sent away to learn how, they are immensely pleased with the idea.—J. D.

Labour-saving machines ought to increase the leisure of the poor as well as minister to the luxuries of the rich. But this is not the case to any appreciable extent. It is no exaggeration to say that the average producing capacity of the working classes of the country has during the last thirty years fully doubled (aided by machinery), and yet we find that the hours of labour during the same period have not on an average been reduced by one-tenth.

There is a cotton-mill about three miles wide of Littleborough the spinners in which have become alive to their unenviable condition by the introduction in their midst of this paper. The custom has been for the employer not to engage any hand in the factory who was known to be a trades' unionist, and this understanding has long had its effect upon those residing in the neighbourhood of the mill, and the employer has made good use of his opportunity by taking every kind of advantage of his workpeople, save that of sending them home without wages after a hard week's labour. Times without number have the spinners been verging upon this point, yet, child-like, have been penitent, and content to abide their fate—and why? Because they knew no better, and had no means whereby to seek redress from their grievous wrongs. The men have been put upon the right track, and have joined the Littleboro' branch of the Oldham Provincial Spinners and Twiners' Association, and have thus been awakened from their lethargy by the influence of this paper, and the good advice of some of our friends in the district of Littleborough. If employers of labour would have their workpeople not to belong to trades' unions, they should treat them fairly in all matters pertaining to their employment; but this is not their object in debarring them from joining a trade union. Their aim is to use them just as their fancy inclines, and to take mean advantage of their weakness by adopting such measures as are known to serve them in a pecuniary way, but which could not be done with impunity were the hands members of a trades' union.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

LIMERICK.—The dock-labourers are again on strike. The present movement promises to be as long and severe as that which took place a year ago, when shorter hours, increased pay, the discontinuance of steam-winchies, which were stated to unduly interfere with labour, and a full day's pay for every day only partly worked, were demanded. Ultimately these terms were granted; the hours were fixed, summer 6 a.m. to 5 p.m., winter 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. The winter hours came into operation on the 1st inst. On that day two gangs of men under a stevedore were employed unloading a steamer; on the approach of the hour for knocking off, they were told they would have to work to clear the vessel, which would probably take three or four hours longer. This the men were willing to do if paid for overtime, which very reasonable demand was refused; they then left in a body, and the obnoxious winches were started, when the strike became general in consequence of breach of agreement.—J. E. M.

## FRANCE.

PARIS.—The following is the result of the balloting for the municipal elections in the Hopital Saint-Louis: Debertrand (Labour candidate), 1,014; Dupont (Opportunist), 1,009; Faillet (Socialist), 988; Duc-Quercy (Socialist), 901; Murat (Radical), 822. The votes are much more evenly divided among the different candidates than they were at the elections of May last year, when a Radical was elected by 3,682 votes, Faillet having gained 1,704. It seems to us a great pity that there should have been two Socialist candidates if the success of one was to be assured; the votes of Duc-Quercy and Faillet together would have shown a very satisfactory majority. We read the following in the *Cri du Peuple*: "At public meetings I have declared my intention of retiring in favour of my fellow-Socialist if he should obtain one vote more than myself. I shall keep my word and withdraw my candidature."—A. Duc-Quercy.

It seems that the electoral meetings were of a very stormy nature, a good deal of shaking of fists and exchanging of expressive language taking place between excited would-be politicians. On the eve of the election too, a party of bill-sticking friends of Duc-Quercy had an evil time of it, being threatened with violence if they pursued their quite legitimate occupation. There is an especial spite against the *Cri*, "that infamous and libellous journal."

Here is a "harming example of the tyranny and insolence of officialism. The engineer-in-chief of the State railways has thought fit to transfer his

service from Tours to Paris, thereby obliging the employés high and low to flit also. It is obvious that an employé, with a family earning some 3 fr. a week, finding it hard to live on such a sum near a provincial town, would be doubly embarrassed by a compulsory residence in the capital. The chief engineer's income is of course increased, but we hear nothing of the salaries of the underlings.—*Cri du Peuple*.

The Working-men's Syndicate of Wheel-polishers says that the Marois establishment makers of gilded nails have, without the least warning or notice, reduced their working staff by one-half. All the men are on strike except five "comrades," who breaking faith have consented to remain and train apprentices. The Worker's Syndicate, although not rich, is supporting the strikers', both members and non-members.—*Cri du Peuple*.

A Syndicate of the Cab-drivers of Paris is being organised, having for its aim "the abolition of the innumerable abuses of which the Corporation is and always has been the victim, and the amelioration by all possible means of the social condition of the workers, so as to attain as speedily as may be their complete freedom."

BORDEAUX.—Labourers who demand employment from your rulers, whom you regard as the dispensers of good and evil, ponder over the following: M. de Freycinet, when at Bordeaux, was entertained by the municipality, and while the "unemployed," through the intermediary of their delegates, were petitioning him for work, this worthy gentleman surrounded by a convivial circle was rioting and feasting in the salons of the town-hall. Cost of the banquet, 47,000 francs (about £1,880)! Alas for your naïveté! Ministerial journeys are costly, and you will have to pay for this one repast more than would be needed to nourish a thousand families during one week!—*Le Revolté*.

AVEYRON.—For some time past the Gua iron-works have been closed for want of orders. This has entailed the complete stoppage of work in the Auzits mines, of which the shafts are closed this week. Consequently, 250 workers will find themselves without employment. No disturbance has taken place as yet.—M. M.

CARGES (Var.).—The electors of this commune had been convened for the 24th October to elect the entire municipal council. One elector alone presented himself at the scrutin: the council was *not* elected! Such a manifestation of public dissatisfaction with governors and town-councillors, municipality, and so forth, is rather forcible and impressive, and might be imitated.

#### AUSTRIA.

BRUNN.—In the Session of the Deputies, on the 25th of October, it was admitted by the Minister of Justice that a farm in South-Western Bohemia, estimated to the value of 7858 fl., had been sold at the third auction at the price of *one fl.* This sale has been annulled, indeed, on account of a fault committed in the necessary formalities, but what does it change? It has been stated that farms are sold under price, that the landlords buy up farms *en masse*. Some villages are deserted, and there is no doubt that the English agricultural situation has made its appearance in Austria.

You will remember that in April, 1886, a small revolt broke out among the Galician peasantry. At that time official papers had been endeavouring to deny and conceal the sad situation of the peasants and agricultural labourers of that country. The same manœuvre takes place now; hirelings deny the truth of a report from Galicia that the peasants are "in very bad spirits" owing to the scanty indemnification they obtained for the injuries caused by the military exercises. You may judge from this example how enviable our peasants are. Not able to compete with the mighty landlord, being distressed by the tax-collector, being therefore in the most melancholy situation, they must let their fields be trampled upon by the imperial and royal soldiers. What can he do? He sells his farm to his neighbour, the landlord, and goes to America, or becomes an agricultural or industrial labourer. I am reminded here of an expression used by Deputy Türk, an Antisemite: "We must improve the situation of our country people, else the agricultural proletariat will make their revolution sooner than the industrial one." And as soon as they unite?

The hon. member for Brunn, the Austrian Manchester as it is called, has brought in a bill to grant favours to building societies. He did so "in order to break a way for the social peace, the worker living in his own house will never become a rioter," etc., etc., the usual by-words that we are accustomed to hear from our hypocritical charlatans. The "social peace" is a mockery while the capitalist and the landlord plunder their hands, and the "hands" put up with it very patiently now—and in the future? Symptoms are appearing that the propertyless classes begin to grow impatient.—F. S.

#### ITALY.

MILAN.—There is a letter in the *Fascio* this week from an employé of a gutta-percha factory in that city, which gives a complete picture of the lamentable power of endurance in the too-long patient worker, and the endless capacity and resources for grinding in the employer. The work in the department of which he was foreman, having increased enormously, he applied for increase in wages and was told that "if he did not like the work the door was open." Nevertheless he worked on, fell ill, and immediately on his recovery returned to the hospitable shelter of the factory to submit to further insults and promises alternately dealt out to him. This capacity for endurance in the worker, who is seemingly almost immovable in his stolid endurance of almost any insult or tyranny his employer may choose to put upon him, this formidable negative force sullenly, ponderously bearing its weight against the onward progress towards emancipation, is the despair of all reformers, and would be the despair of the Socialist—if so obstinate and arrogantly confident a being could be daunted by any *apparent* obstacle.

The news of Amilcare Cipriani's liberation which I noted some weeks back, has been contradicted; it seems that he is still under lock and key, unfortunately.

SAMPIERDARENA.—On Sunday last the Society for Labour Emancipation held a meeting at which Andrea Costa gave an address on "Great evils and great remedies," which was followed with earnestness and enthusiasm by a very large audience.

TAGGIA (Liguria).—In opposition to the ever-growing Labour Society a League (of the upper class) has been constituted, based on the principles of the Holy Inquisition. I quote one or two articles from their Statute, which is rather funny. "Art. 1. It is absolutely forbidden to give work to any workman who forms part of the Society of the Devil." In the next article, fathers and mothers are desired to watch over their sons so that accursed and excommunicated villains may not corrupt them and induce them to belong

to the said society, and to snatch them from the jaws of hell, if unfortunately they are already within the toils. In Article 3, the entrance into any innocent family of that vile and immoral publication *Il Fascio*, is strictly forbidden; and then follow well-rounded phrases of abuse which do credit to the pious pen of the zealous upholders of the sacred bourgeoisie.

CHICAGO, Nov. 5.—Fifteen hundred beef killers employed by the Armour Canning Company, have gone out on strike to obtain the eight hours working day.

Nov. 7.—Disturbances being apprehended on account of the strike, the Governor has ordered out two regiments of infantry for active service.

AMSTERDAM, Nov. 5.—The Socialist leaders Vanderstadt and Fortuyn were brought up before the Criminal Court to-day on the charge of having published and distributed seditious pamphlets at the time of the disturbances which occurred here last July. The Public Prosecutor asked that a sentence of six months' imprisonment should be passed upon each of the accused. Judgment will be pronounced on the 18th inst.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

#### Notice to Branches.

In future, publications not printed at the Socialist League Office will not be supplied on credit or entered in the Branch accounts with the Central Office. If such publications are ordered direct from and paid direct to the firms which publish them, the parcels may be sent as an enclosure with the weekly parcel from the League Office, and thus save carriage.—*Sec. W. and M. Com.*

#### Notices to Members.

A Social Réunion of the League will be held in London on Monday, December 27 (Bank Holiday). Suggestions, subscriptions, or offers of help will be gladly received by the Committee appointed to arrange and carry out. Address Réunion Committee, at office of the League.

#### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Mile-end, to June 30. Birmingham, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Hackney, Leeds, North London, Norwich, to August 31. Croydon, Dublin, Manchester, Marylebone, to September 30. Merton, to October 31. Bloomsbury, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to Dec. 31.

#### Executive.

The following resolution was passed on Monday Nov. 8:—"That the Council of the Socialist League, while believing that no organised help can be promised to the unemployed before a complete economic revolution is effected, expresses its indignation at the cowardly and sneaky action of the authorities in suppressing a meeting of the unemployed for the purpose of contrasting their miserable condition with the clownish performance of the City robbers."

#### BRANCH REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

BLOOMSBURY.—We held a very pleasant and sociable evening on Friday, November 5th. Next Friday we recommence our discussions. It is hoped that all the members will attend. The open-air meeting at St. Pancras Arches was largely attended on Sunday last.—W. A. C.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, November 3, P. Barry lectured to a fair audience on "The Bankruptcy of Labour." He pointed out the different improvements of the weaving industry were to the labourer's disadvantage under capitalistic conditions; also the advantages to the capitalist monopolist of improvements in steam appliances, and the poverty accruing to the labourer through such monopoly. Referring to the unemployed question, the lecturer stated that there was in this country no less than five millions of men without work, which certainly was proof of the "bankruptcy" of labour; a good discussion followed. Last Sunday evening, several members went to the Green and addressed a large meeting; at the close we invited them to the hall, the result being that our hall was packed. W. B. Robertson was the lecturer, and took for his subject, "Over-production and Over-population," which was very interesting; numerous questions and a brisk discussion followed, which was satisfactorily replied to. Our sale of *Commonweal* has increased this week.—W. B.

CROYDON.—Last Sunday evening, Mrs. C. M. Wilson lectured to an attentive audience on "The Revolt of the Workers of the Nineteenth Century." The lecturer gave an exceedingly clear and vigorous sketch of the rise of the great machine industry and of the Luddites. There was a short debate at the end of the lecture. Literature sold well.—A. T., ast. sec.

FULHAM.—We held our usual open-air meeting at Walham Green. Tochatti and Mordhurst addressed the largest meeting we have yet held, nearly 500. Received some opposition from our usual opponent, the chairman of the Hurlingham Ward Conservative Association. A. K. Donald lectured at our rooms in the evening to an attentive audience, on "Socialism Explained and Defended." Sale of *Commonweals* 52. Two new members made. Our Conservative friends are trying their utmost to get us expelled our premises.—F. M'C., sec.

HACKNEY.—A very good meeting was held on Sunday, opposite the "Salmon and Ball," Hackney Road. Nicoll, Charles, and Lane addressed the meeting. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—J. R. H.

HOXTON.—On Thursday evening we concluded our regular outdoor meetings. On Sunday morning, C. W. Westwood delivered an interesting lecture on "Whigs and Reformers." In the evening, H. Davis lectured on "The Unemployed" to a fair audience. A resolution was afterwards passed protesting against the action of the police in regard to the proposed meeting in Trafalgar Square.—H. A. B., sec.

MILE-END.—On Sunday morning, Chambers addressed a large meeting on the Waste on "The Unemployed." An interrupter, who counselled the poor to remain as God placed them, and not think about disturbing the Lord Mayor's Show, etc., was soundly hissed. Three members made.—C. B.

MITCHAM.—On Sunday last, F. Kitz addressed about 500 persons on Mitcham Fair Green, who listened attentively to his remarks on the forthcoming tinsel tomfoolery on the 9th of November, and of the injustice of the monopolists in preventing a demonstration by the people, whose labour had produced all the wealth and luxury they enjoy. The lecturer pointed out the folly of the workers in allowing their exploiters to make and administer the laws, etc. Merton comrades are giving us assistance in making our Branch a success.—C. H.

NORTH LONDON.—J. L. Mahon gave a lecture on "The Unemployed" at Camden Hall, on Wednesday, November 3. The lecturer pointed out in a thoroughly uncompromising manner that workers had nothing to hope from a



capitalist government, that any relief works started by this gang of middle-class thieves would be a sham, and that the worker's only hope was in the "Social Revolution." The audience, which numbered over 200, and mostly consisted of unemployed workmen, seemed thoroughly in accord with the lecturer. On Saturday, we held our usual meeting at Harrow Road, when Nicoll addressed a crowd of about 150 people. Somerville and Mahon were in Regent's Park on Sunday. We collected 5s. for the *Commonweal* Fund, and sold 81 *Commonweals*. We are making headway in this neighbourhood. Three members made. —D. N.

GLASGOW.—On Monday evening, Downie, Adams, and Glasier addressed a meeting at Parkhead Cross. As usual, we had a large and attentive audience. On Sunday morning, Downie and Greer addressed a large meeting at the Green. At mid-day, Greer addressed a very large meeting on George's Square. This is the first time we have occupied this station, and we anticipate making it a good recruiting ground. In the afternoon a meeting was held at the Green, Greer, Warrington, and Nairne (S.D.F.) being the speakers. In the evening, McKechnie gave a lecture on the much-disputed question of "Interest"; a good discussion followed. At the same hour Glasier gave a lecture to a large meeting of the Henry George Institute, on "Land Nationalisation from a Socialist Point of View." In the discussion which followed all the Land Nationalisers proclaimed themselves Socialists, but affirmed, as against the lecturer, that Land Nationalisation would either accomplish all that Socialists desired, or that it was a necessary first step towards that end. —J. B. G.

HAMILTON.—McMunn lectured here on Thursday, Nov. 4, the subject being "What is Socialism." His interesting exposition of the new religion was much appreciated. Warrington and Glasier, from Glasgow, afterwards addressed the meeting, and were well received. The enthusiasm displayed at this meeting clearly showed that the good work will be carried on with great vigour here. We have decided to get our *Commonweals* from the newagents, instead of at our meetings, thus getting the bill shown and brought before the public. —W. M., sec.

HULL.—We are getting our new home into working order, and hope to begin our public meetings again shortly. Arrangements are being made for lectures on Sundays, with occasional lectures, readings, etc., on week nights. —E. T.

LEEDS.—On Thursday night, November 4, Maguire delivered a lecture on "Socialists and Political Action" at our meeting place, "The New Fleece." A good discussion took place, and was adjourned, as the members are of opinion that this question ought to be thoroughly thrashed out. On Sunday afternoon we held an open-air meeting in Vicar's Croft, and Maguire addressed a large and attentive audience on the "George Campaign." We have discontinued our meetings on Hunslet Moor, but shall continue to hold meetings every Sunday afternoon at 3 p.m. on Vicar's Croft, weather permitting. —F. C., sec.

MANCHESTER.—We held a good meeting at our usual outdoor station on Sunday morning, and Prince opened with a short address; Hall (S.D.F.) spoke principally on the Land Question, and was listened to with great attention; Smart, a member of the Salford School Board, also spoke, but was continually interrupted by a temperance and revivalist advocate, who when tackled by the speaker decamped. Frederick H. Cadle has been appointed secretary in place of Raymond Unwin, who is leaving the district. —F. H. C.

NORWICH.—Successful meetings have been held here during the week. Our literature has realised £1 18s. —C. W. M.

LANCASTER.—On Tuesday, November 2, W. Morris lectured on "Socialism, the End and the Means," in the Palatine Hall, at Lancaster. The audience, over 600 people, was attentive and caught the points well, and there was clearly much assent amongst them. Several questions were put after the lecture. Our comrade E. P. Hall, who was in the chair, invited names for a Branch of the League, and several gave their names that evening and the next morning, and it is hoped that a successful Branch will be started. Altogether, the meeting must be accounted a success.

PRESTON.—On Wednesday, November 3, in the schoolroom of the Unitarian Chapel, W. Morris lectured on the "Dawn of a New Epoch," to a good audience, although the wildness of the night rather thinned it. Our comrade W. Sharman was in the chair. The few questions put after the lecture, and its general reception, gave one an impression of much progress having been made since last year. Several present spoke enthusiastically, and we may hope that here also a Branch will soon be started.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

- Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday Nov. 12, at 8 p.m. A discussion on Chapter I. of Joynes's *Socialist Catechism*.  
**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Nov. 14, at 7.30 p.m. Dr. Wm. H. von Swartwout, "Wherein Socialists have come short of the Truth." Wednesday 17, at 8.30 p.m. "The Coming Men and Women," by the same.  
**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7.30 D. J. Nicoll, "The Charms of Civilisation."  
**Fulham.**—1 Shorolds Road, opposite Liberal Club.  
**Hackney.**—No meeting house at present. Communications to J. Flockton.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Nov. 14, at 8 p.m. W. A. Chambers, "The Unemployed."  
**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday November 14, at 11.30 a.m. Committee Meeting. At 8 p.m. W. C. Wade, "Socialism v. Individualism."  
**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee meets every Thursday.  
**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.  
**North London.**—Business Meeting at 32 Camden Road Fridays at 8 p.m.

### Country Branches.

- Bingley.**—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday evening at 7.30.  
**Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.  
**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Rd. Wednesdays, at 8.  
**Dublin.**—102 Capel Street. Sunday at 7.30 p.m.; Tuursday at 8 p.m.  
**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. On Saturday afternoon comrades will assist Hamilton Branch at open-air meeting, New Cross, Hamilton, at 6 o'clock. On Sunday open-air meetings will be held on the Green at 11.30 and 4.30; and on George's Square at 12.30. In the evening, in our Rooms, J. Bruce Glasier will lecture on "Walt Whitman." Notice—Members are requested to attend at Rooms on Tuesday evening to make arrangements for Prince Kropotkin's forthcoming meeting.  
**Hamilton.**—Branch meets every Thursday evening at 7.30 in the British Workman Meeting Room. On Thursday first comrade M'Leary will lecture. An open-air meeting at New Cross on Saturday first, by the Branch.  
**Hull.**—11 Princess Street, off Mason Street and Sykes Street. Reading-room open every night, 7 to 10 o'clock; and on Sundays 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. Lecture every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock.

Ipswich.—"George Inn," Woodhouse Street.

Leeds.—New Fleece Inn, Pemberton Street, Dewsbury Road.

Leicester.—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. prompt. Lecture with discussion at 8 o'clock.

Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

Oldham.—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9 Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

### LONDON.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 13.	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales")	8	The Branch	N. London.
S. 14.	Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"	11.30	Somerville	Hackney.
	Cambridge Heath Road			
	Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.
	Marylebone—Salisbury St.	11.30	Lane and Charles	Marylebone.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	J. L. Mahon	Mile-end.
	Mitcham Fair Green	11.30	H. H. Sparling	Merton.
	Regent's Park	11.30	The Branch	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	W. A. Chambers	Bloomsbury.
	Walham Green, opposite Station	11.30	The Branch	Fulham.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3	Mainwaring	Marylebone.
	Clerkenwell Green	7	The Branch	Clerkenwell.
Tu. 16.	Mile-end Waste	8	Charles and Nicoll	Mile-end.
	Soho—Broad Street	8	W. Chambers	Bloomsbury.
W. 17.	London Fields—Broadway, opposite "Sir Walter Scott"	8.30	Flockton & Graham	Hackney.
Th. 18.	Hyde Park—Marble Arch	7	W. A. Chambers	Bloomsbury.

### PROVINCES.

Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m., Sundays.

Manchester.—Corner of Gorton Lane and Ashton Old Road, Sundays at 11.30.

Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, 11 a.m.; Market Place, 3 p.m.—Sundays.

Oldham.—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

"THREE KINGS' TAVERN," Clerkenwell Close.—Sunday November 14, at 8.30. T. E. Wardle, "Terrorism and Classes v. Sexes."

SOCIALISM IN NEWCASTLE.—A Society for the discussion of Socialism has been formed in Newcastle. The secretary is Edward R. Pease, 29 Claremont Road.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST SOCIETY, Industrial Hall, Clark's Buildings, Broad Street, Bloomsbury.—Wed. Nov. 17. Rev. C. L. Marson, "How to push the Cause."

## FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

By Mainwaring, collected in Hyde Park (7s. 5d. and 5s.), 12s. 5d. Deficit, £4, 1s. 1½d.—PH. W., Treasurer, Nov. 9.

## "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Donation from D. N.	£15 0 0	Bloomsbury Branch (weekly)	£0 5 0
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in Regents Park	0 5 5		
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PH. W., Treasurer, Nov. 9.

## LITERATURE OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

- The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and Wm. Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.  
**For Whom Shall We Vote?** Addressed to the Working-men and Electors of Great Britain. 8pp. cr. 8vo. For distribution, 2s. per 100. ½d.  
**Trades' Unions.** By E. Belfort Bax. 1d.  
**The Factory Hell.** By Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling. 1d.  
**The Commune of Paris.** By E. B. Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 2d.  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 1d.  
**Art and Socialism.** By William Morris. Bijou edition. 3d.  
**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. 2d.  
**The Labour Question from the Socialist Standpoint.** By William Morris. 1d.  
**Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By Wm. Morris. 1d.

## Where to get the "Commonweal."

- AIRDRIE.**—A. Thomson, High St.  
**ARBROATH.**—Andrew Noble  
**BIRMINGHAM.**—J. Skethley, 348 Cheapside  
**BRADFORD.**—W. A. Clough, Well Street; James Schofield, Wakefield Road; B. Trainor, 33 Heaton Road  
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**DUNDEE.**—Blair & Son, Castle St.; Wm. Blair, 40 Wellgate and in Overgate  
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**HAWICK.**—J. Finlay, High St.; J. C. Goodfellow, High St.  
**HULL.**—H. Witty, Suffolk Row, Winculmlee  
**HULME.**—Radical Club; Stall corner of Fountain Street and Market Street  
**LEEDS.**—W. Walton, Old Market Street; Hutchinsson, Meadow Road; J. Walter, 11 Market Street, Briggate  
**LEICESTER.**—Secular Hall  
**LEITH.**—Robinson, Kirkgate  
**LINLITHGOW.**—R. Hardie, High St.  
**LIVERPOOL.**—... Landing Stage; Stocker, 27 Vauxhall Road; Tibbs, 11 St. James Place; F. Bacon, Prescott St.  
**MANCHESTER.**—R. Unwin (wholesale), 145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester; Putnam, Tib Street, behind Oldham Street; Watts, 43 Charles Street, Oxford Road; Jones, 46 Oxford Road  
**NORTHAMPTON.**—W. Brain, 16 Little Cross St.  
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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 45.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## THE MORAL OF LAST LORD MAYOR'S DAY.

THE Lord Mayor's Show has come and gone, and it may be supposed that many respectable people, including probably the city magnates who formed part of the procession, are easier in their minds that it is well over. But perhaps they will not on reflection be thoroughly reassured. The procession was far from being a triumphant one, and was escorted by hoots and groans all along. The success of the police in preventing a demonstration was only partial, since a huge meeting was held and harangued in Trafalgar Square, in spite of Sir Charles Warren's proclamation, besides the large meeting in Hyde Park held together by members of the League in spite of the pouring rain. All this is not very like a police triumph. But the most significant fact is that the allies counted on by the police, judging by Colonel Fraser's letter, entirely failed them. It goes without saying that the Kenny and Kelly gang were nowhere, and that the Liberty and Property Defence League might as well have saved themselves the expense of printing and circulating the handbill which was plentiful in the city on the 8th, and which was practically an incitement to the crowd to attack the Socialists. All this was a small matter, but what was important was that the crowd everywhere were in sympathy with the Socialists; and it must be said this is a very important fact, and shows that the propaganda of the past year has produced its effect. The middle-class—the respectables—certainly expected it to be all the other way, and the press has shown its disappointment clearly enough, though some part of it has tried to hide its uneasiness at the affair. The *Standard* probably expresses the general feeling on the matter, and the tone of its article is regret that the police did not stop the meeting at any cost, because authority has received a blow from what took place—as indeed it has. The *Pall Mall* admits the collapse of authority. The *Daily News* loses its respectable head from sheer peevishness, even to the extent of allowing itself to publish the following remarkable sentence: "The spirit in which they [the Socialists] conduct their agitation is a good deal more important than their principles." Really, Mr. Bourgeois, "even for your own purposes," you should try not to be so empty as that. Socialist principles, whether they are right or wrong, profess to deal with a subject no less than the whole of human life; and however rude and offensive we, the present agitators, may be in our agitation, those principles will be discussed, whether they are acted upon or not, long after the world has got rid of such passing matters as us and our rudeness.

A very few words upon, not the cause of this demonstration, but its occasion. The *Daily News* ends its article by saying, "Socialism is one thing, and the prevention of the threatened winter's sorrow at the East End is quite another. Those who doubt it have only to read the resolutions carried at Trafalgar Square yesterday." Yes, that is true, but nearly in the inverse sense that the *Daily News* means it. The steps suggested by those resolutions, or rather the action of the Government which the whole agitation is meant to force on, would certainly do something towards "preventing the winter sorrow." But, let alone the very little that the Government could be forced to do for poor people, even the whole of the resolutions do not mean Socialism or anything like it, though they do mean an attempt to palliate present poverty. An attempt, it must be said, which, even as a palliative, is bound to fail, because it is a palliative that looks towards Socialism. No bourgeois government could carry out the measures claimed by these resolutions, even if they would; and certainly none will try to do so, or can be forced to try, so long as they are a constitutional government and not a revolutionary body.

Nevertheless the crowd in Trafalgar Square did not draw, and had no chance of drawing, any nice distinctions. They were there supporting the Socialists in general, who they believed were trying to raise them from the terrible condition in which they are, and they were at least in a fair way of understanding that they are poor because the masters of the police and soldiers are rich. The net gain of this strange Lord Mayor's Show is that, as far as it goes, it has struck a blow at bourgeois authority, and that it has emphasised the class distinctions which rob us all of our due life. That at least is something. Until people find out either by learning to see it, or by instinctive feeling, that there is a class war going on, any great change for the better is impossible. When the poor begin to know that they are poor not by irremediable accident, but because they are robbed by a useless class who can be got rid of, the beginning of the end is at hand.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## COMMUNAL LIFE.

We are oftentimes met with a smile of incredulity and scorn when we speak of the pleasant life we look for in the future, when free federated communes replace the cumbrous machinery of modern Society, and when national, class, and individual rivalries have been ended by the fall of the system which originated and fostered them. Those who in their own families practise Communism unconsciously; who find life infinitely more full of enjoyment when passed in close communion with their kindred; who know the advantages of association with sympathetic folk; even these look with dread upon the prospect, distant as it is, of communal life. To them it appears inevitable that it must be bald, uninteresting, monotonously utilitarian, and that it will necessitate their close contact with people toward whom they cannot now maintain even a negative attitude. A picture rises in their minds of "model dwellings" and "Peabody buildings" multiplied a thousand-fold, of jerry-built bastilles towering toward the sky, and overshadowing straight streets of dull brick and bad iron; the libraries they imagine under the semblance of some "free" one to which they are admitted on sufferance, and made to feel it; the common rooms are thought of as resembling railway waiting-rooms at a third-rate station; and the feeding arrangements equal to those of a back-street cookshop. After evolving such a terrific and appalling prospect from the depths of their inner consciousness, they stand and cry out in alarm that to this are we tending—woe worth the while!

What will be done during the period of transition we cannot foresee; nor are we, of course, able to speak of more than what *can* be done when Socialism is fairly established, but at that we can make a pretty close guess. Let it be remembered that in those days the producers will be the whole body politic; there will be no parasite class living upon their labour; the whole of the wealth produced in the community will be free to be devoted to the support of life and the comfort and pleasure of it.

What size the communes will be is of no consequence. They may be of any area, from that of a small parish to a large county; that will be decided by the special needs of the locality and all attending circumstances. Whatever their size, their population will arrange itself in proportion to their productivity, agricultural or manufacturing. There will be no fear of overcrowding until the well-nigh inconceivable time when the whole habitable earth shall be covered with folk. Until then it will be easy for those who cannot readily find sustenance within one commune to move on to where it is not so difficult to procure. Monopoly and its myriad accompanying evils having disappeared, each worker's life having been relieved of the drain upon it of providing for several idlers as well as for himself and family, each and all with light labour can produce their sustenance and more.

Every faculty of each member of society at large will be stimulated to utmost healthful exercise by the direct interest which each will have in increasing the common resources and thus adding to his own share of them. In those days each would feel that every time he added to the available wealth of the community he benefited himself. To-day a worker can but recognise that his toil adds to others' enjoyment, not his own; and even where his reward increases with his work, so also does the amount of surplus-labour wrung from him increase. Every faculty would in a rationally organised society have due play, and all would seek new ways of securing a larger return for less exertion. This would mean multiplied opportunities for the enjoyment of life to each, not, as now, increased profit to the exploiter and a lessened wage, or none, to the labourer. What was saved upon the labour of each would add to the common store of all, and not go to build up the fortunes of an "employing" class.

It is of paramount importance to society that it afford facilities to all its members to exert their full faculties in its service, and, in order thereto, that the mental and physical needs of all be bountifully supplied. Society should be, and will be when monopoly is ended, a co-operation of individuals for mutual aid and benefit, associated for the purpose of producing and distributing all things necessary to their existence or conducive to their comfort. It may be trusted not to indulge in the enormous mad waste of labour, potential and actual, that goes on to-day. Where production is for consumption, not profit, goods being made for use and not simply to bear profit or be used as counters in the universal gambling we know as competition, valuable time and energy will not be flung to the winds recklessly as they are in myriad instances to-day. Nor will the production of more than is required for immediate consumption produce the disastrous consequences that now

follow it. The control of all things in the hands of a class, labour subordinate to that class and compelled to toil for its enrichment and cease when it is satisfied, this now makes an overplus of wealth entail dire misery upon its producers; but when the community regulates its own affairs without the aid of heaven-born potentates and "captains of industry," every jot added to its stored-up wealth will mean more chance of enjoyment to every one of its members. To-day an "over-production" of wealth, as it means only that more has been produced than is required by the dominant class, conduces to the increased poverty of the workers by throwing many of them out of employment; but when "over-production" means that more goods have been produced in a community than are required for immediate consumption, labour may be turned to any field of exercise in which it is required. Thus there would be continual and progressive accumulation of riches in the hands of the community, most of it in the shape of buildings and other enduring forms. Not only would the increase of durable possessions enlarge the common resources, but would also yield increase of leisure and of comfort. The whole pressure of circumstances would be against poor materials or bad workmanship, for either would signify conscious unimpelled waste of labour.

Even those who now shrink from the prospect of communal homes and life, would forget their fears were they to think over what Socialism means actualised. A people free from class domination; production wholly for use; commerce merely the exchange of equivalents between commune and commune; co-operation in all things replacing the fierce unrelenting warfare waged now between man and man, class and class; energies now directed upon useless or harmful pursuits restored to their due career; work for all, food for all, rest for all; these things will ensue unavoidably upon the accomplishment of the Social Revolution.

It is unquestionably true that hitherto the experiments made by Owen, Godin and others in Europe, and the various communities in America, have resulted rather in bare bleak usefulness than in comfortable beauty. We must bear in mind, however, that all these have been *but* experiments; that they have been isolated amid the ocean of commercialism; that they have been outposts as it were pushed forward into the enemy's country by the advancing army of the Revolution; that lacking the sense of security and compelled to exercise never ending vigilance as an indispensable condition of continued existence, they have never found space wherein to cultivate repose. But when society has once for all freed itself from injustice, and the people own all things necessary for their livelihood, men will be enabled to start from the foundation and build slowly up. First they will set about arranging all things, so that every one, old and young, has enough of all requisite material supplies; having done this, they will go on step by step as opportunities arise. The commune, or the members of them, will be incessantly adapting their lives and customs to increased knowledge, for science will not then be the servitor of a class, but the handmaid of society. As education advances, and men discover gradually the gain accruing from combination for definite purposes, communal methods of life will be more and more adopted, and we may picture to ourselves the cluster of good houses round the great common hall for lectures and the like, while amid the trees arise the roofs of stately buildings, interspersed with cloistered squares and glorious gardens, such as we can but think of with a sigh.

Art will arise as never in the world before. Hitherto she has expressed the power of a nation upon the brink of its decay, has lavished her profusion upon the triumph of a tyrant or the luxury of a class. Then she will manifest herself in her full majesty as the expression of a people's delight in life. However men distribute themselves, in city or small thorp, they will look to their surroundings and will make them beautiful. It will not be only the kitchen and its work that will be the common care; library and lecture-hall, theatre and garden will receive their due meed of attention, nor will schools, colleges, and playgrounds be overlooked. Architecture emancipated from commercialism, released from the yoke of the speculative builder, will unite with sculpture and painting freed from the glorification of hereditary plunderers or "self-made" parasites, to provide adequate abodes for a folk who have cast out shoddy from among them; for whom there is no class-division or caste-prejudice; who see that all are educated and cared for; who are free from the corruption of excessive one-sided wealth or the crippling effects of poverty. This is a fair world toward which we wend, not "a nameless city in a distant sea," but one to be realised even here by the organised educated force of a combined people.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

\* WANT OF IMAGINATION IN THE COMFORTABLE CLASSES. — People in general have too little imagination, and habit does not tend to improve it. Hunger with themselves is brief; they can soon satisfy it. Cold is brief; they can go to the fire. They become unable to sympathise with the continual operation of want. Take one of the clergymen, for instance, who have been writing addresses of late to the poor to advise them to bear hunger and cold with patience. One of these gentlemen sits down to his writing-table, with his feet on a rug, before a good fire, after an excellent breakfast, to recommend to others the endurance of evils, the least part of which would rouse him into a remonstrance with his cook or his coal-merchant, perhaps destroy his temper, and put him into a state of un-Christian folly. His dinner is not ready when he returns from his ride. "Tis very shameful of the cook," quoth he, "I have eaten nothing to signify since breakfast, and am ready to sink." The dinner is brought in with all trepidation, and he does sink—that is to say, into an easy chair, and fish, flesh, and fowl sink into him. Little does he think, and less does he endeavour to think (for the thought is not a comfortable one) that the men to whom he wrote his address in the morning are in the habit of feeling this sinking sensation from morning till night, and of seeing their little crying children suffering from a distress which they know to be so wretched. Many of these poor people "sink" into the grave. — *Leigh Hunt's 'Table-Talk.'*

## A DREAM OF JOHN BALL.

(Continued from p. 258.)

I entered the door and started at first with my old astonishment, with which I had woken up, so strange and beautiful did this interior seem to me, though it was but a pothouse parlour. A quaintly carved side-board held an array of bright pewter pots and dishes and wooden and earthen bowls; a very stout oak table went up and down the room, and a carved oak chair stood by the chimney corner now filled by a very old man dim-eyed and white-bearded. That, except the rough stools and benches on which the company sat, was all the furniture. The walls were panelled roughly enough with oak boards to about six feet from the floor, and about three feet of plaster above that was wrought in a pattern of a rose stem running all round the room, very freely and roughly done, but with (as it seemed to my unused eyes) wonderful skill and spirit. On the hood of the great chimney a huge rose was wrought in the plaster and brightly painted in its proper colours. There were a dozen or more of the men I had seen coming along the street sitting there, some eating and all drinking; their cased bows leaned against the wall, their quivers hung on pegs in the panelling, and in a corner of the room I saw half-a-dozen bill-hooks that looked made more for war than for hedge-shearing, with ashen handles some seven foot long. Three or four children were running about among the legs of the men, heeding them mighty little in their bold play, and the men seemed little troubled by it, although they were talking earnestly and seriously too. A well-made comely girl leaned up against the chimney close to the gaffer's chair, and seemed to be in waiting on the company: she was clad in a close-fitting gown of bright blue cloth, with a broad silver girdle, very daintily wrought, round her loins, a rose wreath was on her head and her hair hung down unbound; the gaffer grumbled a few words to her from time to time, so that I judged he was her grandfather.

The men all looked up as we came into the room, my mate leading me by the hand, and he called out in his rough good-tempered voice, "Here, my masters, I bring you tidings and a tale; give it meat and drink that it may be strong and sweet."

"Whence are thy tidings, Will Green?" said one.

My mate grinned again with the pleasure of making his joke once more in a bigger company: "It seemeth from heaven, since this good old lad hath no master," said he.

"The more fool he to come here," said a thin man with a grizzled beard, amidst the laughter that followed, "unless he had the choice given him between hell and England."

"Nay," said I, "I come not from heaven, but from Essex."

As I said the word a great shout sprang from all mouths at once, as clear and sudden as a shot from a gun. For I must tell you that I knew somehow, but I know not how, that the men of Essex were gathering to rise against the poll-groat bailiffs and the lords that would turn them all into villeins again, as their grandfathers had been. And the people was weak and the lords were poor; for many a mother's son had fallen in the war in France in the old king's time, and the Black Death had slain a many; so that the lords had bethought them: "We are growing poorer, and these upland-bred villeins are growing richer, and the guilds of craft are waxing in the towns, and soon what will there be left for us who cannot weave and will not dig? Good it were if we fell on all who are not guildsmen or men of free land, if we fell on soccage tenants and others, and brought both the law and the strong hand on them, and make them all villeins in deed as they are now in name; for now these rascals make more than their bellies need of bread, and their backs of homespun, and the overplus they keep to themselves; and we are more worthy of it than they. So let us get the collar on their necks again, and make their day's work longer and their bever-time shorter, as the good statute of the old king bade. And good it were if the Holy Church were to look to it (and the Lollards might help herein) that all these naughty and wearisome holidays were done away with; or that it should be unlawful for any man below the degree of a squire to keep the holy days of the Church, except in the heart and the spirit only, and let the body labour meanwhile; for does not the Apostle say 'if a man work not, neither should he eat'? And if such things were done, and such an estate of noble rich men and worthy poor men upholden for ever, then would it be good times in England, and life were worth the living."

All this were the lords at work on, and such talk I knew was common not only among the lords themselves, but also among their sergeants and very serving-men. But the people would not abide it; therefore, as I said, in Essex they were on the point of rising, and word had gone how that at St. Albans they were wellnigh at blows with the Lord Abbot's soldiers; that north away at Norwich John Litster was wiping the woad from his arms, as who would have to stain them red again, but not with grain or madder; and that the valiant tiler of Dartford had smitten a poll-groat bailiff to death with his lath-rendering axe for mishandling a young maid, his daughter; and that the men of Kent were on the move.

Now, knowing all this I was not astonished that they shouted at the thought of their fellows the men of Essex, but rather that they said little more about it; only Will Green saying quietly, "Well, the tidings shall be told when our fellowship is greater; fall now to the meat, brother, that we may the sooner have thy tale." As he spoke the blue-clad damsel bestirred herself and bought me a clean trencher—that is, a square piece of thin oak board scraped clean—and a pewter, pot of liquor. So without more ado, and as one used to it, I drew my knife out of my girdle and cut myself what I would of the flesh and



bread on the table. But Will Green mocked at me as I cut, and said, "Certes, brother, thou hast not been a lord's carver, though but for thy word thou mightest have been his reader. Hast thou seen Oxford, scholar?"

A vision of grey-roofed houses and a long winding street and the sound of many bells came over me at that word as I nodded "Yes" to him, my mouth full of salt pork and rye-bread; and then I lifted my pot and we made the clattering mugs kiss and I drank, and the fire of the good Kentish mead ran through my veins and deepened my dream of things past, present, and to come, as I said: "Now hearken a tale, since ye will have it so. For last autumn I was in Suffolk at the good town of Dunwich, and thither came the keels from Iceland, and on them were some men of Iceland, and many a tale they had on their tongues; and with these men I foregathered, for I am in sooth a gatherer of tales, and this that is now at my tongue's end is one of them." So such a tale I told them, long familiar to me; but as I told it the words seem to quicken and grow, so that I knew not the sound of my own voice, and they ran almost into rhyme and measure as I told it; and when I had done there was silence awhile, till one man spake, but not loudly: "Yea, in that land was the summer short and the winter long; but men lived both summer and winter; and if the trees grew ill and the corn throve not, yet did the plant called man thrive and do well. God send us such men even here." "Nay," said another, "such men have been and will be, and belike are not far from this same door even now." "Yes," said a third, "hearken a stave of Robin Hood; maybe that shall hasten the coming of one I wot of." And he fell to singing in a clear voice, for he was a young man, and to a strange wild melody, one of those ballads which in an incomplete and degraded form you have read perhaps. My heart rose high as I heard him, for it was concerning the struggle against tyranny for the freedom of life, how that the wild wood and the heath weather was better than the court and the cheating town; of the taking from the rich to give to the poor; of the life of man rather than the existence of machines. The men all listened eagerly, and at whiles took up as a refrain a couplet at the end of a stanza with their strong and rough, but not unmusical voices; and as it were a picture of the wild-woods passed by me, as they were indeed, and no park-like dainty glades and lawns, but rough and tangled thicket and bare waste and heath, solemn under the morning sun, and dreary with the rising of the evening wind and the drift of the night-long rain.

But amidst my musing the song dropped suddenly, and one of the men held up his hand as who would say, Hilt! Then through the open window came the sound of another song, gradually swelling as though sung by men on the march. This time the melody was a piece of the plain-song of the Church, familiar enough to me to bring back to my mind the great arches of some cathedral in France and the canons singing in the choir.

All leapt up and hurried to take their bows from wall and corner; and some had bucklers withal, circles of boiled and hardened leather, some two hand-breadths across, with iron or brass bosses in the centre. Will Green went to the corner where the bills leaned against the wall and handed them round to the first comers as far as they would go, and out we all went gravely and quietly into the village street and the fair sunlight of the calm afternoon, now waning into evening. None had said anything since we first heard the new come singing save that as we went out of the door the ballad-singer clapped me on the shoulder and said: "Was it not sooth that I said, brother, that Robin Hood should bring us John Ball?"

The street was pretty full of men by then we were out in it, and all faces turned toward the cross. The song still grew nearer and louder, and even as we looked we saw it turning the corner through the hedges of the orchards and closes; a good clump of men, more armed, as it would seem, than our villagers, as the low sun flashed back from many points of bright iron and steel. The words of the song could now be heard, and amidst them I could pick out Will Green's challenge to me and my answer; but as I was bending all my mind to disentangle more words from the music, suddenly from the new white tower behind us clashed out the church bells, harsh and hurried at first, but presently falling into measured chime; and at the first sound of them a great shout went up from us and was echoed by the new comers, "John Ball hath rung our bell!" Then we pressed on, and presently we were all mingled together at the cross.

Will Green had good-naturedly thrust and pulled me forward, so that I found myself standing on the lowest step of the cross, his seventy-two inches of man on one side of me. He chuckled while I panted, and said: "There's for thee a good hearing and seeing stead, old lad. Thou art tall across thy belly and not otherwise, and thy wind, belike, is none of the best, and but for me thou wouldst have been amidst the thickest of the throng, and have heard words muffled by Kentish bellies and seen little but swinky woollen elbows and greasy plates and jacks. Look no more on the ground, as though thou sawest a hare, but let thine eyes and thine ears be busy to gather tidings to bear back to Essex—or heaven!"

I grinned good-fellowship at him but said nothing, for in truth my eyes and ears were as busy as he would have them to be. A buzz of general talk went up from the throng amidst the regular cadence of the bells, which now seemed far away and as it were that they were not swayed by hands, but were living creatures making that noise of their own wills.

I looked around and saw that the new comers mingled with us must have been a regular armed band; all had bucklers slung at their backs, few lacked a sword at the side. Some had bows, some "staves"—that is, bills, pole-axes, or pikes. Moreover, unlike our villagers, they had

defensive arms. Most had steel-caps on their heads, and some had body armour, generally a "jack," or coat into which pieces of iron or horn were quilted; some had also steel or steel-and-leather arm or thigh pieces. There were a few mounted men among them, their horses being big-boned hammer-headed beasts, that looked as if they had been taken from plough or wagon, but their riders were well armed with steel armour on their heads, legs, and arms. Amongst the horsemen I noted the man that had ridden past me when I first awoke; but he seemed to be a prisoner, as he had a woollen hood on his head instead of his helmet, and carried neither bill, sword, nor dagger. He seemed by no means ill-at-ease, however, but was laughing and talking with the men who stood near him.

Above the heads of the crowd, and now slowly working towards the cross, was a banner on a high-raised cross-pole, a picture of a man and woman half clad in skins of beasts on a background of green trees, the man holding a spade and the woman a distaff and spindle, rudely done enough, but yet with a certain spirit and much meaning; and underneath this symbol of the early world and man's first contest with nature were the written words:

"When Adam delved and Eve span,  
Where was then the gentleman?"

The banner came on and through the crowd, which at last opened where we stood for its passage, and the banner-bearer turned and faced the throng and stood on the first step of the cross beside me. A man followed him, clad in a long dark-brown gown of coarse woollen, girt with a cord, to which hung a "pair of beads" (or rosary, as we should call it to-day) and a book in a bag. The man was tall and big-boned, a ring of dark hair surrounded his priest's tonsure; his nose was big but clear cut and with wide nostrils; his shaven face showed a longish upper lip and a big but not blunt chin; his mouth was big and the lips closed firmly; a face not very noteworthy but for his grey eyes well opened and wide apart, at whiles lighting up his whole face with a kindly smile, at whiles set and stern, at whiles resting in that look as if they were gazing at something a long way off, which is the wont of the eyes of the poet or enthusiast.

He went slowly up the steps of the cross and stood at the top with one hand laid on the shaft, and shout upon shout broke forth from the throng. When the shouting died away into a silence of the human voices, the bells were still quietly chiming with that far-away voice of theirs, and the long-winged dusky swifts, by no means scared by the concourse, swung round about the cross with their wild squeals; and the man stood still for a little, eying the throng, or rather looking first at one and then another man in it, as though he were trying to think what such an one was thinking of, or what he were fit for. Sometimes he caught the eye of one or other, and then that kindly smile spread over his face, but faded off it into the sternness and sadness of a man who has heavy and great thoughts hanging about him.

But when John Ball first mounted the steps of the cross a lad at some one's bidding had run off to stop the ringers, and so presently the voice of the bells fell dead, leaving on men's minds that sense of blankness or even disappointment which is always caused by the sudden stopping of a sound one has got used to and found pleasant. But a great expectation had fallen by now on all that throng, and no word was spoken even in a whisper, and all men's hearts and eyes were fixed upon the dark figure standing straight up now by the tall white shaft of the cross, his hands stretched out before him, one palm laid upon the other. And for me, as I made ready to hearken, I felt a joy in my soul that I had never yet felt.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

## "DIVES AND HIS DINNERS."

THE *Pall Mall Gazette* of November 10 contains the following suggestive letter from the Rev. G. S. Reaney:

"SIR,—The Lord Mayor's banquet, you say, cost £2500. What could be done with that down east? This: a good dinner of beefsteak pudding and coffee for 200,000 men, or a meal for 1000 men daily for seven months, or a dinner every day for 1000 children for twelve months. This is not fiction, but fact, as I have given 100 men a good dinner for £1, 5s., and a dinner for 100 children for less than half. Dives ought to be more than satisfied with his Guildhall banquet."

Anent the same subject a correspondent sends the following grim suggestion for the next 9th of November foolery, if unhappily the miserable make-believe festival survive the shock it has received:

"I would suggest to the city magnates that as they parade their fine clothes, their sables and their ermines, before the shivering multitude to make it understand the difference between the clothing of the rich and the poor, so they might further heighten the contrast by having a number of men appointed to carry the smoking tureens of turtle-soup in their procession, and portable fires might be arranged before which the legs of mutton and sirloins of beef could be cooked as the mayor moves on to Westminster, so that the people might get an inexpensive treat by smelling the savoury dishes as they passed by. Of course this would be a good idea, and give a good deal of employment, not only in carrying the viands, but in providing a staff of policemen to keep the famishing ones from rushing in to seize them."

Will the monopoly press inform us whether it would permit every producer to enjoy the products of his own labour or not? If so, will they tell us why any one should be compelled to give any portion of the products of his labour to any one for an opportunity to toil?—*Industrial News*



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

**As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages.** None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

**Rejected MSS.** can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

**Subscriptions.**—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s., six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

**NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.**—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 17.*

<b>ENGLAND</b>	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	Madrid—El Socialista
Justice	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Bandera Social
Norwich—Daylight	Salem (Oreg.) Advance-Thought	Barcelona—El Grito del Pueblo
Club and Institute Journal	Portland (Oreg.) Avant-Courier	El Angel del Hogar
Freethinker	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	<b>PORTUGAL</b>
<b>INDIA</b>		Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Madras—People's Friend	<b>FRANCE</b>	Voz do Operario
<b>CANADA</b>	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	O Seculo
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Le Socialiste	Villafranca de Xira—O Campino
Montreal—L'Union Ouvriere	Le Revolte	<b>AUSTRIA</b>
<b>NEW SOUTH WALES.</b>	La Revue Socialiste	Brunn—Volksfreund
Sydney—Bulletin	Guisse—Le Devoir	<b>HUNGARY</b>
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	Lille—Le Travailleur	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
New York—Volkszeitung	<b>HOLLAND</b>	<b>ROUMANIA</b>
Freiheit	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Bucharest—Pruncul Roman
Truthseeker	<b>BELGIUM</b>	Jassy—Lupta
Der Sozialist	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair	<b>NORWAY</b>
John Swinton's Paper	En Avant	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	Liege—L'Avenir	<b>SWEDEN</b>
Liberty	Antwerp—De Werker	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	<b>SWITZERLAND</b>	<b>DENMARK</b>
Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	Social-Demokraten
Toledo (O.)—Industrial News	<b>ITALY</b>	<b>GREECE</b>
New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	Athens—Ardin
Paterson (N.J.) Labor Standard	<b>SPAIN</b>	
	Cadiz—El Socialismo	

### NOTES.

The value of police evidence was illustrated last Wednesday. William Plumbridge was charged at Marylebone with heading a riotous mob on the 9th, and aggravating the offence by assaulting an inoffensive policeman. He had, however, a different story to relate; he said that he was leaving Hyde Park quietly with some friends, when the active and intelligent officer before referred to committed an assault upon a man in the crowd. He cried out "Shame!" and was immediately taken into custody. Luckily for him, Baron de Rutzen was on the bench, a magistrate who does not take for granted every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of a policeman. He evidently believed the workman, and simply bound him over to keep the peace. If Mr. Newton had been on the bench, Plumbridge would very probably have got two months. This case ought to make the most confiding begin to doubt the infallibility of police evidence.

"A melancholy moralist," who gives vent to his woe in the columns of the *Pall Mall*, is very much shocked at the bestial and degraded condition of the London rough, and reflects with a shudder that perhaps in thirty or forty years the sons of middle-class men may sink into a similar state. The question arises whether the sons of most middle-class men are not even as these roughs at the present time. It may be that they are cleaner in their persons, that they are better fed and clothed, but as for their language, manners, and morals, many a rough would feel insulted if he was compared to them. The greatest blackguard is the well-dressed, not the one in fustian. How much difference is there between the conversation and habits of, say, those two hundred medical students who marched into Trafalgar Square the other day, and that of the loafer, dirty and diseased as he may be in body and mind? If these middle-class roughs do meet with a fall in life they have not got far to fall, if that is any consolation to them, and to people who claim them as their own children. Fit children for such parents, contented Pharisaic bourgeois.

Mr. D'Eyncourt, of Westminster Police-court, has made a great discovery. A youth of *respectable parentage* was brought before him,

charged with illegal appropriation of tobacco and other luxuries. His solicitor asked the magistrate to let him off with a fine, as his parents were most respectable people. (Had his respectable parentage got anything to do with thievish propensities, I wonder?) Mr. D'Eyncourt said piteously: "How can I deal lightly with an offender like this, when I have poor wretches brought before me every day who have been forced into crime by their poverty?" What a discovery for a magistrate! People are criminal because they are poor. It has always been laid down as a judicial axiom that poverty was no excuse for crime. But if poverty, as Mr. D'Eyncourt says, forces people into crime, you ought not to punish the people but the poverty, and the best way to punish poverty is to exterminate it. The respectable youth was let off with a fortnight's imprisonment. If he had been a "poor wretch forced into crime by poverty," I wonder whether he would have escaped so easily. Let the reader judge.

The gallant police distinguished themselves greatly on Lord Mayor's day. The way these brave officers made the most daring attacks upon small boys and cripples, filled the minds of the riotously inclined with terror and amazement. Their energy in the performance of these arduous and difficult duties has only been equalled by the vigour displayed by three brave constables in Oxford Street during the February riots. These brave fellows, after aiding in the scattering of the crowd, espied a poor half-starved tramp crawling along the pavement more dead than alive. They rushed on him at once, seized him and beat him brutally with their truncheons, while he shrieked so piteously for mercy that even the shopkeepers interfered and asked the police to leave him alone. After a time they magnanimously consented to do so. These policemen are fit representatives of the law they enforce. Base and brutal as themselves, it is, like them, a protection of unjust privilege, a safeguard to evil-doers if they be but of the well-to-do, and a terror only to the unfortunate.

D. N.

### MR. JAWKINS AT THE MANSION HOUSE.

LORD SALISBURY, in his speech at the Mansion House, did in some respects only strengthen somewhat the words of his colleague, Lord Randolph Churchill. Like him he tried to bury dangerous Jingoism decently. It was pretty much the old story: "Sir, you have called me a liar, you have pulled my nose, you have kicked me downstairs, now beware, lest you rouse the sleeping lion!"

As to Ireland again, he, like the other, declared for stiff support to landlordism, and hinted at coercion; and his only contribution to the stock of news of Government intentions, was his assertion that no discretionary powers had been given in the matter of eviction to his bum-bailiff Buller. It is hardly worth while criticising his speech on these points therefore; it was, of course, only natural that he should praise the valour of the Bulgarian people, whose independence he had done his best to prevent; nor did any one for a moment expect he would have anything to say on the subject of Ireland; but, perhaps, some persons were curious to see how far he would endorse the Tory Democracy of Lord Randolph Churchill; on that side their minds may now be at rest, he has taken the position of Mr. Jawkins, of the firm of Spenlow and Jawkins in Dickens's 'David Copperfield.' Mr. Spenlow can now show his good-will by making any amount of promises dependent on Mr. Jawkins consent, which privately he knows will be withheld. Three acres and a cow, embraces to Jesse Collings, free education, local self-government, railway reforms, besides many another blessing dim in the distance; all these you shall have for the asking, my friends, if only Jawkins will consent. Well, and what says Jawkins to all this fine flower of reform? Hear him: "But, in truth, as far as domestic affairs are concerned, the whole interest of home politics is absorbed in the consideration of that one Irish question." (Hear, hear.) Thus does Jawkins put down his foot, and crush mercilessly the fairy fabric of Radical hope, tinged even with a slight suspicion of Socialism, raised by the kindly Spenlow. The firm is certainly a convenient one; and, moreover, it is likely to last as long as such conspiracies usually do, because, in fact, the Salisbury-Jawkins woodenness is really and truly the thing which all respectable people are asking for. Do not let us forget that not only are the Hartington-Whigs and the Chamberlainite Radicals supporting this man, but that practically the Gladstonian Radicals have come to the same conclusion, as was shown by the Leed's Conference, whose dullness on every question except the Irish one, which had got to be their party war-horse, was pointed out in this journal so lately. Strange to say (since Lord Salisbury said it) it is true that "as far as domestic affairs are concerned, the whole interest of home politics is absorbed in the consideration of that one Irish question." That is, it is true of the Constitutional machine which we have made a god to rule over us; that is about the measure of its capacity for managing the affairs which we, fools that we are, have handed over to its management; whatever there is which is dealing with the real problems of life is outside that machine, which is absolutely helpless for "considering" them even; and when it has considered them will find it can get no further.

Surely on that day, if never before, that wooden Tory-Whig might have "considered" something besides the Irish question; or even in his dim mind might have "considered" that that question owed its absorbing interest to its being at bottom part of the great question now being thrust into the faces of all Governments by the workers: "What do you want sitting there, while we who made you are miserable and degraded?" There sat that dull man, that party politician,

amongst the City magnates, who found their wine tasted better because they were drinking it in their joy of having escaped being rolled in the mud by the half-starved population of London; amongst the shops barricaded against "domestic affairs." Why, the ball-cartridges were scarcely out of the pouches of the soldiers who had come to take a part in a "domestic affair;" and yet he had nothing to say about it, and the servile mob of respectabilities had the baseness to cheer him for his evasion. Yet, indeed, no one expected him to say anything about the condition of this frightful centre of our empire of force and fraud, and all the misery of which, after all, its misery is but a sample. And why did they not expect him to do so? Because he is the leader of a Parliamentary party; and really, when one thinks of the absurdity of his position, which, once again, necessitates his ignoring the real questions of the day, one has to restrain one's indignation against the cruel stupidity of the man by steady determination to do one's best to abolish the system. Besides that, there is a danger that one's readers might think that he who attacks one party leader is condoning the others for their blindness and evasion. Lord Salisbury is only doing after his kind; and even the Jawkin's business will most certainly be repeated by the Government which will supplant him, though it may not take quite such a grotesque form as the present one. That, after all, is mostly due to the other member of the Tory-Whig firm of Spenlow and Jawkins.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

### SOME NOODLES' ORATIONS.

THE following report has been forwarded to us. It seems to have been written for a Conservative paper; but we have no objection to give it publicity, merely premising that we in no way vouch for its accuracy.

THE first meeting of the winter session of the Old Constitutional Society took place on the 9th November at the Carlton Club. Nearly six hundred gentlemen were present.

THE DUKE OF BARNSBURY, who presided, said that in view of the alarming advance of Socialistic and other subversive views in England, the Society had determined to invite a limited number of advocates of these views to put before an open meeting of the society a plain statement of their theories and aims. Twelve tickets had been issued to the various working-men's organizations in the metropolis; and the greatest care had been taken to prevent the intrusion of strangers unprovided with tickets. Everything had been done to secure the comfort of the audience and the safety of the building, without interfering with perfect freedom of discussion. Of the twelve tickets issued, six had been accepted by the Anti-Foreigner Association for the Restoration of Fair Trade. (Hear, hear). It had been thought expedient to exclude two delegates who were, he regretted to say, inebriated; and one of the others, mistaking the nature of a public meeting, had refused to enter unless paid in advance—(a laugh, and cries of "Order")—but the remaining three were present, and he (the President) would take that opportunity of assuring them that they should be no losers by their attendance. (Applause). Of the six other tickets, one had been presented by a delegate from the Socialist League—(hisses)—but this person, on being requested quite courteously to submit to being searched, had thought fit to decline. However, on the necessary coercion being applied, his pockets were found to contain nothing but a latch-key, two and eightpence in bronze money wrapped in a piece of paper inscribed "Clerkenwell Green collection," and a mass of papers addressed "Editor of the *Commonweal*," and consisting chiefly of manuscript poetry. It was right to add that the money had been scrupulously returned to him. (Hear, hear). Two Land Nationalization Societies had sent clergymen as delegates—(sensation)—but the society, in the exercise of its discretion, had felt that the scandal these gentlemen—(A Voice: "Cads!")—the appearance of these persons must create, would be intolerably painful to the society, and admission had consequently been refused them. (Applause). One ticket had been presented by an Anarchist, who was present. (Disturbance.) There was no ground for alarm: the gentleman had submitted to a thorough search, and was known to be distantly related to the Duke of Camden's gamekeeper, a most respectable man. (Cheers.) His Anarchist views were purely theoretical. (Renewed cheers and laughter.) The eleventh ticket was that of Mr. Rodbertus Mazzini Smith, who was to address them presently. Of the twelfth ticket no account had been received, but every precaution had been taken against the consequences of its miscarriage. A company of the 60th Rifles were in charge of the gas meter; and the basement was strongly occupied by a picked company of the 1st Life Guards. The outdoor arrangements were in the hands of Sir Charles Warren, who had pledged himself that the members should run no risk. (Applause.) He would now call on the speaker, and, whilst appealing to the audience to give him a fair hearing, would beg Mr. Smith to state his case as offensively as the nature of his subject would allow.

MR. ROBERTUS MAZZINI SMITH, in a rambling address, repeated the threadbare fallacies with which the public is already familiar. He stated that three-fourths of the national wealth went into the pockets of twenty-eight dukes, two-thirds to the capitalist class, one-third to the ground landlords, rather more than half to the royal family and the holders of perpetual pensions, about a tenth to the Church, and only the remaining five-sixths to the workers. The average lifetime of a labourer was only quarter that of a rich shareholder; and two hundred per cent. of the children of the workers died before they were five years old. He could prove from statistics that the deaths from small-pox had increased greatly since the introduction of machinery, which was a curse to the workers. There was no remedy for this, in his opinion, but Socialism. (A Voice: "What is Socialism?") Socialism meant equal laws for all. Competition and selfishness were the curse of the age, and laws ought to be made abolishing them. The rich were getting richer and the poor poorer every day. All brain-work should be done away with. (Great laughter.) Well, gentlemen might laugh; but the Conservative party had got along pretty well without brains; and—(Tumult, which the President vainly endeavoured to quell. After a stormy altercation, the speaker, who refused to sit down, and persisted in shouting at the top of his voice, was ejected by two policemen.)

THE PRESIDENT then called upon one of the Anti-Foreigner delegates. This gentleman spoke for some time in favour of Socialism, which he defined quite differently from the previous speaker. Eventually a police inspector,

rising to order, warned the President that the supposed Fair Trader was a disguised member of the Social Democratic Federation.

THE PRESIDENT, amid uproar, called on the speaker to withdraw.

THE ANTI-FOREIGNER admitted that he was a Socialist, and considered himself as good a man as the President, and perhaps better. He refused to withdraw. (Cries of "Out with him!" "Chuck him downstairs!" etc.) If they meant to chuck him out they had better not shake him too much, as he had enough dynamite in his pockets to blow the Carlton Club half-way to Chelsea. (Here the speaker was very carefully removed in a horizontal position by several policemen. Considerable disturbance followed, the President vainly ringing his bell to restore order. When partial silence was at length obtained,

THE PRESIDENT called on Lord Bubley Jockington. (Cheers.)

LORD BUBLEY JOCKINGTON said that his first duty was to reassure the audience as to the intruder who had lately been conveyed from the room. His statement that his pockets contained dynamite was just as true as the statements of Socialists usually were. After the usual precaution of immersing him in the cistern—(laughter)—he had been searched. The contents of his pockets were of an ordinary character, consisting chiefly of tobacco and small coin. With the exception of a cheap reprint of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' in which, by way of bookmarker, had been stuck a photograph of Mr. H. M. Hyndman—(prolonged hooting)—nothing of a dangerous character had been found. It only remained for him (Lord Bubley Jockington) to say a few words with reference to what had been said to-night by specially selected representatives of the Socialist party—if party it might be called. (Laughter, and a Voice: "They'd all fit in a four-wheeler.") Well, he would not go so far as that; but he would not mind undertaking to find room for them and himself as well in an omnibus. (A Voice: "What do you know about omnibuses?" and cries of "Order!") He had seen omnibuses in the streets, where many things of which he had no personal experience forced themselves upon his attention. But he was digressing. The Socialists said that all wealth was due to the labour of the working-man. Well, he would just put one question to them. What were the most valued possessions of this country? Were they not the arts, the sciences, the culture, and he would even say the commerce of the country? (Cheers.) Were they made by the working-man? Were our pictures and statues made by working-men? Was the theory of gravitation due to a working-man? Was the teaching at our universities done by working-men? Was the Church—(great cheering)—that Church upon whose property some people were in such a hurry to lay dishonest hands—(Cheers; and a Voice: "Not for Joseph!")—were the clergy working-men? On the contrary, they were gentlemen, as were the officers of our army—(applause, and cries of "Some of 'em!")—and the heroes of our navy. (Vehement cheering.) They were workers in the highest sense; but they were not working-men; and it would be a black day for the labouring class if the country ever lost them. The working-class was a helpless class. It never initiated great enterprises such as railways, telegraphs, and steam engines. It could blindly obey the orders of an educated man; but when left to itself it could do nothing but drink, beat women—(Shame!) Cowards!—and set dogs to fight and bark and bite, as had been well said by Dr. Watts, the celebrated inventor of the steam engine, which enabled us to put a girdle round the earth in forty minutes. Our rich classes, our elegant classes, our cultured classes, our leisured classes, our learned classes were not composed of working-men. Enter the house of a working-man, and you saw at once by its squalor, its ugliness, and its ill-chosen neighbourhood, the sort of person who lived there. The working-classes herded together absolutely like swine. It was no uncommon thing to find a labourer crowding all his family into one room when plenty of other rooms were to be let in the same house, and even on the same floor. Put these people into a palace, and they would degrade it to a filthy rookery in a month. But put a gentleman into one of these rookeries, and he would make a palace of it in a week. It was in vain that we strove to change human nature. These differences were ordained for some wise purpose, we might depend on that, and it was useless to strive to eradicate them. If wealth were divided equally to-day, in six months time we should again be just as we are at present. (Applause.) Drink, ignorance, sloth, and crime would have done their work on the one hand: industry, intelligence, thrift, and high breeding—(cheers)—on the other. And the people knew that; for the heart of the British nation was sound. Socialism might flourish on foreign soil; but the English people would never listen to proposals of confiscation. (Cheers.) For himself he would say that he objected to be plundered by people who thought wealth could be had for nothing. Some of them seemed to think that he stole his food and clothes from the workers. They never made a greater mistake. If the Socialists knew a tailor who would charge him nothing for his clothes, he would be glad to have the address. (Laughter.) He not only paid for his clothes, but he paid three times as much for them as a workman, and wore half-a-dozen suits to the workman's one. Which then, was he or the workman most useful to the trade of the country? Go and ask the tradesmen what sort of customers they prefer—workmen or gentlemen! (Cheers, and several Voices: "So they do!") The gentry not only consumed twice as much as the workers, but they paid twice as much for what they consumed, and yet they gave up a full half of the annual produce of the country in wages to the workers. Plain arithmetical statements like these were worth bushels of windy declamation. The noblemen and gentlemen of England supplied the workmen with land, with capital, with wages, with employment, with education, with hospitals, with spiritual and medical advice, and with refuges against old age and want. They asked nothing in return except gratitude and loyalty, and they would get it in spite of foreign incendiaries and native lunatics. (Great cheering.) Applying the touchstone of history to the veil of futurity, he could see its troubled waves dashing in vain against our Queen and our Constitution—(cheers)—and only adding another glorious page to the torch of liberty that had always been, and, please God, would always be the keystone of the arch under which our tight little island lay snugly sheltered, and upon which its foundations were indissolubly based. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

THE PRESIDENT said that the speech they had just heard possessed the two supreme qualities of eloquence—imagination and logic. He hoped that a full report of it would find its way into the hands of every working-man in the kingdom. It would be a better defence against Socialism than all the precautions of his friend, Sir Charles Warren. ("Bow-wow," laughter, and a Voice: "Cut it short, old man!") As it was getting late, he would not detain the meeting longer.

The usual votes of thanks were then passed; and the meeting dispersed.

Inequality is the source of all revolution, for no compensation can make up for inequality.—Aristotle.



## THE LORD OF BURLEIGH.

(FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF HIS DISAPPOINTED RIVAL).

(Concluded from p. 259).

And almost I turned me about and departed ; but then there came  
The flash of a sudden thought that mine would be all the blame,  
If Annie were wooed by the blackguard, and won, and ruined, and left,  
Of her pure sweet peace of heart and her own fair fame bereft ;  
And I thought I at least would warn her, and put her pride on its guard ;  
And I suddenly opened the door, and entered. But oh, it was hard  
To be greeted at last by Annie with welcome embarrassed and cold,  
No longer eye to eye and heart to heart as of old.  
But I feigned to be glad of the greeting, and not to have noticed the change,  
And I asked her to set me a task, and she said I could help her arrange  
The things in the dairy for churning. I saw with a pang to my pride,  
That she wanted to keep me away from the fool on the lawn outside ;  
And I magnified each little thing, as a jealous lover will do,  
Each sign that showed she thought him the better man of the two.

And I talked at first of the weather, and tried to quiet the pain  
That surged like a sea in my soul, and kept my voice on the strain ;  
But I was not greatly successful, for ere very long the smart  
Of her cold indifferent answers had hurt me so to the heart,  
That I saw I must say right out what had to be said, and take  
My chance if Annie would listen at all for our love's sweet sake,  
Or would flare in sudden anger, and bid me be silent and go ;  
For then, though it broke my heart, at least the worst I should know.

And I told her all that I knew, or all that was fit to be told,  
Of the evil life of the man whose image had taken hold,  
As I thought, of the heart of my Annie ; and how I had heard men speak  
Of the girls he had ruined already, and more than the days in a week  
Was the number of those whose names I had certainly heard them say ;  
For too well known was the name he had told us yesterday.

At that she looked up quickly, and said I had made a mistake,  
And she hoped I would contradict it, if only for truth's own sake ;  
He had told her that very morning when first he came to the house,  
He was only a landscape painter, as poor as a starved church mouse,  
Though the name of a man who was richer than any man ought to be  
Was a name that was also his ; and she hoped that now I should see  
How wicked and mean it was to slander a man's fair fame  
Because I had happened to hear ill tales of another man's name—  
Such tales ! she would not listen to anything more of the kind.  
Then I, in my utter amazement that she should have been so blind,  
Burst out, "The infamous liar ! and does he dare to deny  
That the blackguard and he are the same ? His heart is as black as his lie,  
And his lie is as foul as his heart, and both are fathered in hell,  
And will go to their own place soon, as the devil knows full well."

And more I may haply have said that I do not remember now ;  
But Annie turned her about with a frown on her beautiful brow,  
And bade me begone from the house, since I knew not how to behave  
As I ought when I stood in her presence, and could but rant and rave  
In words that it hurt her to hear—and she would not listen to more.  
With pain that tugged at my heart-strings I turned and went to the door,  
Looked back but once, and departed, and crossed the brow of the hill,  
And came to the house where I lived, where in sooth I am living still.

Well, years have gone by since then, and much has happened, and I  
Stand here, as you see, by her grave. But what of the lord ? I will try  
To give you the rest of the story. There is not much to be said,  
Except that Annie, my darling, was once alive, and is dead.  
It seems he was jaded with pleasure, and after an ill-spent life,  
Being weary of riotous living, determined to find him a wife,  
And cast his insolent eyes upon Annie ; and half in jest,  
And half with an earnest purpose to put her heart to the test,  
And win her unhelpt by his title, he told her a pack of lies,  
And meant, when at last he had won her, to give her a grand surprise  
By changing her landscape painter again to a high-born peer.

I cannot tell if she loved him, or why she consented. I fear  
She was tired of life at the farm, and wanted to see the world,  
And to flit to a brighter abode, like a moth when its wings are unfurled ;  
For the long, long lane of routine with never a turn or a bend,  
Stretched out to her uttermost view, and beyond, and had no end ;  
And life with a landscape painter could hardly be other than sweet.  
And so she was ready to listen ; and often they used to meet,  
And walk in the lanes and fields and the pleasant paths of the wood,  
Till the day was fixed for the marriage. But when it was all made good  
Down here at the village church, and she was his wedded wife,  
He told her at last to her terror a truer tale of his life,  
And decked her name with his title, and thought it would make her glad,  
And took her with him to London ; and there she was richly clad,  
And there she lived in splendour, and took, like a queen, her place,  
And moved amid high-born ladies ; and ever her simple grace  
Made all that talked with her count her for happy. But none the less  
Her life that seemed so bright had its secret bitterness,  
That none but her own heart knew. And none the less did the earl  
Find out he had made a mistake when he married a village girl,  
Who was all too meek for his grandeur, and all too pure for his taste ;  
And at leisure did he repent of the marriage he made in haste ;  
For he saw that she had no heart to confront the world as his wife,  
And was frightened and shocked by the splendour of his luxurious life.

As the fox-glove high in the hedge is shamed and put to scorn  
By the banner of blood-bright poppies ablaze in the standing corn ;  
As the pale-petalled golden-cupped weed, 'mid the tangle of tendrils it weaves,  
Dies down in the lordlier light of the lily a-lounge on its leaves ;  
As pales the morning star in the beams of the rising sun,  
So paled and shrank and dwindled the maiden whose hand he had won.  
There is not much more I can tell, for how could I anywise know  
Of the sorrow she suffered at heart and the little-availing woe ?  
But three sad years she spent in the shade of his high-built halls,  
Then went, as we all must go when the voice is Death's that calls.

And she bore three children before she died. Yes, they are alive,  
And happy, I hope ; if a plant like happiness e'er can thrive  
With luxury choking its life, and the weeds of enormous wealth  
With their rank growth tainting the air till it hardly can grow by stealth.  
And Annie is buried here, and the grass grows over her grave,  
And the poppies are bright in the sun, but the lilies are taller, and wave  
Their pure white petals above them, the lilies I planted myself.  
And there at my home on the hill there stands alone on the shelf  
A book that she gave me once, and her dear name written within.

And here in this troublesome world with its turmoil and sorrow and sin,  
Two things in my cold heart yet set its sweet dead dreams astir,  
The book that she gave to me, and the flowers I have given to her.

J. L. JOYNES.

## REVOLUTIONARY RUMBLINGS.

### BRITAIN.

NORWICH.—At the late municipal elections our comrade F. J. Crotch won the Eighth Ward, defeating an ex-mayor who had held the seat for 15 years.

THE SKYE CROFTERS.—The most important event in connection with the Skye expedition is the arrest and imprisonment of John Macpherson, locally known as the "Glendale Martyr," and the Rev. Donald McCallum, minister of Watnish, on a charge of inciting to violence. Mr. McCallum was chairman of a meeting where a resolution was passed to resist any attempts on the part of the authorities to remove cattle or other effects belonging to the crofters ; and Macpherson was a speaker at the same assembly. The latter was arrested in bed at an early hour on Saturday morning, and McCallum was apprehended in the neighbouring parish of Stenscholl, where he was to have preached yesterday. Neither was examined on Saturday night, and they are both detained at Portree. A crofter was evicted on Saturday from his holding for arrears of rent. The decree of removal was in force for a year. The eviction took place quietly, the officer not requiring any police or military.

### AMERICA.

CHICAGO.—A dispatch from Chicago to the *Sun* says : "The election in this city developed the power of the Labour party. Its strength is something beyond the wildest dream of the Socialists themselves, and has carried consternation into the ranks of the Democratic party. The returns indicate that the Labour party will hold the balance of power in all future elections in this city. The streets after the election were filled with crowds of toilers, frantic with joy." The total Labour vote cast was between 17,000 and 18,000. They elected two members of the State Senate and eleven members of the House, besides minor officers ; and of the four judiciary candidates whom they picked from the old party ticket, and who were described by the capitalist press as "Red Flag Judges," all four were elected, while the Republican candidates for the bench whom they scratched were all defeated.—*John Swinton's Paper.*

MILWAUKEE.—In Milwaukee the People's (Labour) party carried things by storm. The vote was over 13,000, or more than both of the capitalist parties combined. The whole county ticket was elected, and also the People's (Labour) candidate for Congress, Henry Smith, by heavy majorities, in a clean sweep.—*John Swinton's Paper.*

### FRANCE.

PARIS.—The talk in the Chamber just now is all about the Budget, where they are discussing deficits, and proposing new imposts and economies, and all the while it does not occur to any one to suggest that thousands of francs are being wasted annually in the payment of officials who do no work, and thousands again of the public money is being quietly and gently absorbed by the drones who fatten on the workers, while they make no pretence even of working themselves.

LILLE.—The other day a soldier was acquitted by the court-martial of Lille for a brutal and cowardly piece of "amusement," for which he should have received a severe punishment. While on duty around the prison, he caught sight of a boy at a second-floor window, whom he bade get down, at the same time covering him with his musket. The *gamin*, of course, "cheeked" him, and opening his shirt dared the man to fire. The temptation seems to have been too much for human nature to resist, and he did fire "just to see what would happen" we imagine. What happened was that the youthful prisoner was badly wounded and narrowly escaped being killed. Brutality against a prisoner and by a soldier seems, however, to be a very small offence.

DECAZEVILLE.—The arrival of Basly at Decazeville has caused the authorities some uneasiness, shown by the stir and movement among the authorities, the garrison of the place being placed immediately at the disposal of the Company, etc., etc. All to no purpose, however, as the population is calm, and only peaceable though enthusiastic meetings have been held to celebrate Basly's coming.

### BELGIUM.

The excitement among the leagues and various working-men's societies, caused by the sudden departure of Schmidt and Falleur for the prison at Louvain, is very far from calming down yet ; numerous meetings of working-men will be held on Sunday in the district, and this business will be everywhere the subject for discussion. *La Chronique* says that there have been 350 pardons and 300 postponements of sentence, but it adds, regarding Schmidt and Falleur, "not only nothing has been done, but nothing will be done." The Procureur Général must have notified the Government that it would be dangerous for them to concern themselves further with the condemned men, Schmidt and Falleur, and that to pardon them would make the people believe that the Government was alarmed.

### SPAIN.

The Spanish court-martials have sentenced to hard labour for life all the soldiers who took part in the insurrection of September 19. The officers have already been dispatched to Africa.

It is said that the Government suspects the "enemies of Law and Order" of planning a revolutionary move before the coming opening of the Cortés.

MADRID, Nov. 14.—A meeting of workmen, convoked by the Socialist Committee, took place this afternoon, at which about 800 persons were present. Several speakers defended in energetic terms the principles of Socialism, and urged the necessity of maintaining the right of association and manifestation. Resolutions were passed expressing hostility towards the various political parties.—*Reuter.*

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

## Strike Committee of the Socialist League.

The Committee during the past week have issued the following circular, which will be widely circulated amongst labour organisations. Sympathisers with the work of the Committee can do good service by forwarding to the Secretary particulars of the various trades' unions and other societies in their respective localities, and the addresses of the secretaries and others with whom it is desirable to communicate.

"The object of this Committee is to assist in bringing about a common understanding with Workers of all grades and nations; to federate Labour Organisations both nationally and internationally, so as to counteract the endeavours of the Capitalists to defeat the efforts of Workers of one locality to improve their condition by bringing those of another to take their place, or by the importation of Foreign Labour, and *vice versa*; to discourage Emigration; to collect and disseminate information concerning the condition of the Workers; and generally to promote that feeling of solidarity so essential to the final emancipation of Labour.

"The Committee invites your co-operation in this work. The exceptional advantages enjoyed by the League are that it comprises a large number of active Trades-Unionists throughout Great Britain; that it is in close sympathy with and has correspondents in the Labour Movement in America and in every country in Europe, as well as in India and the Colonies; and that its international character—containing as it does men and women of various nationalities—will be of considerable value in the case of strikes where foreign workmen are brought over. The character of the organisation makes it particularly easy for it to send delegates to foreign workmen; and this it will be glad to do at any time. In the *Commonweal* it has an organ in which anything bearing on the Labour Question can be published which is likely to advance the interests of the Workers.

"In conclusion, the Committee earnestly asks for your valuable assistance in the important work it has undertaken.—H. A. BARKER, Gen. Sec."

## THE GLASS-BOTTLE MAKERS.

The men—numbering about 150—employed by the Castleford Glass-Bottle Company refuse to submit to the proposed reduction in their wages, notice of which was given a week ago. They are therefore now out on strike, and there seems no prospect of the matter being settled for some time.

On the 12th inst. the following telegram was received from the General Secretary of the Glass-Bottle Makers' Union: "Strike pending in Lancashire. Communicate to Continent, Sweden and Norway particularly. Stop all men from coming if possible." A letter received since states that the employers are now in Glasgow endeavouring to get at the foreign workmen employed there, and invites the assistance of the Committee to defeat their purpose. Immediately on receipt of the news the Foreign Secretaries sent word to Sweden, Norway, and Germany, as requested.

## RAILWAY SIGNALMEN'S WAGES—84 HOURS FOR NINETEEN SHILLINGS.

A meeting of signalmen employed on the Midland Railway in the district was held yesterday in Birmingham to protest against the proposed reduction of signalmen's wages, and to discuss the eight hours' movement. There was a good attendance of signalmen, but for obvious reasons the men desired that their names should not be published. The chairman said ninety per cent. of the Midland signalmen were working twelve hours a-day, and the lowest class of them were receiving wages which were no more than those paid to agricultural labourers. They had from 16s. to 21s. a-week, and it was this the third or worst paid class of signalmen of whose wages the Company had given notice of reduction. On Saturday the notice came down that the wages of these men would be reduced from 21s. to 19s. a-week, without the annual bonus of 50s., which had hitherto been paid. The Secretary said there were many signalmen working for 3½d. an hour, but if the proposed reduction were carried out they would be getting only a fraction over 3d. an hour. This was a scandalous wage for a man who held a responsible position, in whose hands rested the safety of hundreds of lives. The chairman asked how could a man support a wife and family and live a respectable life on a miserable pittance of 19s. a-week? There were officials receiving £6000 a-year, but it was not their salaries that were to be reduced, but the wages of the poor men who were struggling along on 17s. or 18s. a-week. A signalman stated that to his knowledge there were two signalmen on the West Suburban Railway who worked 84 hours a-week—14 hours every day. Those men had been reduced to 19s. a-week. They were not getting 3d. an hour, nor anything like it.—*Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 12.

## AMERICA.

NEW YORK.—A most remarkable strike of 128 young women is in progress in Perkins' Carpet Factory over in Brooklyn. They have struck, not for higher wages, but for protection of their honour against the assaults of the villains in charge of the factory. Their stories of gross immoralities have been put in the shape of affidavits, and have resulted in the arrest of several of the culprits. The Knights of Labor took up their case by appealing to the head of the firm, who, however, would take no action in their defence, and so, as a last resort, they seek the law, through the aid of the protective order. It is well that this work has begun. The demoralisation of young women in the factories here, as well as elsewhere, is carried on to a fearful extent. It is one of the shocking results of our modern system of industry. *Cincinnati Unionist*.

Nov. 15.—A summons will shortly be issued for a Convention of the Trades' Unions of the United States and Canada to assemble on December 8th to form a Trade Congress. The working men of Philadelphia are organising for the purpose of nominating Labour candidates at the municipal elections to be held in February next.

John B. Stetson, the scab hatter of Philadelphia, don't want to be dictated to. The General Convention advises Knights of Labor everywhere to let Stetson hats severely alone, and under no circumstances dictate to him.—*Industrial News*.

## FRANCE.

The Minister of Commerce and Industry, after a discussion of the Committee of arts and manufactures, has decided to hold an inquiry before the Committee to modify the Text of an article in the Law of 1877 relating to the work of children in factories. To this end he has invited those masters and employers who have any remarks or suggestions to offer thereanent to

send in their names to the Committee before such and such a date, etc. It does not look very promising for the children, this summoning of the birds of prey to discuss the welfare of those and the profit-making and themselves! It is a well-meant move, no doubt; but, be the law bettered or made worse, I fear that, as heretofore, the children's welfare will depend largely on the fortuitous and inadequate assistance of public opinion, whose power of relieving folk's troubles is exceedingly unequal and uncertain.

VIERZON.—At a recent meeting of the Syndicate of metallurgists, the Council has excommunicated "as traitors to the Cause of Labour" the 28 renegades who persist in working for the *Société Française*. The Syndicate is at present over 300 strong, consisting of men united and firm in their resolve to stand by and help their fellow-strikers to the last. All this in spite of, or rather thanks to, arrests, imprisonments, and all the usual kind of judicial and military terrorism. In getting at the leaders, the powers that be hoped to kill the Socialist party in Vierzon, and have the pleasure of discovering that they have driven towards it new and vigorous adherents.

## BELGIUM.

### THE STRIKES IN THE CHARLEROI DISTRICT.

The situation at Charleroi grows disquieting; two fresh strikes were declared on Saturday morning, the first being at the Pays Pit, by Chatelineau, where the miners refuse to go down. The strikers number 400; they demand the dismissal of the director of the works, who is accused of being harsh and unjust.

Scarcely is the strike at the Grand Mambourg pit at Lodelinsart, than a fresh one (only partial) is declared. On Saturday a great part of the workers in the veins refused to begin the night-work, because their salary was insufficient for the support of their families. They claim an increase of ten per cent., demanding at the same time that the salaries of the directors and sub-directors be reduced.

At the coal mines of Amercœur, at Jumet-Gohygart, the situation continues strained; the strike has lasted more than fifteen days, and the administration will make no concession, contenting themselves by sending in letter form through the pen of their director, bundles of copy to the Charleroi journals, in which the said director amuses himself by a show of wit at the expense of the unfortunate miners. The strikers are determined to remain firm whatever comes. They declare openly that they will follow the example of the Decazeville miners. The burgomaster of Jumet has given them permission to circulate subscription-lists, and the small tradespeople as well as all the rest of the population show much sympathy with the strikers.

### CHARLEROI.—EMIGRATION.

The emigration of our glass-workers, miners, and founders, which had seemed to be diminishing somewhat for the last four or five weeks, is again becoming very marked. We hear of the departure of numerous workers, who set out with their families with no idea of returning, being unable to earn enough to live on in their own country. A great number of overseers are much annoyed, because it is the best and most intrepid among the workers who go away. The glass-workers for the most part set out for Brazil and South America; the founders for Mexico, Chicago, Buenos Ayres, and the miners for Egypt, Scotland, and the North of England. The strongest contingents of emigrants are furnished by the communes of Jumet, Courcelles, Marcinelli, and Couillet. It certainly will not be long before their departure is regretted in our varied industries.

## SPAIN.

VILLAFRANCA DEL PANADES.—The strike among the weavers of the Bresca factory still continues. The strikers maintain a firm attitude, and will most likely hold out until they have gained what they demand.

VILLANEUVA Y GELTRU.—Last week the men and women at work at the factory of Messrs. Sama and Company declared themselves on strike, the complaint being that the materials they have to work upon are of such inferior quality that the work is retarded, and in consequence their wages seriously diminished. They demand that the price of every piece of work shall be arranged previously instead of when it is finished, as heretofore.

SAN MARTIN DE PROVENSALES.—The master carpenters here are trying to get an extra hour's work out of their employés without any increase of wage. The workers, however, are not disposed to suffer this further exploitation, and are endeavouring to defend themselves with the only weapon they can use at present, and have gone on strike.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### "THE PARIS CONFERENCE."

When I wrote my corrections in regard to my speech at the Paris Congress as reported by Mr. Smith, I thought Mr. Smith had no reason for a reply, but I see now it was a delusion on my part. I have read Mr. Smith's reply, and find it a very weak one. That Dr. de Paepe is very satisfied with the report, does not prove that it is correct in my case, and that it is generally correct I have never doubted in my letter. Mr. Smith could have easily prevented this unpleasantness by sending me a proof before going to the press, or find means himself to put the matter right, as I have sent him my corrections nearly a fortnight before I wrote my letter to you. As it was, I felt it my duty to do as I have done. That I ought to be "very grateful" to Mr. Smith for printing such an erroneous report of my speech I fail to see. When Mr. Smith is able to put it right in his second edition I shall feel much obliged, and shall never ask whether my position in regard to the English delegates is weakened or not, as my first principle is always truthfulness.

HENRY RACKOW.

P.S.—I may say at once that I have not any more to say about this matter.

## TO BE HANGED FOR FREE SPEECH!

THE ENGLISH ANARCHISTS announce that a PUBLIC MEETING will take place At CLEVELAND HALL, Cleveland Street, W.,

On Tuesday Evening, November 23, at Eight o'clock prompt, in support of

THE ANARCHISTS OF CHICAGO (CONDEMNED TO DEATH),

And to protest against the action of the Chicago Court of "Justice," and its bribed and packed Jury, which suppressed the evidence of the Anarchists and kidnapped their chief witness. Also to denounce the arbitrary refusal of Judge Gary to grant a new trial, through which the condemned affirm their ability to incontestably prove their innocence. Admission Free.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

**Executive.**—Election of new secretary was postponed to end of year, Sparling consenting to retain office for the time being. Graham and Knight resigned from Strike Committee; Mainwaring added to it.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Mile-end, to June 30. Birmingham, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Hackney, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Croydon, Dublin, Marylebone, to Sept. 30. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bloomsbury, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to Dec. 31.

### BRANCH REPORTS.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—We held our first lesson on Joyne's 'Socialist Catechism,' on Friday, November 12. Donald was in the chair. The answers to the question were given by each member in turn, and then followed a general discussion. This method of teaching the economics of Socialism is an experiment on our part, and it proved very satisfactory.—W. A. C.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, November 10, P. Barry lectured on "The Bankruptcy of Capital;" a good discussion followed. Usual meeting at the Green on Sunday evening. In the hall, Dr. Wm. H. von Swartwout addressed a good audience on "Wherein Socialists have come short of the Truth." Sale of *Commonweal* and pamphlets good.—W. B.

**FULHAM.**—We held a large meeting on Sunday morning at Walham Green. The speakers were Tochatti, Mordhurst, and McCormack. A resolution was passed condemning the illegal action of the police on Lord Mayor's day, and calling upon all workmen to attend the meeting in Trafalgar Square on the 21st to demand the right of free speech. Lane spoke at our rooms in the evening; a hot discussion followed on palliative measures. Sale of *Commonweals* 81.

**HACKNEY.**—On Wednesday, November 10, we held a meeting in the Broadway, London Fields, Morris lectured to a very attentive audience; one new member and good sale of papers. On Sunday, Somerville, Graham, and Davis addressed a large meeting opposite the Salmon and Ball; six new members and good sale of papers.—F. R. H.

**HOXTON.**—On Sunday morning a meeting of members, and business in connection with proposed club was transacted. In the evening, W. C. Wade lectured on "Socialism and Individualism;" excellent lecture and discussion; sale of literature fair.—H. B.

**MERTON AND MITCHAM.**—On Sunday last, H. Sparling lectured to a large audience upon Mitcham Fair Green. In the course of his remarks he said that the espionage and brutality exercised towards us by the police, showed that the ruling class appraise the true value of Socialism as a means to redress injustice and inequality, a lie always needs armed force to support it. He concluded with an earnest appeal to his auditors to combine for the realisation of a revolutionary change. In the evening, our comrade lectured at the Merton Branch on "Workers of the Past," contrasting the conditions of the mediæval craftsmen with the wage-slave slum-dweller of today.—F. Kitz, sec.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Arnold, Nicoll, and Mainwaring addressed a large meeting in Regent's Park, on Sunday. An opponent who advocated co-operation as a remedy for the present evils of Society, was replied to by Arnold seemingly to the satisfaction of the audience. Collected for *Commonweal* fund, 6s. 5½d.

**DUBLIN.**—On Thursday, November 11, Gabriel delivered an address on "The Temperance Question from a Socialist Standpoint." The lecturer pointed out that while the adoption of temperance might benefit only a section of the workers, it would make them more thoughtful, more discontented, and thus pave the way for the Social Revolution. An interesting discussion followed, in which O'Connor, Fitzpatrick, Karpel, McCarthy, and O'Gorman took part.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday at 11.30, Glasier addressed a large meeting on the Green. At 12.30 a meeting was held in George's Square. There was a large attendance of the better-to-do class. After Glasier and Torly, Mr. D. McLachan, of the Land Restoration League, spoke earnestly on behalf of our propaganda. We hear that the police are so determined to suppress Socialist teaching in the streets, that they will, if necessary, prohibit also meetings of religious and other bodies. Such unsolicited testimony to the important work being done by the Socialists of Glasgow is very gratifying, although the form in which it is conveyed may be somewhat firmly resented. On Sunday evening, Glasier lectured on "Swinburne and Walt Whitman." An interesting discussion followed.

**HAMILTON.**—On Thursday, November 11, Geer, from Glasgow, gave an instructive lecture on the "Robbery of Labour." The lecture produced a good effect on the audience. A few local members also spoke. Three new members made. The sale of *Commonweal* is increasing greatly.—W. M., sec.

**HULL.**—We have got into our new rooms, and have every prospect of making active progress. A business meeting was held last Sunday, when rules for the conduct of the club were formulated, a committee appointed, and other important business transacted. The public meetings begin on Sunday evening next with a discussion on the Manifesto of the League.

**IPSWICH.**—Henderson spoke to two good audiences at the Ship Launch last Saturday. All papers sold out.

**NORWICH.**—Very successful meetings on Sunday, made six new members. At night C. W. Mowbray lectured on C. Bradlaugh's "Objections to Socialism," which evoked a good discussion.—C. W. M.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday Nov. 19, at 8 p.m. Mrs. Gostling on "The Middle Class in Socialism."

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Nov. 21, at 8.30 p.m. A. K. Donald, "Primitive Communism." Wednesday 24, at 8.30 p.m. H. H. Sparling, "The Delights of Laziness."

**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Nov. 21, at 7.30 p.m. W. Morris on "Socialism: The End and the Means."

**Fulham.**—338 Fulham Road. Sunday at 8.

**Hackney.**—Sheep Lane, Broadway, London Fields. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 p.m.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Nov. 21, at 8 p.m. W. H. Utley, "The Scientific Aspect of Socialism."

**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Nov. 21, at 11.30 a.m. T. Binning, "The Duty of Socialists in Relation to Trades' Unionism." 8 p.m. A. K. Donald, "Primitive Communism."

**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday.

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.

**North London.**—Business Meeting at 32 Camden Road Fridays at 8 p.m.

### Country Branches.

**Bingley.**—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m. **Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Rd. Wednesdays, at 8.

**Dublin.**—102 Capel Street. Sunday at 7.30 p.m.; Thursday at 8 p.m.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Saturday evening at 6 o'clock open-air meeting at the Green. —On Sunday open-air meeting on George's Square at 12.30, and on the Green at 11.30 and 4.30. In the evening, at 7, in the Waterloo Hall, Waterloo Street, Prince Kropotkin will lecture on "Socialism: Its Growing Force and Final Aim." Admission 3d., 6d., and 1s.

**Hamilton.**—Branch meets every Thursday evening at 7.30 in the British Workman Meeting Room. On Thursday first Comrade Glasier of Glasgow will lecture on "The Prophecy of Socialism."

**Hull.**—11 Princess Street, off Mason Street and Sykes Street. Club Room open 7 to 10 every evening; Sundays 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. Public Meeting on Sundays at 7 p.m. Nov. 21. "The Manifesto of the Socialist League."

**Ipswich.**—Co-operative Hall, Sat. 20, at 8, F. Henderson, "The Meaning of Socialism."

**Leeds.**—New Fleece Inn, Pemberton St., Dewsbury Rd.

**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine St. Tuesdays, at 8.

**Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. prompt. Lecture with discussion at 8 o'clock.

**Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9 Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

### Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

Sa.	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales")	8	...T. Wardle
S.	Mile-end Waste	8	...T. Wardle
	Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"	11.30	...H. Sparling
	Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.	11.30	...Tarleton
	Marylebone—Salisbury St.	11.30	...Somerville
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	...D. J. Nicoll
	Mitcham Fair Green	11.30	...Lane
	Regent's Park	11.30	...Mainwaring
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	...Mahon
	Walham Green, opposite Station	11.30	...Kitz
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3	...Mainwaring
	Clerkenwell Green	7	...H. Graham
Tu.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7	...Cantwell
	Mile-end Waste	8	...The Branch
	Soho—Broad Street	8	...T. Wardle
W.	London Fields—Broadway	8.30	...H. Charles

### PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

**Ipswich.**—Ship Launch, Sunday, morning and evening.  
**Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—Gorton Lane and Ashton Old Road, 11.30.  
**Norwich.**—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.  
**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Afternoon and evening.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 46.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

SMALL wonder is it that Tories kick and "statesmen" growl when Randolph Churchill, without even a preliminary "Houpla!" bounds into the ring to perform another wonderful trick-act before a select audience of the City Fathers. The potent, grave, and reverend (!) signiors must have been astounded who called upon him in order to expound the true importance of preserving the coal and wine dues so that the Corporation might be enabled to carry out, with other people's money, the many beneficent projects they have conceived. Whether it be only that he is bidding for the support of the Labour party that is so steadily growing, or that he is genuinely anxious to improve matters generally, one hardly knows, but his quondam supporters and now followers-perforce are rebelling strenuously.

The first plea put forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer is noteworthy now, when folk are becoming ever more and more willing acceptants of Socialistic teaching. He condemned the coal duties for inasmuch that they were "a tax upon a necessary of life, involving principles that we in this country have long sought to get rid of." If this principle be fully accepted, not only by the Government but by the people, there will be a speedy end of rent, interest, profit, etc., for are not all these merely taxes upon the necessities of life? In what do royalties upon coal-production differ from dues upon coal-distribution?

If it be conceded, too, that people are not justified in the receipt of vast revenue by the fact that they *may* do good with some of it—? Truly a parlous question for those who defend landlords and other monopolists on the score that some of them sometimes endow a hospital or build a school!

It has been "officially denied" that extraordinary precautions were ever contemplated for the safety of London from the Trafalgar Square demonstration; but even if the elaborate strategic disposition of horse, foot, and artillery so confidently predicted by the press during last week was the invention of some active penny-a-liner's brain, it is yet clear, from the ready acceptance the rumour found, that society to-day is fully conscious of the insecure basis upon which it rests.

The demonstration itself was a success—one that the press is hard put to it to explain away. One paper says that the enormous crowd was far too "respectable" to be unemployed; another that it was so disreputable that it showed who the true Socialists were. The *Daily Telegraph* assured its readers that contemptuous disregard of the demonstration was universally shown; while the *Morning Post* was equally certain that the West End was "the scene of panic and alarm."

Advice as to how the affair should be regarded was equally mixed. Most of the "influential organs" were all for ignoring the Socialists altogether; but the strong Tory journals clamoured for the total suppression of public meetings. Neither advice will be followed, we fear. Whichever were adopted would work to our advantage. The one would leave us to work on unchecked; the other would aid us in a thousand ways.

On no two points have any two papers been agreed, either as to the numbers, or character, or conduct, or meaning of the meeting,—and of such is public opinion!

A good "plan of campaign" has been issued to Irish tenants by *United Ireland*—good, that is, so far as the fight in Ireland is at present intended to go, the *reduction* of rent merely. One of the best suggestions made is that "the fullest publicity should be given to evictions, and every effort made to enlist public sympathy." If all ill-used workers would combine to make fully known to one another the evils that they suffer, an organised public opinion would soon be found powerful enough to shatter the stronghold of injustice. The present system is founded on fraud, but is buttressed by prejudice and sustained by ignorance.

At Rahan, near Tullamore, two women died a week or so ago of hunger. They had been evicted and their effects seized for rent. They had been hunted and harried, as thousands have been before and are now, by the greed of their landlord, reduced to destitution, and left to starve. Too proud to seek charity, unable to do some work and pre-

vented from other, they perished, victims of the unnatural system that obtains to-day.

"The fact that seventy families are threatened with eviction on the property of the Hon. Rowland Winn, in the county of Kerry, furnished excellent reason for the holding of another large popular gathering," says *United Ireland*. The fact that the whole of the working-class is liable to, and that a vast part of it is *constantly* threatened with, eviction, is good reason for agitating fiercely for the removal of all bars to a free access for each to all the means of life.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

"Dogs and Democrats." Such is the genial *Mr. Punch's* alliterative combination, in bearing that personage's testimony to Sir Charles Warren's muzzling powers. "Having settled the dogs and democrats"! Surely *Mr. Punch* must better know the meaning of the word "settled" than to imagine his usage of it warranted by the facts of the case. We have no wish simply to tilt a lance against a paper which has brought many a smile to our faces, but would remind those who brew the contents of *Mr. Punch's* bowl that though they may class with the dogs the so-called "democrats," we are pretty certain the latter are not even "muzzled," let alone "settled." A very grave error of taste was committed by the same paper in connection with the trial arising out of the February disturbances; and the letterpress accompanying its cartoon this week shows that it is again ready to enter one-sidedly into an issue of which it knows but little, and in all probability cares less. Three centuries ago a contemptuous phrase was thrust upon a body of men striving to free their country from a foreign oppressor. But "les Gueux" became famous, and will keep their place in heroic history. To-day a chief-commissioner, who with an army of police and military has kept a mob from doing what it never intended to do, is complimented upon settling the "dogs and democrats." Without expressing any concurrence in the tactics of the "democrats" in question, we cannot but claim a share in the appreciation of the compliment of the leading comic paper. We thank thee, O *Punch*, for the words! They may be heard of again; who can tell?

J. T.

## THE "OPENING" OF HIGHGATE WOODS.

It is but seldom that the neighbourhood of Highgate is visited by royal or municipal dignitaries; and, indeed, there is no great demand for them, owing to the local market having been considerably over-supplied in past times with the idle rich. These people have until lately looked down from their almost inaccessible heights in undisturbed serenity; but the introduction of a steep-grade tramway up Highgate Hill has brought large numbers of townspeople to this quiet region on Sundays and holidays, where at the summit they can survey the great smoky metropolis below—and a truly saddening sight it is. But Highgate Woods have long been famous with the poorer classes in the North of London for their comparatively wild and uncivilised beauty, and it would undoubtedly have been a shame and an injustice had this spot been destroyed. It may, however, be doubted whether the energy with which certain residents opposed the intention of a large building company to cover the grounds with bricks and mortar was purely philanthropic. At all events, a vast outcry was raised in one way and another, and it was determined by some public-spirited individuals to buy out the speculating builders who were on the eve of quietly completing the purchase of a large portion of the Woods which were in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. With regard to this body, it may be said that they were established, at least in theory, for the benefit of the people, and endowed with public lands for religious purposes; yet they do not consider the preservation of fresh air and green woods a religious act at all, but stickle as resolutely as Shylock for their ecclesiastical pound of flesh. A large quantity of this latter was, however, generously supplied by the over-gorged Corporation of London; and who can doubt that when their day of reckoning arrives they will be able to point to this as an instance of their disinterested care for the public welfare?

But the Corporation of London must have something for its money; and it was soon found necessary that the Woods should be formally opened by the retiring Lord Mayor. Whether anybody imagined that the buds would open any quicker next spring because of this civic consecration, I cannot say; but I observed one evening the usually

uninteresting Archway Road resplendent with flag-staves bound round with a profusion of red bunting, preparatory to the Lord Mayor's visit on the morrow. True, the same amount of equally inexpensive material might have sheltered hundreds of poor children from the cold; but this is nothing compared with the necessity of agreeably welcoming the City magnate.

As I have the good fortune to live on the borders of these woods, I had a good opportunity of watching the crowds who assembled from the other side of the fence, thereby incurring the sarcasm of a youthful proletarian who ridiculed, in passing, the idea of paying to take a back seat. It was a damp and miserable day, and an appropriately miserable ceremony. Crowds of people lined the sides of the road and thronged the wood; a number of red-coats with a band, and a further detachment of volunteers, marched past; then a number of firemen, but whether a conflagration was expected or no, did not appear. Probably it was thought necessary to have something sensational to arouse enthusiasm, though, as usual on such occasions, absurdity only was attained. What the Lord Mayor, who arrived in his familiar blue-and-silver carriage, did inside the wood, I have no idea; but I gathered from the remarks of passers-by that the whole ceremony passed off satisfactorily, for which we should be very thankful, not knowing what might have happened had it been otherwise.

At all events, there the woods still are, as before; only now they are surrounded by a hideous white wooden fence guarded with gates and padlocks, and broad paths now to intersect them (covered with the contents of dust-bins, so it is rumoured). At a hastily-convened meeting of local ratepayers (since declared illegal) it was resolved to buy a further portion of the woods for £25,000. Doubtless the woods are a great boon to the public (on Sundays), but the spectacle of people pompously and elaborately giving away what never belonged to them is worth looking at.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

## A DREAM OF JOHN BALL.

(Continued from p. 267.)

So now I heard John Ball; how he lifted up his voice and said:

"Ho, all ye good people! I am a priest of God, and in my day's work it cometh that I should tell you what ye should do, and what ye should forbear doing, and to that end I am come hither; yet first if I myself have wronged any man here, let him say wherein my wrongdoing lieth, that I may ask his pardon and his pity."

A great hum of good-will ran through the crowd as he spoke; then he smiled as in a kind of pride, and again he spoke: "Wherefore did ye take me out of the archbishop's prison but three days ago, when ye lighted the archbishop's house for the candle of Canterbury, but that I might speak to you and pray you: therefore I will not keep silence whether I have done ill or whether I have done well. And herein, good fellows and my very brethren, I would have you to follow me; and if there be such here, as I know full well there be some, and may be a good many, who have been robbers of their neighbours (and who is my neighbour? quoth the rich man), or lechers, or despiteful haters, or talebearers, or fawners on rich men for the hurt of the poor (and that is the worst of all)—Ah, my poor brethren who have gone astray, I say not to you, go home and repent lest you mar our great deeds, but rather come afield and there repent. Many a day have ye been fools, but hearken unto me and I shall make you wise above the wisdom of the earth: and if ye die in your wisdom, as God wot ye well may, since the fields ye wend to bear swords for daisies and spears for bents, then shall ye be, though men call you dead, a part and parcel of the living wisdom of all things, very stones of the pillars that uphold the joyful earth.

"Forsooth, ye have heard it said that ye shall do well in this world that in the world to come ye may live happily for ever: do ye well then, and have your reward both on earth and in heaven; for I say to you that earth and heaven are not two, but one; and this one is that which ye know, and are each one of you a part of, to wit, the Holy Church, and in each one of you dwelleth the life of the church, unless ye slay it. Forsooth, brethren, will ye murder the church any one of you, and go forth a wandering man and lonely even as Cain did who slew his brother? Ah, my brothers, what an evil doom is this to be an outcast from the church, to have none to love you and to speak with you, to be without fellowship! Forsooth, brothers, fellowship is heaven, and lack of fellowship is hell: fellowship is life, and lack of fellowship is death: and the deeds that ye do upon the earth, it is for fellowship's sake that ye do them, and the life that is in it, that shall live on and on for ever and each one of you part of it, while many a man's life upon the earth from the earth shall wane. Therefore, I bid you dwell not in hell but in heaven, or while ye must, upon earth, which is a part of heaven, and forsooth no foul part. Forsooth, he that waketh in hell and feeleth his heart fail him, shall have memory of the merry days of earth, and how that when his heart failed him there he cried on his fellow, were it his wife or his son or his brother or his gossip or his brother sworn in arms, and how that his fellow heard him and came and they mourned together under the sun, till again they laughed together and were but half sorry between them: this shall he think on in hell and cry on his fellow to help him, and shall find that therein is no help because there is no fellowship, but every man for himself. Therefore, I tell you that the proud, despiteous rich man, though he knoweth it not, is in hell already, because he hath no fellow; and he that

hath so hardy a heart that in sorrow he thinketh of fellowship, his sorrow is soon but a story of sorrow—a little change in the life that knows not ill."

He left off for a little; and indeed for some time his voice had fallen, but it was so clear and the summer evening so soft and still, and the silence of the folk so complete, that every word told. His eyes fell down to the crowd as he stopped speaking, since for some little while they had been looking far away into the blue distance of summer; and the kind eyes of the man had a curious sight before him in that crowd, for amongst them were many who by this time were not dry-eyed, and some wept outright in spite of their black beards, while all had that look as though they were ashamed of themselves and did not want others to see how deeply they were moved, after the fashion of their race when they are strongly stirred. I looked at Will Green beside me; his right hand clutched his bow so tight, that the knuckles whitened; he was staring straight before him, and the tears were running out of his eyes and down his big nose as though without his will, for his face was stolid and unmoved all the time, till he caught my eye, and then he screwed up the strangest face, of scowling brow, weeping eyes, and smiling mouth, while he dealt me a sounding thump in the ribs with his left elbow, which, though it would have knocked me down but for the crowd, I took as an esquire does the accolade which makes a knight of him.

But while I pondered all these things, and how men fight and lose the battle, and the thing that they fought for comes about in spite of their defeat, and when it comes turns out not to be what they meant, and other men have to fight for what they meant under another name—while I pondered all this, John Ball began to speak again in the same soft and clear voice with which he had left off.

"Good fellows, it was your fellowship and your kindness that took me out of the archbishop's prison three days ago, though God wot ye had nought to gain by it save outlawry and the gallows; yet lacked I not your fellowship before ye drew near me in the body, and when between me and Canterbury street was yet a stone wall, and the turnkeys and sergeants and bailiffs. For hearken, my friends and helpers; many days ago, while April was yet young, I lay there, and the heart that I had strung up to bear all things because of the fellowship of men and the blessed saints and the angels and those that are and those that are to be, this heart that I had strung up like a strong bow, fell into feebleness, so that I lay there a-longing for the green fields and the white-thorn bushes and the lark singing over the corn, and the talk of good fellows round the ale-house bench, and the babble of the little children, and the team on the road and the beasts afield, and all the life of earth; and I alone all the while, near my foes and afar from my friends, mocked and flouted and starved with cold and hunger; and so weak was my heart that though I longed for all these things, yet I saw them not nor knew them but as names; and I longed so sore to be gone that I chided myself that I had once done well; and I said to myself: 'Forsooth, hadst thou kept thy tongue between thy teeth thou mightest have been something, if it had been but a parson of a town, and comfortable to many a poor man; and then mightest thou have clad here and there the naked back, and filled the empty belly, and holpen many, and men would have spoken well of thee, and of thyself thou hadst thought well; and all this hast thou lost for lack of a word here and there to some great man, and a little winking of the eyes amidst murder and wrong and un-ruth; and now thou art nought and helpless, and the hemp for thee is sown and grown and heckled and spun, and lo, there the rope for thy gallows-tree!—all for nought, for nought.' Forsooth, my friends, thus I thought and sorrowed in my feebleness that I had not been a traitor to the fellowship of the church, for e'en so evil was my foolish imagination. Yet, forsooth, as I fell a-pondering over all the comfort and help that I might have been and that I might have had if I been but a little of a trembling cur to creep and crawl before abbot and bishop and baron and bailiff, came the thought over me of the evil of the world wherewith I, John Ball, the rascal hedge-priest, had fought and striven in the fellowship of the saints in heaven and poor men upon earth. Yea, forsooth, once again I saw as of old, the great treading down the little, and the strong beating down the weak, and cruel men fearing not, and kind men daring not, and wise men caring not; and the saints in heaven forbearing and yet bidding me not to forbear; forsooth, I knew once more that he who doeth well in fellowship, and because of fellowship, shall not fail though he seem to fail to-day, but in days hereafter shall he and his work yet be alive and men be holpen by them to strive again and yet again; and yet indeed even that was little, since, forsooth, to strive was my pleasure and my life. So I became a man once more, and I rose up to my feet and went up and down my prison what I could for my hopples, and into my mouth came words of good cheer even such as we to-day have sung, and stoutly I sang them, even as we now have sung them; and then did I rest me, and once more thought of those pleasant fields where I would be, and all the life of man and beast about them, and I said to myself that I should see them once more before I died, if but once it were. Forsooth, this was strange, that whereas before I longed for them and yet saw them not, now that my longing was slaked my vision was cleared, and I saw them as though the prison walls opened to me and I was out of Canterbury street and amidst the green meadows of April, and therewithal along with me folk that I have known and who are dead, and folk that are living; yea, and all those of the fellowship on earth and in heaven; yea, and all that are here this day. Over long were the tale to tell of them and of the time that is gone. So thenceforward I wore through the days with no such faint heart, until one day the prison opened verily and in the daylight, and there

were ye, my fellows, in the door—your faces glad, your hearts light with hope, and your hands heavy with wrath; and then I saw and understood what was to do. Now, therefore, do ye understand it!"

His voice was changed, and grew louder than loud now as he cast his hands abroad towards that company with those last words of his; and I could feel that all shame and fear was falling from those men, and that mere fiery manhood was shining through their wonted English shamefaced stubbornness, and that they were moved indeed and saw the road before them. Yet no man spoke, rather the silence of the menfolk deepened, as the sun's rays grew more level and more golden and the swifts wheeled about shriller and louder than before.

Then again John Ball spoke and said: "In good sooth, I deem ye wot no worse than I do what is to do, and first that somewhat we shall do, since it is for him that is lonely or in prison to dream of fellowship, but for him that is of a fellowship to do and not to dream; and next, ye know who is the foeman, and that is the proud man, the oppressor, who scorneth fellowship, and himself is a world to himself and needeth no helper nor helpeth any, but, heeding no law, layeth law on other men because he is rich; and surely every one that is rich is such an one, nor may be other. Forsooth, in the belly of every rich man dwelleth a devil of hell, and when the man would give his goods to the poor, the devil within him gainsayeth it, and saith, 'Wilt thou then be of the poor, and suffer cold and hunger and mocking as they suffer, then give thou thy goods to them and keep them not.' And when he would be compassionate, again saith the devil to him, 'If thou heed these losels and turn on them a face like to their faces and deem of them as men, then shall they scorn thee, and evil shall come of it, and even one day they shall fall on thee to slay thee when they have learned that thou art but as them.'

Ah, woe worth the while! too oft he sayeth, sooth, as the wont of the devil is, that lies may be born of the barren truth; and sooth it is that the poor deemeth the rich to be other than he, and meet to be his master, as though, forsooth, the poor were come of Adam and the rich of him that made Adam, that is God; and thus the poor man oppresseth the poor man, because he feareth the oppressor. Nought such are ye, my brethren; or else why are ye gathered here in harness to bid all bear witness of you that ye are the sons of one man and one mother, begotten of the earth?"

As he said the words there came a stir among the weapons of the throng, and they pressed closer round the cross, yet witheld the shout as yet which seemed gathering in their bosoms.

And again he said: "Forsooth, too many rich men there are in this realm; and yet if there were but one, there would be one too many, for all should be his thralls. Harken, then, ye men of Kent. For over long belike have I held you with words; but the love of you constrained me, and the joy that a man hath to babble to his friends and his fellows whom he hath not seen for a long season. Now, harken, I bid you: To the rich men that eat up a realm there cometh a time when they whom they eat up, that is the poor, seem poorer than of wont, and their complaint goeth up louder to the heavens; yet it is no riddle to say that oft at such times the fellowship of the poor is waxing stronger, else would no man have heard his cry. Also at such times is the rich man become fearful, and so waxeth in cruelty, and of that cruelty do people misdeem that it is power and might waxing. Forsooth, ye are stronger than your fathers, because ye are more grieved than they, and ye should have been less grieved than they had ye been horses and swine; and then, forsooth, would ye have been stronger to bear; but ye, ye are not strong to bear, but to do. And wot ye why we are come to you this fair eve of holyday? and wot ye why I have been telling of fellowship to you? Yea, forsooth, I deem ye wot well, that it is for this cause, that ye might bethink you of your fellowship with the men of Essex."

His last word let loose the shout that had been long on all men's lips, and great and fierce it was as it rang shattering through the quiet upland village. But John Ball held up his hand, and the shout was one and no more.

Then he spoke again: "Men of Kent, I wot well that ye are not so hard bested as those of other shires, by the token of the day when behind the screen of leafy boughs ye met Duke William with bill and bow as he wended Londonward from that woeful field of Senlac; but I have told of fellowship, and ye have hearkened and understood what the Holy Church is, whereby ye know that ye are fellows of the saints in heaven and the poor men of Essex; and as one day the saints shall call you to the heavenly feast, so now do the poor men call you to the battle. Men of Kent, ye dwell fairly here, and your houses are framed of stout oak beams, and your own lands ye till; unless some accursed lawyer with his false lying sheep skin and forged custom of the Devil's Manor hath stolen it from you; but in Essex slaves they be and villeins, and worse they shall be, and the lords swear that ere a year be over ox and horse shall go free in Essex, and man and woman shall draw the team and the plough; and north away in the east countries dwell men in poor halls of wattled reeds and mud, and the north-east wind from off the fen whistles through them; and poor they be to the letter; and there him whom the lord spareth, the bailiff squeezeth, and him whom the bailiff forgetteth the Easterling Chapman sheareth; yet be these stout men and valiant, and your very brethren. And yet if there be any man here so base as to think that a small matter, let him look to it that if these necks abide under the yoke, Kent shall sweat for it ere it be long; and ye shall lose acre and close and woodland, and be servants in your own houses, and your sons shall be the lord's lads, and your daughters their lemans, and ye shall buy a bold word with many stripes, and an honest deed with a leap from the gallows tree. Bethink ye, too, that ye have no longer to deal with Duke

William, who, if he were a thief and a cruel lord, was yet a prudent man and a wise warrior; but cruel are these, and headstrong, yea, thieves and fools in one—and ye shall lay their heads in the dust."

A shout would have arisen again, but his eager voice rising higher yet, restrained it as he said: "And how shall it be then when these are gone? What else shall ye lack when ye lack masters? Ye shall not lack for the fields ye have tilled, or the houses ye have built, or the cloth ye have woven; all these shall be yours, and whatso ye will of all that the earth beareth; then shall no man mow the deep grass for another while his own kine lack cow-meat; and he that soweth shall reap, and the reaper shall eat in fellowship the harvest that in fellowship he hath won; and he that buildeth a house shall dwell in it with those that he biddeth of his free will; and the tithe barn shall garner the wheat for all men to eat of when the seasons are untoward and the rain-drift hideth the sheaves in August, and all shall be without money and without price. Faithfully and merrily then shall all men keep the holidays of the Church in peace of body and joy of heart. And man shall help man and the saints in heaven shall be glad, because men no more fear each other; and the churl shall be ashamed, and shall hide his churlishness till it be gone and he be no more a churl; and fellowship shall be established in heaven and on the earth."

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

## THE IMPRACTICABILITY OF THE PRESS.

SOCIALISTS are frequently encountered with the assertion that their schemes are impracticable. The class of people who make this assertion foolishly suppose that they have a monopoly of practicability and there is none left for Socialists, perhaps it would be instructive to see how much of that quality they really possess. The opinions of this kind of folk are formed, and consequently represented by the daily press, and I will turn to a daily paper to see what it can suggest to cope with the difficulties of our social system.

The *Daily News* of November 3, gives a graphic description of a common lodging-house in Lock's Fields, and the writer depicts in a forcible manner the brutality, wretchedness, and misery of the people who are reduced so low as to have to resort to such lodgings. The writer of the article betook himself to this lodging-house and paid for the best accommodation provided, and lay down in the corner of a large room, on the floor of which "men, women, and children" were passing the night amid the most filthy surroundings, to take notes. He does not appear to have stayed there long; he shortly had to beat a retreat, for a fight took place, and he deemed discretion the better part of valour and fled. In his flight he stumbled into another room where there was no light. However, the moon favoured him, and threw a light into this abode of vice and misery. On the floor of this room he saw "boys and girls from 6 to 16" . . . with "misery, want, and absolute starvation imprinted on nearly all the wizened faces," taking the rest nature demands.

It is not the business of a descriptive writer on a newspaper staff to suggest remedies for the evils he depicts. He only details what he sees, interspersed occasionally by an exclamation of disgust or otherwise as befits the case. The writer of the article referred to adheres very closely to description, but he asks, "Can such a sight be possible in the year of our Lord, 1886?"

The *Daily News*, in addition to this descriptive article, devotes a leader to it, and to the leader I naturally turn to see what practicable remedies may be suggested for such a barbarous state of things; but there is no suggestion of any kind. It gives vent to a burst or two of disgust, and refers to "good old Hogarth's time, then it was Gin Court, now it is Lock's Fields." "That is about all the difference," and goes on. "This note of everlastingness in it is the truly soothing thought." The language has yet to be invented in which I could express my contempt for the man that could pen such a sentence. Perhaps the exigencies of maintaining a large and increasing circulation demands such an expression.

The closing sentence of the leader is as follows: "One day, perhaps, the true deliverer will come, some man who will know how to make us truly feel for one another, and grow sick and ashamed of most of the vanities of art, science, and literature, as well as of the luxury that at present fills our profitless lives." So much for the practicability of the *Daily News*. Here is an influential paper dealing with a hideous social sore, and can suggest no remedy, but waits hoping for a man to turn up who will "make us truly feel for one another." It is a disgrace to the nineteenth century to find in a paper such a farrago of absurdity.

People who are waiting for a man to turn up and put things right will wait in vain, it is too great a task for one man even if he were as strong as Hercules and as rich as Croesus. One man cannot do it; the present system must be altered if civilisation is not to remain a mockery. What will alter it? The only satisfactory answer is Socialism.

J. TOOR.

A clergyman of the Established Church, the Vicar of Eastbourne, is much upset by the lack of piety on the part of his wealthy and respectable congregation. He upbraids them bitterly for the smallness of their contributions. Richly dressed ladies, whose arms are covered with bracelets and bangles, put buttons and bright farthings in the Church plate. This only shows how much the piety of the middle-classes is worth. They improve upon Judas, and would dispose of their Saviour at even a cheaper rate if they could get the chance. If it were not "the proper thing" to go to church very few of them would be found there.





"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 24.

ENGLAND	Cleveland (O.)—Carpenter	SWITZERLAND
Justice	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Norwich—Daylight	men's Advocate	Geneva—Bulletin Continental
Club and Institute Journal	Paterson (N.J.)—Labor Standard	ITALY
Freedom	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Freethinker	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	SPAIN
INDIA	Salem (Oreg.)—Advance-Thought	Madrid—El Socialista
Calcutta Statesman	Portland (Oreg.)—Avant-Courier	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Madras—People's Friend	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volsblatt	Barcelona—El Grito del Pueblo
Allahabad—People's Budget	Princeton (Mass.)—Word	El Angel del Hogar
Bombay—Times of India	Detroit (Mich.)—Labor Leaf	La Justicia Humana
Bombay Gazette	Newfoundland (Pa.)—La Torpille	PORTUGAL
Indian Spectator	FRANCE	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Voice of India	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Voz do Operario
CANADA	Le Socialiste	Villafranca de Xira—O Campino
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Le Revolte	AUSTRIA
Montreal—L'Union Ouvriere	La Revue Socialiste	Brunn—Volksfreund
UNITED STATES	Guise—Le Devoir	HUNGARY
New York—Volkszeitung	Lille—Le Travailleur	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Freiheit	HOLLAND	ROUMANIA
Truthseeker	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Bucharest—Pruncul Roman
Der Sozialist	BELGIUM	Jassy—Lupta
John Swinton's Paper	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair	Revista Sociala
Boston—Woman's Journal	En Avant	DENMARK
Denver (Col.)—Labor Inquirer	Liege—L'Avenir	Social-Demokraten
Cincinnati (O.)—Unionist	Antwerp—De Werker	
Toledo (O.)—Industrial News		

## SPIRITUAL CONSOLATION AND MATERIAL SATISFACTION.

To compensate the worker for the wrongs and hardships he has undergone during life, the generosity of society has decreed that he shall, ere departing for that "undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns," receive spiritual consolation. Though the satisfaction of his material needs have been lacking in this world below, in that above, there being no wants to satisfy, no thought of food, clothing or anything essential to his well-being here will occupy his mind. For his sake let us hope that this is true. But that he may participate of the joys "in the realm beyond the skies," it is necessary for him to prepare himself, or be prepared, that he may fitly dwell therein. This preparatory process is usually accomplished by a particular order of men, and while men are as they are, this dark order will have busy work to do.

Why so much time should be devoted to the consideration of the affairs of the next world, the theologians just alluded to can perhaps best explain. But whatever explanation may be given, it is here maintained that every description of next-worldism should, where it detrimentally affects the welfare of the worker in this life, be most determinedly warred against. Man's material needs, and their satisfaction, are his prime consideration. But despite the truth of this statement, supernaturalists have to much too great an extent distracted his attention from it. Puzzled with the subtle mystery of nature, in his perplexity man has lent ready ear to the crafty sophistry of delusionists. It is not alleged that there is not much in religion that is good and beautiful, but that mud hovels, rotten potatoes, and a promise of better things to come, fail and ought to fail to satisfy the mind and body of man. The self-righteous but most worldly-minded religionist argues in the most interesting manner that it has been so ordained, and is therefore right and moral. It is with this plea, that social inequality is divinely ordained, the privileged class and their hirelings have glossed over their lying thievery. This divine (?) sanctification-of-robbery move on the part of Privilege has completely outwitted the worker.

Hear some poor religious starveling vigorously defending the rights

of monopoly, i.e., the rights of wrong, and talk of his having got "the bread of life"—not the material article, the real and tangible, but the unseen and spiritual. Thus says Privilege to the worker, "You must eat the spiritual bread of life, and I will eat the material." There is nothing, all things considered, extraordinary in Privilege thus attempting to gull the worker; the extraordinary thing is his being gulled and extolling the guller. The guller is a rascal, or something worse perhaps, but what is the gulled? His gullibility says little for his intelligence, much for his ignorance.

That a small section of society, and that non-producing, should exercise such great power over that section which comprises the majority as to compel it to toil almost from the cradle to the grave that it may satisfy the inordinate appetites of the indolent few, and gain for itself but a bare subsistence, is astounding, and can only be accounted for by its slumbering ignorance. But from that sleep there are signs of awakening to-day, and they are to be seen in the interest the worker is beginning to take in his own welfare. As yet, he is timid and mistrustful of his strength, and this is only natural after the generations of mental darkness which have enshrouded him. At last it is dawning upon him that he can never have full and free possession of his natural rights so long as Privilege is permitted to exist, and that its death means his salvation. Privileged indolence can only exist in a society of cowards and slaves, and society will remain as it is just so long as they exist and no longer.

The secret of the success of the privileged class is and has been its concentrated attention to the affairs of this life. It finds its spiritual consolation in the grog-glass, and in the savoury products of the kitchen its material satisfaction. It eats, drinks, and is merry at the worker's expense. Go, ye workers, and do likewise. Cease your slavery to the few; work for yourselves; look to things of this life, the one certainty; satisfy your material needs first, and if you have any spiritual ones, other than liquory, satisfy them afterwards. But don't let words take the place of bread. Be men, and raise yourselves from out of the ignoble position into which you have fallen. Freedom, not slavery, is alone consistent with the rightful dignity of man, and freedom will only be possible when the present system of social inequality has given place to that of equality, wherein privilege, poverty and priestcraft have no existence.

H. A. BARKER.

## THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

AMONGST the articles in the *Pall Mall Gazette* occur some that express sad trouble about the ten commandments. These are always of a peculiar character, so that it is safe to assume that they are written by one person; and that person's function seems to be to repress the excesses of those contributors to the journal who are Socialistic in tendency. It is not the business of the *Commonweal* to criticise literature, so we may leave the style of the above-said contributor alone; but his anxiety as to the fate of the ten commandments in a future state of society, which is shared, doubtless, by many well-to-do people, is a little curious, considering the life they live in the present one; and therefore we may be allowed to ask which of the ten commandments it is he is so anxious about, since it may be assumed that it is not one or more of the theological ones. Should we be hazarding too much if we were to guess that it is the sixth, which is likely to be not much heeded when Imperial Federation is well on foot, and the lives of various niggers stand in the way of its success? Or, indeed, is it ever heeded, seeing how short the life of the workers is, compared with that of the idlers, and considering how manufacturers have to be compelled by fear of fire rather than by fear of ignominy, to take the most ordinary precautions against the accidental death of their men? Or is it the tenth? It is true that coveting a man's goods is only a small part of the process of taking them away from him; and it is so inbred in us under our "Society" of Artificial Famine, that we don't heed that our bourgeois morality is specially constructed to justify us, or a few of us, in keeping our neighbours poorer than they should be in order that we may grow rich through their poverty. Still the commandment is an important one, and worth anxiety. But commercial morality, that of to-day, is an organised system of coveting our neighbour's goods; therefore the writer in question may let his anxiety go by the board on that score, since the commandment is already broken as much as it can be. Nor, surely, need anxiety for the future of the eighth keep him awake at nights; 'tis quite done with now, since not only are many poor devils compelled to steal for a livelihood (and I doubt if the Jewish lawgiver had that in his mind), but that which compels them to do so is the unceasing robbery of the poor by the rich, which is so habitual that it has not only become legal, but is the very bond of our Authoritative sham-Society, the basis of "law and order." It may be said that this is the commonplace of Socialism, and so it is; but if the writer in the *Pall Mall* can give any other explanation of the miseries of our society of rich and poor let him do so, and not shelter himself behind a superstitious regard for an ancient rule of life, which he and his have long ago ceased to practice, but the words of which they use to evade the problems of civilisation, by throwing them in the faces of people even more ignorant than themselves—people who suffer from the misfortune of superstition rather than the crime of cant. To these, who are unhappily ignorant, we Socialists say that in the true society which we are striving to realise, honesty and mutual respect will become so habitual that the very meaning of these commandments will have grown dim to us.

W. M.

THE LONDON CITY COMPANIES.

THAT the London Companies should now exist and possess the vast power they exercise, is one of those strange anomalies which many thinking people cannot understand. Originating in the dark ages, we see them to-day in all the barbaric splendour of their saturnalia. Coming through the long centuries from the ages of Faith, they base their claim to power and influence on their riches and antiquity. In an age in which it is claimed that the institutions of society shall rest on the principle of Right, of equal liberty to each and all in all the relations of life and through all the ramifications of society, the companies claim the supremacy of privileges acquired during the middle ages.

When did these companies originate? The Fishmongers' dates from 1154; the Goldsmiths', 1180; the Merchant Taylors', 1267; the Mercers', 1317; the Grocers', 1345, the Drapers', 1364; the Haberdashers', 1372; and so it goes on. The Skinners' Company have no documentary evidence as to the date of their origin. Originally, and before they obtained their chartered privileges, they were simply bodies of men banded together for mutual protection and support. The actual origin of most of them is really unknown, the dates given above being only the earliest dates found in their records—as, for instance, the records of the Grocers' Company begins, "To the honour of God, the Virgin Mary, St. Anthony, and all saints, the 9th day of May, 1347, a fraternity was founded of the Company of Pepperers, of Saper's Lane, for love and unity to maintain and keep themselves together, of which fraternity are sundry beginners, founders, and donors, to preserve the said fraternity." Considering the conditions on which society existed in those ages—the supremacy of brute force—these fraternities were absolutely necessary for the mutual aid and security of the members and the protection and development of the rising industries. Nor was there anything wrong in those days for those fraternities to invoke the blessing of heaven, or to secure all the imaginary influence and protection that could be procured from imaginary saints. By the charter of 1428, the Grocers' Company was permitted to acquire lands in the city and suburbs of London, and to hold the same to the value of twenty marks per annum, "towards the support as well of the poor men and women of the said commonalty, as of a chaplain to perform divine service." In the charter of the Fishmongers' Company (1433) a like permission is given to hold lands in mortmain "for the sustentation of poor men and women of the said mystery and commonalty." Hallam describes them as "fraternities by voluntary compact to relieve each other in poverty and to protect each other in injury." He also states that two essential characteristics belonged to them—the common banquet and the common purse. The other companies acquired, by charter, the right to obtain and to hold land for similar purposes, and the Goldsmiths' Company had the right to receive donations for the purchase of estates. Such were the origin, the aims and objects, of these guilds or trade corporations.

But however necessary, however useful, however excellent they might be during the middle ages, they are to-day altogether out of harmony with the spirit of the age, and are antagonistic to the present conditions of society. During the middle ages, those corporations, while essential, were grand, though simple, in their organisation. Their aims and objects were lofty, and shone with splendour amid the barbarism which then prevailed; but to-day they are but a relic of that barbarism. They belong to the past. The ages have marched onward and left them far in the rear. Riches, luxury, and corruption have done their work within their ranks. The companies to-day are a disgrace to the community, and an insult to the intelligence of the people.

The wealth of the companies is enormous. In 1880 their annual income was stated at little less than £800,000, and the capital value of their property at nearly £20,000,000. There is no longer "the common banquet and the common purse." From these the commonalty is now excluded. It is no longer the craftsman, but the rich idler, for whom that enormous wealth now exists. It is no longer the poorer brethren, but the city merchant—the millionaire, the banker—these, the gods of our modern civilisation, for whom are the richest dainties and the choicest wines.

Is there no misappropriation of funds—of the riches of these companies? Take the income of the twelve principal companies for 1879-80:—

	Income, 1879-80.	Corporate.	Trust.
Mercers' ... ..	£82,758	£47,341	£35,417
Drapers' ... ..	78,654	50,141	28,513
Goldsmiths' ... ..	54,297	43,505	10,792
Fishmongers' ... ..	50,713	46,913	3,800
Clothworkers' ... ..	50,458	40,458	10,000
Merchant Taylors' ... ..	43,311	31,243	12,068
Grocers' ... ..	38,236	37,736	500
Haberdashers' ... ..	29,032	9,032	20,000
Skinners' ... ..	28,927	18,977	9,950
Ironmongers' ... ..	21,647	9,625	12,822
Salters' ... ..	21,040	18,892	2,148
Vintners' ... ..	10,887	9,365	1,522
	£510,760	£363,228	£147,532

Here we have twelve companies only, with an income of over half-a-million per annum. How many working families would it support? At £1 per week, it would support 10,215 families. Where is English Christianity? Taking the total income at only £750,000, it would

give to each of 15,000 families £1 per week. Fifteen thousand families means seventy-five thousand men, women and children.

If we look at the enormous increase in the value of City property, it is something astounding. Yet in the City there is a war of extermination against the working classes. In the Artisans' Dwelling Act, 1875, the City of London was specially exempt from its operation. There, as in Ireland, workmen's dwellings can be swept away by thousands, and the people driven without mercy outside the City. Taking the census returns for 1851 and 1881, we find at the former period the number of inhabited houses was 14,580, at the latter period only 6493; at the former date the population was 127,869, and in 1881 only 50,526. Here in thirty years you have a decrease of 8087 inhabited houses and 77,343 inhabitants.

But not only do the companies hold immense riches in England, but several of them hold large estates in Ireland.

That god-like creature, James the First of England, had a right royal repugnance to the payment of royal debts. Owing sums of money to several of the companies, and not being disposed to pay them, he determined to settle their accounts with the plunder of the Irish people. James had at court a young favourite of the name of Tristram Beresford, and James sent him over to Ireland to select lands for the companies in payment of his royal debts. Young Beresford was also to take lands in payment of his own services. James thus settled accounts with the following companies:—

The Worshipful Company of Drapers	...	...	27,140 acres.
" " Mercers	...	...	21,170 "
" " Fishmongers	...	...	20,451 "
" " Salters	...	...	19,291 "
" " Ironmongers	...	...	12,713 "
" " Grocers	...	...	11,678 "
" " Clothiers	...	...	10,267 "
" " Skinners	...	...	5,062 "

Here was royal plunder on a grand scale for the benefit of the London City companies; here was confiscation with a vengeance, for the payment of royal debts; here is an example—a royal precedent—for the toiling millions to think about. And the companies hold that plunder to-day with a rent-roll of from £70,000 to £80,000 per annum.

I have stated that Mr. T. Beresford was to receive lands as payment for his services. He did so, and the following lands are held by the Beresford family:—

The Marquis of Waterford, head of the Beresford family, holds in Waterford County, 40,050 acres; in Londonderry, 36,019 acres; in Wicklow, 26,324 acres, with lands in four other counties, making a total of 109,179 acres; other members of the family, 97,312 acres, making a total of 206,491 acres, and a yearly rental of £120,000.

Here, too, was plunder on a grand scale—plunder by royal command.

It is well the people should know these things; it is well that the people remember them.

To return to the City companies: In 1694 they obtained power to levy a duty of 1s. 1d. per ton on all coal coming within fifteen miles of St. Paul's; and it is calculated that the coal and wine dues amount to not less than £488,000 a year, and all for the benefit of the City companies. Then there is the monopoly of the markets (Smithfield and Billingsgate) kept up entirely for their advantage. We are told that they never spend less than £100,000 a year on eating and drinking—out of an income of from £750,000 to 800,000 per annum. What are the champions of Temperance and Vegetarianism doing? Here is a splendid field for their labours. Taking the expenditure of the Corporation, £2,300,000, we are told that at least fifty per cent. might be saved. The following items are taken from a well-known London weekly of November 6, with regard to a grand dinner given in honour of the return of the Prince of Wales from India:—The total cost is stated at £27,576; cost of refreshments, £5,098; wine, £1,731; upholstery, £4,534; menu cards and ball tickets, £903; badges for the committee, £300; perfumery and hair brushes, £145. Is it not time all this ceased? Is it not time this monstrous extravagance was stopped? Here is waste that would feed thousands—funds, and belonging to the people, that would make tens of thousands happy. Why should it continue, this plunder of the community for the benefit—the aggrandisement of the few?

All wealth is the result of labour combined with the natural elements. All wealth is therefore the result of labour, past and present. To the wealth-producers, then, the wealth of the country belongs. It is theirs by right; it is theirs by the principle of eternal justice. In the hands of the non-producing classes it is plunder. It will be property only when restored to its rightful owners. The property of the country belongs to the people of the country; not to one generation, but to every generation alike. If the people suffer it to remain in the hands of the idlers, the fault is theirs. Their duty to-day is, to educate, to agitate, and to organise; to prepare for the coming struggle between truth and error, purity and corruption, justice and oppression; to prepare for the combat, the final war against triumphant Wrong.

J. SKETCHLEY.

The *Tribune* thinks it absurd to have a party in the interest of Labour. But is it not more absurd to have two parties in the interest of monopolising capital?—*John Swinton's Paper*.

LOUISE MICHEL.—The sponge has been, so to speak, passed over the assize and police sentences on Louise Michel. Every one, except naturally the law officers who prosecuted and summed-up against her, and the judge who sentenced her to a heavy penalty, thinks this act of oblivion on the part of the Minister of Justice, under the circumstances, an act of good sense.—*Daily News*.

## "BRING OUT YOUR DEAD!"

"The relapsing or famine fever has shown itself in London."—*Daily News*.

"BRING out your dead!" the Plague's drear cry  
Though empty street and silent way,  
Stilled London heard of old go by;  
That cry is in her streets to-day;  
But death smote poor and rich of old;  
Men died not then from want of bread;  
Not till our times of sunless gold  
Starvation cried, "Bring out your dead!"

How hell must grin that here men sink  
And die like dogs—no—not like dogs;  
Our hounds we feed; our dogs we think  
As well worth food as hares and hogs;  
We worship Christ; we mouth his prayer;  
Five hundred millions, so 'tis said,  
We save each year; well, heaven may stare  
That here want cries, "Bring out your dead!"

Oh, something, trust me, is amiss  
Where wealth grows richer, want more poor;  
Statesmen, you'd better look to this  
Or trouble comes, ere long, be sure.  
The union or the grave? We choose  
Neither. We ask for work and bread;  
Woe to the land that dare refuse  
To stop that cry, "Bring out your dead!"

W. C. BENNETT.

## REVOLUTIONARY RUMBLINGS.

### BRITAIN.

The news from Ireland is very cheering. The lying reports that are circulated by the London *Times* regarding the collapse of the National League are intended simply to mislead the English public. The writer knows, and the Government knows, that the League is as powerful as ever, and that the landgrabbers will have to disgorge this winter a very large proportion of their rents, else they will get no rent at all. The "Plan of Campaign" issued by *United Ireland* has been adopted on several estates. It would be a good thing for the English if they took advantage of the principle of solidarity like the Irish. The way that landlords that have made themselves obnoxious, and rascally bailiffmen, are boycotted is extremely refreshing. We are inclined to wonder how long the Liberal party will stick to the Home Rulers. This land question will be the rock on which the coalition will split. Liberal landlords, much as some of them would do for Mr. Gladstone, will be unable long to remain in the company of men like Davitt and O'Brien, who abhor landlords and their ill-gotten gains.

### AMERICA.

FALL RIVER, Mass.—There is great rejoicing over the big majority for Robert Howard, our candidate for the State Senate, especially in the Spinners' Union, of which he was Secretary, and the Knights of Labor, of which he is Acting District Master Workman. Howard's majority was 2000 in the city and 1500 in the district.—*John Swinton's Paper*.

PAINTING CHICAGO RED.—The unexpectedly large Labour vote polled here has exasperated the plutocrats and the brass-buttoned czars. The fury of the Citizens' Association, State Attorney Grinnell, the bankers, packers, and Board of Trade would be comical were it not vicious. And the police—oh my! their masters have stepped on a red-hot iron, and they are doing the dancing. To be red in Chicago is death. A damsel dare not blush for fear of being arrested as a "red." A red-headed reporter on the *Tribune* had to dye his hair or lose his job. Barbers are warned by the police to paint the red off their poles. Bonfield has notified the United States Government that the red must be scratched out of its flaunting flag, "or me and Gary" will hang ye. A young woman named Miss —, going home from the paper-box factory, where she makes 60 cents per day, slipped on a banana-peel and fell, when one of Harrison's holy clubbers caught sight of something like red flannel under her skirt and immediately arrested her for an Anarchist. She has been indicted for murder in the first degree, and held without bail to the next term of Gary's Court. She's a gone duck. For any merchant to offer to sell red articles of any kind is high treason, to be shot on sight. All the high-toned babies are born blue in Chicago now. Lord Bulwer, when he saw a baby in England, said, "It is thus, then, that we are born into the world—red, red, very red, blushing for all the follies we are destined to commit." That may have been true then, but now no law-abiding baby, with the love of our Chicago institutions in its heart, would dare to be born red;—if it did, Carter Harrison's police would hang it to a lamp-post.—BERT STEWART in *John Swinton's Paper*.

### FRANCE.

PARIS.—At the Municipal Council on Wednesday last, a discussion came up on Longuet's report touching the resolution of Vaillant, that a sum of 4,000 francs should be sent for the relief of the families of the Vierzon strikers. Citizen Longuet spoke at length on the report, giving an account of the "Société," its origin and present condition, and concluded by putting the resolution to the meeting. Citizen Vaillant then reviewed the strike, its causes, and the aggressive attitude of the "Société" towards its workers, finally protesting against the arrest of Baudin, Feline, and Rossignol, throwing all the responsibility of these events on the too-celebrated "Société" to which the Government had acted as accomplice. After some discussion "the order of the day" was voted by 36 votes against 28, so the question of a modest sum being sent out to some families in distress was put aside. It is not much to be wondered at; the insubordinate toilers of the earth must take the consequences of their insubordination, and cannot expect to be helped out of their temporary difficulties with middle-class money.

CAUTION TO WORKERS.—A case came before the Council of *Prud'hommes* of a certain master who owed Dufour, a workman of his, a sum of 120 fr. for work done. For this sum he gave him a note of hand, which the man was imprudent enough to accept. The baker, however, to whom Dufour offered it in payment, refused it, the master not being solvent. The decision

of the *prud'hommes* is the surprise of the story; the judges decide that the workman is paid what is owing him, and dismiss his complaint. This is a perilously illogical proceeding on the part of M. M. les Judges. What, the baker, that man with a concrete mind, refuses to look upon a bit of paper (under the circumstances) as magically-convertible into useful goods, and yet the workman is informed that he must accept it as legal tender, though he may go displaying it before the distrustful eyes of Parisian tradesfolk for a month without a loaf for his stomach or coat for his back being forthcoming in exchange! Friend Dufour will, we hope, trudge home after his futile application to the Council a wiser man, and will brood a bit over his scrap of waste-paper.

ANGER.—The following is an extract from an article in the *Cri du Peuple*, one of an interesting series on "Shops and Manufactories": "Still another step to descend in the scale of low wages. Out-doing all the other mining companies in the iniquitous business of reducing the price of labour, the committee of the Angers slate quarries have established and maintain the mean of 40 sous for the working-day. They have even realised the ideal of large exploiters, housing in barrack or stable their human cattle and paying them in food. The directors have no need to go out of France to recruit; their 'crimps' go to Bretagne, and promising marvels to the naive Bretons carry them off to the quarries. There they live, packed together, talking their dialect, a Breton priest preaching and saying mass for them. 2,300 workers are employed, of which the 'slitters' are paid by the piece per thousand slates slit (which, by a curious piece of arithmetic, consist of 1500). They make from 3 to 4 sous an hour; the miners make from 20 to 23 centimes. They are paid once a month, the third Saturday after the month is past; thus, having done seven weeks' work, the men receive pay for the first four weeks. This dodge obliges them to have recourse to the shops in connection with the establishment, where they live on credit utterly at the mercy of the exploiters. We must not forget to mention a 'centime-fund' got up in aid of those past work, which is kept up by retaining from the wages a centime per franc; it is managed by the directors, and those maintaining it have no control in the matter. The misery and servitude of the mining population in the district is almost inconceivable."

PORQUEROLLES.—M. Navarre has recently submitted to the General Council of the Seine the report of his enquiry into the scandalous treatment of children at Porquerolles, which came to light after a revolt on their part. It is to be hoped that M. and Mme. de Roussen, those atrocious slave-drivers, will receive something near an adequate punishment for their conduct. M. de Roussen, having made his money as Ministerial employé and journalist, bought this island in the Mediterranean, and on his applying to the Director of Public Relief, that worthy body carted off as many waifs and strays of orphans as he chose to take, glorifying the exploitation by the name of the "School of Porquerolles." There is scarcely need to add more to this statement. The island, which was totally uncultivated, now yields vines to good advantage, the clear profit being very great, seeing that the cost of labour was almost nil. "The boys were subjected to incessant labour," says the report, their food consisting of haricots and potatoes. Then we have almost incredible tales of the instruments of torture, of whipping-post, and the "black hole," one boy having been "forgotten" in a cell for three days without food. This wholesale delivering up of destitute children to the kites and vultures of exploitation under colour of charity, paints the Commission of Public Relief in no very choice colours.

### GERMANY.

ALTONA.—The eight Socialists arrested in August last have been tried and sentenced as follows. Sass, Heidrich, Rassow, Nnuth, and Jensen were each sentenced to one year's imprisonment for a breach of Paragraph 129 of the penal code and for the distribution of Socialist writings. Another of the accused, named Wede, for a similar offence was sentenced to thirteen months' imprisonment. Stein, the other prisoner, was found guilty of disseminating Socialist papers only, and was condemned to imprisonment for two months.

### AUSTRIA.

VIENNA, Nov. 12.—How wise our police authorities are we have too often learned to our sorrow. But the crown of their wisdom is the following event, which took place in Brünn. The political labourer's club "Eintracht" convoked a public meeting, and announced this convocation to the magistrates according to legal directions. The police declared that they would allow the meeting only on condition that the point "Activity of the factory inspectors" should be erased from the order of the day; for only the Board of Trade, and not a public meeting, is competent to consider complaints of this institution. The club insisted on maintaining this point, and the meeting was forbidden—an exploit, or rather a folly, wanting a parallel. We have also a paragraph 13 on a paper called "Constitution," that every man has "the right to express his mind freely by word, letter, image, etc., within legal bounds." Let us see what is meant by "within legal bounds." An issue of the *Volksfreund* explaining how Socialists imagine the transformation of capitalistic production into the Socialistic society, was confiscated, as being "of a nature to debase legitimate ideas of property." Another article calling Austria the Central European China, was also seized, "being calculated to excite hatred and contempt against the Government." And when the ministers job, or obtain bribes from jobbers, as the scoundrel "Baron" Pino did in the infamous Prague-Dux railway affair; when they trade in such a manner that an Italian deputy, the president of the Liberal Centre, called the Reichsrath a "luogo di traffico continuo,"—does all this not excite to hatred and contempt against the Government, and should it not therefore be punished? But our excellent press-law determines that the police have the right to confiscate and the court to decide on the seizure without summing, without condemning the article-writer!

The recently-convoked delegations are very greedy for war; struggle with Russia is their president's cry. Why? Because the Czar oppresses the Bulgarians, because Russia has ever been hostile to any popular strife after freedom? No, not at all. Because an eventual occupation of Bulgaria by the Russian uniformed knout-bearers would lessen or hinder a large market for Austrian wares, and therefore the profit of the capitalists would be in danger. Whence the trouble, whence 120 millions for the army, whence the credit for repeating-guns, all affairs on behalf of the Rothschilds and other disinterested jobbing swindlers defending now "the Austrian interests in the Orient," praised as patriots by the corrupt bourgeois press.—F. S.

### SPAIN.

MADRID, Nov. 21.—At a Socialist meeting held here this afternoon a work man delivered a speech, in the course of which he declared that all political parties were the enemies of the working classes, and referred to the oppression suffered by workpeople in several countries. The meeting passed off successfully without any serious opposition.



# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

## Strike Committee of the Socialist League.

Rumour has it that a move is already on foot whose object is to frustrate the "insidious" designs of this Committee. Whether this be true or not, it is quite certain that the circular printed here last week, and which is being extensively circulated, has stirred the minds of the workers, not only in the United Kingdom, but in Europe generally. Communications have been, and are being, received from all parts. The effect already produced is most encouraging, and it behoves all those who have the cause of the worker at heart to do all that in them lies to make the work of the Committee as effective as possible. It is no light task that has been undertaken; but the co-operation of all who are interested in the matter will make it easier and—what is of more importance—effectual. All those who are able are asked to take in hand the careful distribution of "Strike" circular, and those who cannot do this are appealed to to assist monetarily, for funds are urgently needed. Communication has been opened up with Wales, in connection with pending quarry strike. It is proposed to send a delegate as soon as arrangements have been completed.—H. A. BARKER, Gen. Sec.

### GLASS-BOTTLE MAKERS.

CASTLEFORD, YORKS.—The Chessbrough Company here has dismissed all its employes. Work is only to be resumed on condition that a reduction is consented to of 3s. per man per week, and 1s. reduction on each gross of bottles made in overtime. Against these demands the workers are on strike. The Company does not belong to the Master's Association, but if it could succeed in compelling the reduction, all firms belonging to that Association would follow its example; therefore it is that the workers, feeling that they are fighting the battle of so many others besides themselves, are so determined to resist to the uttermost.

### THE MISERABLE CONDITION OF FUSTIAN CUTTERS.

William Ball, secretary of a newly formed association of fustian cutters at Congleton, writes as follows to the *Cotton Factory Times*: "Prices have been gradually falling lower and lower, until it is barely possible to earn a living. We are now cutting velvet, 24 inches wide, 110 yards long, for the miserable price of 7s., while other classes of goods are paid in proportion. I may just say that it takes a cutter seven full days to cut one of these pieces on a short frame, so that you will at once see that we are on the verge of starvation." We are pleased to note that 500 cutters have already been enrolled as members. Any one desirous of further information can apply to the secretary, William Ball, 23 Lion Street, Congleton, who will gladly answer any communications.

### COTTON-SPINNERS NOW AND TWENTY YEARS AGO.

The *Cotton Factory Times* shows how the intensification of labour resulting from improved machinery and consequent increase of competition is making the life of the operative cotton-spinner much more intolerable than it was eighteen or twenty years ago. "Formerly the mules were not as large, on an average the work was much better, and the speed considerably slower. In those days he was not driven at a break-neck pace, and he could enjoy his meal hours, and often in the forenoon and afternoon could leave the spinning room to go in the open-air, to enjoy what he used to term his 'outing.' Now he is timed like a clock in all he does, he must be in the mill early in the morning, work almost all the meal hours, and his mules are driven at a rapid pace; and what with quick speeds and inferior mixings, he and his assistants are kept on the trot all day long, and at the end of the week some of the mill overlookers post up a detailed statement of the amount of work produced by each spinner in the mill, and those who have the misfortune to be a little behind what is required to give satisfaction in the office, have red crosses affixed to their names, and are thus exposed to all the hands in the mill. This is a bad practice, and is far worse than slave-driving, and should be resented by the operatives wherever it is put in force. . . . We admit that the principle of competition among mill managers, mule overlookers, and mill directors is responsible for the introduction of the obnoxious practices which are carried out, but a bold front must be put on and a firm stand made to dispense with systems which cannot be maintained except by threats and punishments, for nothing will ever remove the present evils unless the operatives resolve, by the aid of their associations, to strike at those mills where oppressive rules and practices are in operation."

### AMERICA.

THE CUBAN CIGARMAKERS' STRIKE.—Intelligence from Cuba states that the long-standing strike among the cigarmakers' at Havana and other places in the island has now terminated.

### A NEW ORGANISATION OF BOOT AND SHOE CUTTERS.

PHILADELPHIA.—At the Convention of shoe cutters recently held here for the purpose of forming an international organisation, there were representatives from local bodies in New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Lynn, Haverhill, Columbus, and Montreal. Upwards of 5,000 members of the trade were represented by delegates. It was decided to call the newly-formed organisation the "Boot and Shoe Cutters' International Assembly of the United States and Canada." The declaration of objects includes the following: The establishment of a uniform rate of wages; to secure for both sexes equal pay for equal work; to prohibit the employment of children under the age of 14; and to discourage the system of piece-work.

### BELGIUM.

GHEENT.—COTTON SPIRIKE.—The strike among the hands employed at the cotton mills is spreading. Disturbances are expected and the military have received orders to be in readiness.

LA LOUVIERE.—The strike of the coal-miners of Saro-Longchamp is at an end. The managers have acknowledged the rightfulness of the claims made by their workmen, and promise to lay these claims before the Board of Directors. The official answer, a mere matter of form, will be issued on the 30th inst.

GOHYSSART.—The strike continues in the mines of Amercœur and Bois-Delville. The miners hold secret meetings daily, nothing has yet transpired as to what has passed at these meetings. In Amercœur there are 12,000, and in Bois-Delville 1600 strikers.

CHARLEROI.—At the Conception Pits the strike is still on. On Wednesday, 17th inst., the strikers met again, and decided that they were willing

to resume work at once, provided that the management guarantees them against a reduction of wages. The coke furnaces in connection with these pits will be compelled to stop working in two or three days, should the strike last so long, unless coal be brought from elsewhere, as the stock on hand is trifling.

GILLY.—Another strike has begun at the pit of Andinoises des Hoillières Unies, against a threatened reduction of 10 per cent. on wages paid; 250 men are out.

JUMET, AMERCOEUR.—The situation here is unchanged, and the workers have resolved to remain out until satisfaction has been rendered them. The whole number on strike in this district is 2,570.

ANTWERP.—The diamond cutters are on strike. Formerly, Amsterdam was the most important market of this industry, but Antwerp has now taken its place, and the diamonds of Antwerp are now principally sought for at the two great diamond-markets of the world, London and Paris. Antwerp has to-day 1800 diamond mills, but in consequence of the crisis during the last three or four years, the wages of the cutters have been reduced to 4fr. per carat instead of 8fr. During the last six weeks new markets have been opened in China and Japan, and have in consequence increased the work in Antwerp without any corresponding increase of pay. A meeting of the cutters was held last week, and demanded an augmentation of their pay of 100 per cent. per carat. Unless this is granted, a general strike will take place. Up to the present several partial strikes have been in progress, the workers who have completed orders refusing to take new ones. Some of the masters have consented to pay 2 frs. more per carat from January 1 next, but the men have decided only to accept the increase if at once paid. If this latter demand be not acceded to, the strike must become general.

### SPAIN.

The Spanish workmen are agitating for a general eight-hours' regulation to be universally adopted in all trades and industries of the country. A congress of working man delegates was held lately in Barcelona for the purpose of discussing the question, there being present 58 representatives of the industries of Barcelona and the neighbourhood.

SAN MARTIN DE PROVENSALES.—The *Grito del Pueblo* notes the "complete triumph" of the carpenters on strike in the district in their demand for a nine-hours' working-day instead of ten, also the like "triumph" of the mechanical weavers in a factory where they have "conquered all the obstacles in their way." The masters and directors "understanding at last the interests of the workers . . . have come to an honourable understanding with them." We hope the strikers will not be too easily satisfied or be too sure that their interests are considered by the masters with whom they have come to terms for the time.

# THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

## Notices to Members.

*Library.*—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m. A Catalogue has been printed and is now ready, price 2d. Country Branches can have parcels of books sent by paying cost of carriage.

*Monthly Meeting.*—The monthly meeting of London members will be held on Monday Nov. 29, at 9 p.m. London branch secretaries are specially requested to attend with a statement of the condition of their branches. The secretary of the Ways and Means Committee will give an interesting report of the position of the provincial branches. The secretary of the Strike Committee will also have a report of the work and some future plans of that committee. The *Commonweal* manager will submit report of whole weekly issue.

A Social Reunion of the League will be held in London on Monday, December 27 (Bank Holiday). Suggestions, subscriptions, or offers of help will be gladly received by the Committee appointed to arrange and carry out. Address Re-union Committee, at office of the League.

## Notice to Branches.

In future, publications not printed at the Socialist League Office will not be supplied on credit or entered in the Branch accounts with the Central Office. If such publications are ordered direct from and paid direct to the firms which publish them, the parcels may be sent as an enclosure with the weekly parcel from the League Office, and thus save carriage.

## Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Mile-end, to June 30. Birmingham, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Hackney, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Croydon, Dublin, Marylebone, to Sept. 30. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bloomsbury, Hammersmith, Hoxton, (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to Dec. 31.

## Executive.

At their meeting on 22nd inst. the Council resolved that the ordinary reports of Branches at Council meetings be discontinued and only special matters brought forward. Such reports to be kept for the monthly meeting.

## The Meeting in Hyde Park.

The mission of the Socialist League being to educate and organise the workers to take control of their own affairs with a view to the establishment of federated industrial communes as the future form of society, it took occasion of the interest excited last Sunday by the demonstration organised by the S. D. F. to put forward these views at a monster meeting in Hyde Park. The meeting was the largest and most enthusiastic that has ever been held there by the League. When three cheers for the Social Revolution were called for, a shout went up that did the hearts good of those that listened to it. The Liberty and Property Defence League (read Liberty to Plunder League) had emissaries at this and other Socialist meetings, but their efforts to create disturbance were utterly futile.

## STRIKE COMMITTEE.

H. C., 2s.; J. L. M., 1s.; T., 1s.; S. M., 6d.—T. BINNING, Treasurer.

## FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

By Concert tickets, 5s.; by Mainwaring (Hyde Park), 7s. Deficit, £3, 0s. 1½d. PH. W., Treasurer, Nov. 24.

## "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Collected by Mainwaring, 7d.; T. B. (weekly), 6d.; Bloomsbury Branch (weekly) 5s.; Hammersmith Branch (two weeks), £1—£1, 6s. 1d.

PH. W., Treasurer, Nov. 24.

## BRANCH REPORTS.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Friday, 19th inst., Mrs. Gostling read an interesting paper on the "Middle-class in Socialism." She argued that it was highly essential that there should be this class in the movement. A good debate followed.—W. A. C.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, November 17, Dr. Wm. H. von Swartwout lectured on "The Coming Men and Women;" a brisk discussion followed. On Sunday evening, 21st inst., W. Chambers addressed a good audience.—W. B.

**CROYDON.**—Last Sunday evening, Wm. Morris lectured on "Socialism, the End and the Means." The room was crowded, and seats could not be found for all the audience. There was a debate at the close, in which several Radicals and Socialists took part. The sympathy of the audience took a very practical turn, as was evidenced by the amount of the collection.

**FULHAM.**—Tochatti and Arnold addressed our usual open-air meeting at Walham Green on Sunday morning. Arnold condemned strongly the traitorous action of our so-called labour representatives. There was no opposition to speak of. Sale of *Commonweals* 79. Collection for Branch expenses 5s. Tarleton lectured on "Why I am a Socialist" at our rooms in the evening; good discussion followed.—F. M.C. sec.

**HOXTON.**—On Sunday morning a good outdoor meeting was addressed by Pope, Wade, and Barker. In the evening, a large outdoor meeting was held by Barker, Davis, and Allman. The indoor meeting was lectured to by Alexander Donald on "Primitive Communism;" good discussion and sale of literature.

**MERTON.**—On Sunday evening, at our club room, Lane gave an exposition of the condition of the feudal serf and the modern wage-slave, also the means by which the workers will achieve their emancipation.

**MITCHAM.**—On Sunday last we opened our room to a very fair attendance. Bull, Gregory, and Harrison carried on a very good discussion; Lane afterwards addressed the audience, and after explaining the principles of the League, asked those present to join and help to strengthen the club. Two new members made.

**MILE-END.**—Nicol addressed a good meeting on the Waste on Sunday morning on "What is Socialism?" There was some slight opposition, which was answered by Davis. Two new members made.—H. DAVIS.

**NORTH LONDON.**—The meeting in Regent's Park on Sunday was addressed by Cantwell and Mainwaring. Some young "gentlemen" endeavoured to create a disturbance, but were quickly silenced by the crowd. Cantwell, Blundell, and Wardle spoke at Harrow Road on Saturday. *Commonweals* sold well.—D. N.

**SOUTH LONDON.**—Wm. Morris addressed a crowded meeting in the lecture hall of the North Camberwell Radical Club, at which we made four new members, and sold a fair quantity of literature. Friends wishing to join are requested to communicate with J. Sturges, 84, Wells Street, Camberwell.—J. S., sec.

**EDINBURGH.**—On Thursday, the 18th, Davidson read a paper to a crowded audience on "A Fair Day's Wage for a Fair Day's Work from a Socialist Standpoint." On Monday, the 15th, under the auspices of the Edinburgh Social Enquiry Association, Glasier, from Glasgow, delivered a lecture on "Elements of Socialism in existing Society," and fairly won his audience by the eloquence and high tone of the lecture.

**GLASGOW.**—On Saturday evening, Warrington and Glasier spoke to a good meeting at the Green. On Sunday morning and afternoon, very successful meetings at the same place were addressed by Glasier and Green respectively. At mid-day, Rae and Glasier spoke to a large and sympathetic meeting in Georges Square. In the evening, P. Kropotkin lectured in the Waterloo Hall, his subject being "Socialism, its growing force and final aim." Some 2000 people paid for admission, and the lecture was received with great enthusiasm. Fuller details next week.

**HAMILTON.**—McLeary opened a good discussion on "Mining Royalties," at our meeting on Thursday, November 18, in which several members took part. The conclusion came to was that the mere abolition of royalties would be of little benefit to the miners under the present wage system. A small deputation attended from the Glasgow Branch, and McLaren gave a neat address, which met with general approval.

**HULL.**—On Tuesday, 16th inst., a paper by Teesdale on "Internationalism" was read at the St. Augustine's Y.M.C.A., which evoked considerable discussion. Unfortunately, Teesdale was not present to defend his views. On the 17th inst., Teesdale read a short paper on "Property" at the Park Street Church Mutual Improvement Society, which was followed by a good debate on the general question of Socialism, much anxiety being shown as to the methods to be used for the attainment of our objects.—E. T.

**MANCHESTER.**—We held a meeting on Sunday, when Prince gave an excellent address, which was received with evident favour by the audience present.

**IPSWICH.**—On Saturday last, at the Co-operative Hall, F. Henderson lectured on "The Meaning of Socialism;" 6s. 2d. collected. Two large meetings near Ship Launch on Sunday morning and afternoon, 3s. 3d. and 4s. 4d. collected. Good sale of literature. See Lecture Diary.

**NORWICH.**—We broke new ground in Sprowston, also held our usual meeting at St. Faith's and on St. Mary's Plain. The crowning meetings were held in the Market-place at 3, and opposite the Agricultural Hall at 7, attended by thousands of people. Frank Kitz was the principal speaker, and was listened to with great interest. Our place at night was crowded when Kitz lectured on "Socialistic Experiments." During the day Kitz was assisted by Barker from Lowestoft, and Lawrence of Ipswich. Sold during the day £1 worth of literature.—C. W. M., sec.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday Nov. 26, at 8 p.m. a discussion on Chapter II. of Joynes's *Socialist Catechism*.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Nov. 28, at 8.30 p.m. A. Donald, "Political Economy." Wednesday Dec. 1, at 8.30. W. Morris, "Socialism: Its Aims and Methods."

**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Nov. 28, at 7.30 p.m. W. H. Utley, "Land Thieves and Labour Thieves."

**Fulham.**—338 Fulham Road. Sunday at 8.

**Hackney.**—Sheep Lane, Broadway, London Fields. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30.—*Concert Account*: Total receipts to date, £1, 19s. 6d.; tickets out (100), £2, 10s.; less expenses, 6s. Those who have not yet settled are requested to do so by end of month.—H. GRAHAM.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmiscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Nov. 28, at 8 p.m. Sidney Webb, "The Theory of Economic Rent."

**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Nov. 28, at 11.30 a.m. Discussion: "What is Principle?" to be opened by H. A. Barker. In the evening there will be a Concert and Tea in aid of Club fund. Tickets 9d. each. Tea at 6, Concert at 8.

**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday.

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.

**North London.**—Business Meeting at 32 Camden Road Fridays at 8.

## Country Branches.

**Bingley.**—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

**Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Rd. Wednesdays, at 8.

**Dublin.**—102 Capel Street. Sunday at 7.30 p.m.; Thursday at 8 p.m.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Free Tron Hall, Monday Nov. 29, Pierre Kropotkin, "Practical Socialism." Tickets 1s., 6d., and 3d., to be had at 4 Park Street, and Givens, 20 Bristo Street. Monday Dec. 6, Leo Melliet, B.A., L.L.B., "The Aims of the French Commune." Tickets as above.

**Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Saturday evening at 6 an open-air meeting will be held at the Green. On Sunday open-air meetings will be held on the Green at 11.30 and 4.30; and at George's Sq. at 12.30. In the evening, in our Rooms at 7 o'clock, a Lecture will be given.—On Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock the Rev. John Glasie, M.A., Edinburgh, will lecture on "Christian Socialism." Hall will be announced at Sunday meetings and locally advertised.

**Hamilton.**—Branch meets every Thursday evening at 7.30 in the British Workman Meeting Room. On Thursday first Comrade M'Mann will lecture on "Why are some People Poor?" Discussion invited.

**Hull.**—11 Princess Street, off Mason Street and Sykes Street. Club Room open 7 to 10 every evening; Sundays 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. Public Meeting on Sundays at 7 p.m. Nov. 28. "The Manifesto of the Socialist League."

**Ipswich.**—The Branch has left the George Inn, and have not yet procured fit premises for the club about to be formed. The new address will be ready next week.

**Leicester.**—Radical Club, Vine St. Tuesdays, at 8.

**Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. prompt. Lecture with discussion at 8 o'clock.

**Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

Sa. Harrow Road ("P. of Wales")	8	H. Graham
Mile-end Waste	8	T. Wardle
S. Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"	11.30	A. Donald
Hammersmith—Beaumont Rd.	11.30	The Branch
Marylebone—Salisbury St.	11.30	Charles, Mahon
Mile-end Waste	11.30	The Branch
Mitcham Fair Green	11.30	H. Sparling
Regent's Park	11.30	D. J. Nicoll
St. Pancras Arches	11.30	Lane
Walham Green, opposite Station	11.30	The Branch
Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3	A. Donald
Clerkenwell Green	7	T. Wardle
Tu. Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7	T. Wardle
Mile-end Waste	8	Davis
Soho—Broad Street	8	T. Wardle
W. London Fields—Broadway	8.30	T. Wardle

## PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

**Ipswich.**—Old Cattle Market, 11; Ship Launch, 3 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Gorton Lane and Ashton Old Road, 11.30.

**Norwich.**—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.

**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Afternoon and evening.

Ready this week: *Londoner Arbeiter Zeitung*, a German weekly paper, price 1d. Published by the Communist Workingman's Club, 49 Tottenham Street, W. UPHOLSTERERS' TRADE CLUB, George Street, Euston Road.—On Sunday 22nd T. E. Wardle lectured to the above club on "Socialism." The audience was sympathetic, and the club likely to become Socialistic.—C.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 47.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

MR. LABOUCHERE speaking at Manchester on a Gladstonian-Liberal resolution in favour of Home Rule, had naturally not much opportunity of speaking of the general Radical policy: what he did say showed how feeble he really thought the Radicals and their changes. His amendment of the programme of the Leeds Conference comprised pretty much the Radical platform as it used to be: this platform would now be on the point of being established if it were not that the opinion of the people is now not so much passing beyond these measures as getting on to another line. The end once proposed by Radicalism was the utmost development of the system falsely called that of free contract, that is absolute freedom of the fleecing of labour by money. That end is now seen by everyone to be worthless or unattainable, and the result is that the means necessary to its attainment are no longer interesting, and that the Radical party as a party is "unemployed"; and even such a brisk politician as Mr. Labouchere, has to put forward its programme speaking from the teeth out. There is no longer any heart in it, and no life, and it has to compete for attention with other lifeless things such as Protection, Paternal Government, the honour of the British Empire, and the rest. Therefore honest Radicals think there is reaction, which is a very great mistake. All that has happened is that the Radical ideal is worn out and has to take its place with other worn-out ideals and be a plaything for those who have nothing to do with practical politics, to use those much abused words in their right sense. Such things are fit subjects for debate in the House of Commons, which means that they are done with everywhere else.

What Mr. Labouchere said about Ireland is out of date since the new adventure of the Government into coercion. As Lord Salisbury promised us at the Mansion House the other day, the Tory Government has announced its sole function to be that of acting as bumbailiff to the Irish landlords. It must be said that in so doing it has shown a much keener appreciation of the meaning of Irish agitation than the Radicals have. To defend property at all hazards and in spite of any suffering that may be caused to innocent people—that is the function of Constitutional Government. The Irish agitation attacks property, *ergo*, it must be put down at any cost. W. MORRIS.

It is not only the Government that is making plain the point at issue in the Irish land-war. The people are preparing in many ways that show how the struggle is narrowing its ground and becoming more deadly the more it is understood. The "Plan of Campaign" alluded to last week as put forth by *United Ireland* has been adopted on several estates, and is giving rise to the greatest hopes on the one side and liveliest apprehensions on the other.

On Lord Dillon's estate in Mayo, from whence he has wrung £20,000 a-year, mostly earned in the harvest-fields of England, as the land can barely be lived on and cannot be made to produce the rent as well, his tenants have resolved to adopt the plan, should his sublime lordship refuse their application for a reduction. From Wicklow, Clare, Cork, Leitrim, and Kilkenny similar reports are received.

The most keenly dreaded part of the plan is the depositing of the rent that the tenants are willing to pay in the hands of an anonymous trustee for safe keeping—and further use should occasion require. This disposes finally of the fear always felt hitherto of a landlord's being able to frighten the more timorous or bribe the more mercenary of the tenants into betraying their fellows. As the *Westmeath Examiner* of November 20 well says:

"The rent struggle has now commenced in good earnest. The fight is going on fiercely in most of the counties in Ireland. *United Ireland's* excellent Plan is being extensively availed of. Landlords and tenants alike recognise that if the tenants on any estate work out this Plan to the fullest extent they cannot for any length of time be refused such fair terms as they demand. The two vital points in this Plan are union amongst the tenants and the lodgment in the hands of a trustee of the rent which they consider fair. Without these the tenants cannot expect to do anything. These points are absolutely essential to gain success. The tenants should see to it that these conditions be fulfilled. There can be no backsliding—no traitorism in the ranks; such is securely guarded against. So the tenants should not have the old fear of one another—the fear which existed in other times and during other fights."

Would that workers everywhere were as united and resolved as the

men of Ireland—but for a nobler object than the *reduction* of rent! The Government that adopts coercion hastens on this end.

Unlike Sir Charles Warren, to whom he was compared when appointed, Sir Redvers Buller has no taste for the inglorious work of defending the spoilers of a people; he cannot stoop to be the willing tool and subservient bravo of the privileged; his humanity asserts itself, and official wrath is waking against him. He is sure to be recalled, and replaced by one readier for the vile work he will not do.

Back to the immemorial plan of those in authority has the Government again turned in the Irish affair. Proclamation of meetings, prosecution for "intimidatory language," threatened suppression of the popular press, and all the rest of the well-worn tricks are to be—  
are being reproduced. It is ever so. Wrong, buttressed though it be by the superstition of centuries, trembles before untrammelled speech and flies for refuge to brute force as to the last appeal. One day the lesson so long taught by the Governments of the world will be learnt by the peoples—and then?

The murder of the old widow Lebon by her two sons, daughter, and son-in-law, and their trial and condemnation at the Blois Assize Court, have, says the *Daily Telegraph*, "furnished the occasion for a good deal of unfavourable comment on the character of the French peasantry in general." For the sake of her savings, £32, the poor old woman had been murdered by roasting alive, so that it might be thought she had herself fallen into the fire by accident. "Sordid, pitiable greed," and "cold-blooded, brutal murder" are fine phrases, rolling well from bourgeois lips, but not applicable only to the peasantry of France or elsewhere. Were they sought out there might be found among the philanthropic phrase-mongers some arrayed in broad-cloth and fine linen, to sustain whose delicate lives widows and orphans have been immolated wholesale.

To an impartial observer what difference other than of degree can be traced between a highway robber and a wrester of unpaid labour, or between a murderer and one whose gain is wrung from the misery of the masses?

France, or rather the bourgeois Republic that usurps her name, is in difficulties. "Financial deficits," and all the rest of the ills that Governments are heir to. Republic or despotism, whatsoever be the form of the Government or political system, there must be again and again inevitably these kind of troubles until the people take all things into their own hands, organise production and distribution for their common benefit, and put an end to the universal waste entailed by monopoly and competition. H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

## A WORKMAN'S VIEW OF AUBERON HERBERT.

THE greatest drawback to a proper and careful analysis of such vital and all important topics as Individual Liberty is the limited time at our disposal. Mr. Auberon Herbert lectured here on that subject lately, and many were present who not having time to speak were nevertheless able to point out grievous errors enunciated by our worthy and earnest lecturer. But I regret to say that there appears to be a tendency on the part of some teachers to indulge intentionally in mistakes, in order that their ideal may receive assent in preference to any other. For instance, what did the lecturer mean by stating that Socialism wants to gain power? Does he mean that this is the object of Socialism? If so, let me tell him that nothing could be further from the truth. True, Socialism may find itself forced to utilise power against opposing power in order to bring about the tranquility and equilibrium sought, just as the defender of individualism uses the *force* of persuasiveness and contention against those adverse to its doctrine. The teaching of Socialism, as I have learned it, has proved to me the ignominy of man in usurping power over or commanding in any way his fellow-man; and this holds good not only with the individual but national life. It was Socialism which taught me to look with abhorrence and disgust upon the man or men who seek to become masters of their fellow-men. And what to a free mind can be more revolting than the fact that we are obliged to look upon our fellow-creatures in the light of masters and slaves? It was Socialism also which instilled into me a desire to esteem, love, respect and be grateful to all who, possessing talents, utilise them for the advancement and



advantage of their less fortunate fellow-creatures. Socialism, I again repeat, does *not* seek to command, but portrays a method whereby men may become the helpmates and teachers each of each. Is this not preferable to the prevailing system which permits of no alternative save that of slave or master? Socialism is the inspiration of Justice, Truth, and Love. All that is noble, good, and true in the cause of which this teacher of individual liberty is so ardent an advocate is embodied in Socialism. Again, in answer to a question put forth in the discussion, he gave us the idea that he is a staunch supporter of competition. Now what could be more inconsistent? Here is one who denounces the right of one man to possess power or command over his fellow, and shortly after he declares that he will support competition, which is a system that offers to the cunning and fraudulent a means of obtaining power over their less crafty and more helpless fellow-creatures. Competition, as it now exists, is the greatest scourge that a people could be afflicted with. With competition for nobleness of heart and mind all Socialists would heartily agree; but with the fratricidal struggle for advantage that now rages, or with any attempted modification of it, a Socialist can but wage unrelenting war. Even granting that quite free competition is not necessarily an evil, it cannot be attained until Socialism is realised. If all those gentlemen who devote their talents and education to threshing straw would work for Socialism, the happiness of the world would be brought nearer.

JOHN DENBY (Preston).

## A DREAM OF JOHN BALL.

(Continued from p. 275.)

HE left off as one who had yet something else to say; and, indeed, I thought he would give us some word as to the trysting-place, and whither the army was to go from it; because it was now clear to me that this gathering was but a band of an army. But much happened before John Ball spoke again from the cross, and it was on this wise. When there was silence after the last shout that the crowd had raised a while ago, I thought I heard a thin sharp noise far away, somewhat to the north of the cross, which I took rather for the sound of a trumpet or horn, than for the voice of a man or any beast. Will Green also seemed to have heard it, for he turned his head sharply, and then back again, and looked keenly into the crowd as though seeking to catch some one's eye. There was a very tall man standing by the prisoner on the horse near the outskirts of the crowd, and holding his bridle. This man, who was well-armed, I saw say something to the prisoner, who stooped down and seemed to whisper him in turn. The tall man nodded his head and the prisoner got off his horse, which was a cleaner-limbed, better-built beast than the others belonging to the band, and the tall man quietly led him a little way from the crowd, mounted him, and rode off northward at a smart pace.

Will Green looked on sharply at all this, and when the man rode off, smiled as one who is content, and deems that all is going well, and settled himself down again to listen to the priest.

But now when John Ball had ceased speaking, and after another shout, and a hum of excited pleasure and hope that followed it, there was silence again, and the priest addressed himself to speaking once more. He paused and turned his head toward the wind, as if he heard something, which certainly I heard, and belike every one in the throng, though it was not over loud, far as sounds carry in such clear quiet evenings. It was the thump-a-thump of a horse drawing near at a hand-gallop along the grassy upland road; and I knew well it was the tall man coming back with tidings, the purport of which I could well guess.

I looked up at Will Green's face. He was smiling as one pleased, and said softly as he nodded to me, "Yea, shall we see the grey goose fly this eve?"

But John Ball said in a great voice from the cross, "Hear ye the tidings on the way, fellows! Hold ye together and look to your gear; yet hurry not, for no great matter shall this be. I wot well there is little force between Canterbury and Kingston, for the lords are looking north of Thames toward Wat Tyler and his men. Yet well it is, well it is!"

The crowd opened and spread out a little, and the men moved about in it, some tightening a girdle, some getting their side arms more in reach of their right hands, and those who had bows stringing them.

Will Green set hand and foot to the great shapely piece of polished red yew, with its shining horn tips, which he carried, and bent it with no seeming effort; then he reached out his hand over his shoulder and drew out a long arrow, smooth, white, beautifully balanced, with a barbed iron head at one end, a horn nock and three strong goose feathers at the other. He held it loosely between the finger and thumb of his right hand, and there he stood with a thoughtful look on his face, and in his hands one of the most terrible weapons which a strong man has ever carried, the English long-bow and cloth-yard shaft.

But this while the sound of the horse's hoofs was growing nearer, and presently from the corner of the road amidst the orchards broke out our long friend, his face red in the sun near sinking now. He waved his right hand as he came in sight of us, and sang out, "Bills and bows! bills and bows!" and the whole throng turned towards him and raised a great shout.

He reined up at the edge of the throng, and spoke in a loud voice, so that all might hear him:

"Fellows, these are the tidings; even while our priest was speaking

we heard a horn blow far off; so I bade the sergeant we have taken, and who is now our fellow in arms, to tell me where away it was that there would be folk a-gathering, and what they were, and he did me to wit that mayhap Sir John Newton was stirring from Rochester Castle; or, maybe it was the sheriff and Rafe Hopton with him; so I rode off what I might towards Hartlip, and I rode warily, and that was well, for as I came through a little wood between Hartlip and Guildstead, I saw beyond it the gleam of steel, and lo! in the field there a company, and a penon of Rafe Hopton's arms, and that is blue and thereon three silver fish; and a penon of the sheriff's arms, and that is a green tree; and withal another penon of three red kine, and whose they be I know not.<sup>1</sup> There tied I my horse in the middle of the wood, and myself I crept along the dyke to see more and to hear somewhat; and no talk I heard to tell of save at whiles a big knight talking to five or six others, and saying somewhat wherein came the words London and Nicholas Bramber, and King Richard; but I saw that of men-at-arms and sergeants there might be a hundred, and of bows not many, but of those outland arbalests maybe a fifty; and so, what with one and another of servants and tip-staves and lads, some three hundred, well armed, and the men-at-arms of the best. Forsooth, my masters, there had I been but a minute, ere the big knight broke off his talk, and cried out to the music to blow up, "And let us go look on these villeins," said he; and withal the men began to gather in a due and ordered company, and their faces turned thitherward; forsooth, I got to my horse, and led him out of the wood on the other side, and so to saddle and away along the green roads; neither was I seen or chased. So look ye to it, my masters, for these men will be coming to speak with us; nor is there need for haste, but rather for good speed; for in some twenty or thirty minutes will be more tidings to hand."

By this time one of our best armed men had got through the throng and was standing on the cross beside John Ball. When the long man had done, there was confused noise of talk for a while, and the throng spread itself out more and more, but not in a disorderly manner; the bowmen drawing together toward the outside, and the billmen forming behind them. Will Green was still standing beside me and had hold of my arm, as though he knew both where he and I were to go.

"Fellows," quoth the captain from the cross, "belike this stour shall not live to be older than the day, if ye get not into a plump together for their arbalesters to shoot bolts into, and their men-at-arms to thrust spears into. Get you to the edge of the crofts and spread out there six feet between man and man, and shoot, ye bowmen, from the hedges, and ye with the staves keep your heads below the level of the hedges, or else for all they be thick a bolt may win its way in." He grinned as he said this, and there was laughter enough in the throng to have done honour to a better joke. Then he sung out, "Hob Wright, Rafe Wood, John Pargetter, and thou Will Green, bestir ye and marshall the bow-shot; and thou Nicholas Woodyer shall be under me Jack Straw in ordering of the staves. Gregory Tailor and John Clark, fair and fine are ye clad in the arms of the Canterbury bailiffs; ye shall shine from afar; go ye with the banner into the highway, and the bows on either shall ward you; yet jump lads, and over the hedge with you when the bolts begin to fly your way! Take heed, good fellows all, that our business is bestride the highway, and not let them get in on our flank the while; so half to the right, half to the left of the highway. Shoot straight and strong, and waste no breath with noise; let the loose of the bow-string cry for you: and look you! think it no loss of manhood to cover your bodies with tree and bush; for one of us who know is worth a hundred of those proud fools. To it lads, and let them see what the grey goose bears between his wings! Abide us here, brother John Ball, and pray for us if thou wilt; but for me, if God will not do for Jack Straw what Jack Straw would do for God were he in like case, I can see no help for it."

"Yea, forsooth," said the priest, "here will I abide you my fellows if ye come back; or if ye come not back, here will I abide the foe. Depart, and the blessing of the fellowship be with you."

Down then leapt Jack Straw from the cross, and the whole throng set off without noise or hurry, soberly and steadily in outward seeming. Will Green led me by the hand as if I were a boy, yet nothing he said, being forsooth intent on his charge. We were some four hundred men in all; but I said to myself that without some advantage of the ground we were lost men before the men-at-arms that long Gregory Tailor had told us of; for I had not seen as yet the yard-long shaft at its work.

We and somewhat more than half of our band turned into the orchards on the left of the road, through which the level rays of the low sun shone brightly. We kept pretty near to the road till we had got through all the closes save the last, where we were brought up by a hedge and a dyke, beyond which lay a wide open nearly treeless space, not of tillage, as at the other side of the place, but of pasture, the common grazing ground of the township. A little stream wound about through the ground, with a few willows here and there; there was only a thread of water in it in this hot summer tide, but its course could easily be traced by the deep blue-green of the rushes that grew plenteously in the bed. Geese were lazily wandering about and near this brook, and a herd of cows, accompanied by the town bull, were feeding quietly still, their heads all turned one way; while half a dozen calves marched close together side by side like a plump of soldiers, their tails swinging in a kind of measure to keep off the flies, of which there was great plenty. Three or four lads and girls were sauntering about, heeding or not heeding the cattle. They looked

<sup>1</sup> Probably one of the Calverlys, a Cheshire family, one of whom was a noted officer in the French wars.—ED.

up toward us as we crowded into the last close, and slowly loitered off toward the village. Nothing looked like battle; yet battle sounded in the air; for now we heard the beat of the horse-hoofs of the men-at-arms coming on towards us like the rolling of distant thunder, and growing louder and louder every minute; we were none too soon in turning to face them. Jack Straw was on our side of the road, and with a few gestures and a word or two he got his men into their places. Six archers lined the hedge along the road where the banner of Adam and Eve rising above the grey leaves of the apple-trees challenged the new comers; and of the billmen also he kept a good few ready to guard the road in case the enemy should try to rush it with the horsemen. The road, not being a Roman one, was, you must remember, little like the firm smooth country roads that you are used to; it was a mere track between the hedges and fields, partly grass-grown, and cut up by the deep sunk ruts hardened by the drought of summer. There was a stack of faggot and small wood on the other side, and our men threw themselves upon it and set to work to stake the road across for a rough defence against the horsemen.

What befell more on the road itself I had not much time to note, for our bowmen spread themselves out along the hedge that looked into the pasture-field, leaving some six feet between man and man; the rest of the billmen went along with the bowmen, and halted in clumps of some half-dozen along their line, holding themselves ready to help the bowmen if the enemy should run up under their shafts, or to run on to lengthen the line in case they should try to break in on our flank. The hedge in front of us was of quick. It had been strongly plashed in the past February, and was stiff and stout. It stood on a low bank; and besides the level of the orchard was some thirty inches higher than that of the field, and the ditch was some two foot deeper than the face of the field. The field went winding round to beyond the church, making a quarter of a circle about the village, and at the western end of it were the butts whence the folk were coming from shooting when I first came into the village street. Altogether, to me who knew nothing of war the place seemed defensible enough. I have said that the road down which Long Gregory came with his tidings went north; and that was its general direction; but its first reach was nearly east, so that the low sun was not in the eyes of any of us, and where Will Green took his stand, and I with him, it was nearly at our backs.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

### IS SOCIALISM SPREADING?

MR. BRADLAUGH, if a recently reported interview in the *Evening News* be not a joke, has been trying to calm the fears of the "respectable" building-society, bank depositing, shopocracy and petty bourgeois, to whom he has now rattled, by assuring them that Socialists are either crack-brained enthusiasts or canting rogues, and that Socialism is not making and cannot make any perceptible progress in this country. If Socialists were at all likely to be discouraged, or to do anything but laugh at such utterances from such a quarter, they might take heart again to find another proof amongst many of the spread of Socialistic opinion in the following very unorthodox sentiments, which are taken from a leading article in the *Daily News* of November 25:—

"People who have once found that they can support themselves in idleness by sending their children to beg will not return to industry. They are as demoralised as the indolent younger son who has been at Eton and cannot imagine why he should ever be doing any harder work than is demanded from a decorative private secretary. The street cadgers are not morally one whit worse than this desultory young gentleman, and as long as we cannot help supporting them they will go on begging."

Again:

"We cannot do this, and we cannot do that," people cry, because it is 'economically unsound.' But this is no reason for never doing anything at all. If nearly everything that is proposed be economically unsound, what is left that is economically sound? Is it to extort the utmost possible percentage out of work paid for at wages which must be eked out by prostitution, theft, and beggary? If that kind of economy be sound economically, it is rotten every other way. One might feel it a relief to do something positive that was wrong, rather than to sit still for ever doing nothing in the odour of economical sacricity. It is not institutions, enactments, and laws that can destroy poverty of the blackest sort; it is nothing but a sense of brotherhood and a sense of honour. Who does not denounce the usurer who makes thirty per cent. out of the folly and ignorance of undergraduates? If that money stinks, as Vespasian said a certain revenue did not stink, why should twenty per cent. made out of work paid at starvation wages be acceptable and honourable? Not many of us, perhaps, would like to be wealthy on little rents screwed out of starving peasants. Are the rents of plague-stricken and poisonous hovels in London more free from stain? Is it impossible in the nature of things that human beings should extend universally to such gains the odium that already attaches to exorbitant usury? Is wealth acquired by a system of artificially nursing superfluous public-houses honourably got? Should gentlemen keep and stimulate the demand for liquor? These are matters that divines may put to the consciences of their flocks. The prospects of Society will begin to improve when men agree to say of money thus gotten, *Olet!*"

T. B.

Some unemployed men were charged at West Ham Police-court the other day with begging. What on earth are the unemployed to do? They can't get work, and they must not beg or steal. Their numbers increase rapidly, and they are not likely much longer to be content to slink away and die quietly in the slums. Who can doubt that at some not distant day they will "arise in unvanquishable number," and claim their places at Nature's table, now denied them by the rapacious classes who "rob and rule" us?

### NO POOR.

AH, BROTHERS, when the world is wise,  
Will want and woe endure?  
There dawns a day before our eyes  
When earth shall have no poor;  
God gives enough of good for all,  
And some day soon, we trust,  
An equal share to all will fall,  
And men to men be just;  
The day of justice comes at last,  
The People's day, be sure,  
When want shall be but of the past,  
And earth shall have no poor.

We have been blind—we have been dumb;  
At length we've eyes that see;  
At last our time to speak has come  
And men we claim to be;  
What care we for your prate and fuss  
Of who are out or in,  
Unless your ruling give to us  
The lives we mean to win?  
The rags—the hunger of the past  
No longer must endure;  
The People throned in power at last  
Will see there are no poor.

W. C. BENNETT.

### Lissagary's 'History of the Commune.'

THIS important work has at last appeared in English, and we do not hesitate to say that it ought to be in the hands of every Socialist. The history of the Commune, as presented in the generally unbiased narrative of Lissagary, bears a profound moral with it. It is the story of the struggle of noble enthusiasm, genuine disinterestedness and devotion, and, in the ordinary sense, great opportunities, with foolish vanity, personal squabbles, inefficiency of organisation, and pedantry, resulting in the ascendancy of the latter, and consequent general collapse. The Versailles entered upon a victory already prepared for them. And it will be so again in the next great popular movement, should due subordination of function and organisation not be able to keep the whip-hand of mere confusion, cliquishness, and faddism. But the moral to be drawn is of more immediate application than to the next popular rising. To compare small matters with great, there are Socialist organisations (save the mark!) in existence to-day which are literally qualifying for disaster when the time comes. We see precisely the same elements at work in them which caused the fall of the Commune with the horrors of the "bloody week." Again and again as he reads the story of the tragedy of '71, the friend of the Cause feels inclined to wring his hands over the opportunities lost. Lost because everything was in confusion, nearly everybody was wanting to do everybody else's work, and consequently doing no work at all, and in many cases doubtless with the best intentions. Even at the supreme hour, when the Versailles were actually inside Paris, there was a chance of rolling back the invasion by means of a cross fire between Montmartre and the Pantheon, had these portions been properly fortified and garrisoned; but there was no one there. Again, when the Commune was in death-throes, street after street was sacrificed because officers and others carrying important messages were stopped and forced to assist in the ordinary work of barricade making—the last defences being thus literally immolated before a false and idiotic notion of equality.

We wish that every true Socialist at heart whose head is led astray by disintegrative tendencies would read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the important lessons of this volume. The cause was wrecked in 1871, in great part at least, not because of spies or traitors, for there were marvellously few of those who took any prominent part in the movement who can fairly be accused of sinister motives, or of attempts to make personal gain out of it—but because of well-meaning conceited, faddy, cantankerous persons, who wasted time in long-winded speeches about personal matters, etc., and who would neither do any work themselves nor let any one else do it. Other follies there were of course, although they were doubtless partly caused by the above, such as making decrees and not getting them respected. The case of the hostages was one of the most fatal of these. Had the archbishop been shot on the first corroboration of the fact that Federal prisoners were being butchered at Versailles, the butcheries might have been checked. As it was, he was reserved only to be shot after there was no good to be got by shooting him at all, save to give the civilised world an opportunity of displaying its capacities in shamming horror. The translation of the book, we should say, is excellent.

E. B. BAX.

If your assembly can't agree about its duty in politics, drop the subject and go ahead in the study of the principles until all learn more of the *Industrial News*.

"Where," cried Abe Hewitt, "where is the man who said that the 68,000 gentlemen who voted for our admirable friend Henry George were anarchists and communists! My feet are cold, and I would like to warm them by kicking the curmudgeon who slandered these 68,000 gentlemen."—*John Swinton's Paper*.



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** *They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.*

**A**s all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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rington Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.*

## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

**NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.**—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 1.*

ENGLAND	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	ITALY
Justice	Paterson (N. J.) Labor Standard	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Norwich—Daylight	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	SPAIN
Club and Institute Journal	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Madrid—El Socialista
Bedford and County Record	Knights of Labor	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Salem (Oreg.) Advance-Thought	Barcelona—El Grito del Pueblo
Freethinker	Portland (Oreg.) Avant-Courier	La Tronada
INDIA	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	PORTUGAL
Madras—People's Friend	Detroit (Mich.)—Labor Leaf	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Allahabad—People's Budget	FRANCE	Voz do Operario
CANADA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	O Seculo
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Le Socialiste	Villafranca de Xira—O Campino
Montreal—L'Union Ouvriere	Le Revolte	Oporto—A Derola
UNITED STATES	La Revue Litteraire	AUSTRIA
New York—Volkszeitang	Guise—Le Devoir	Brunn—Volksfreund
Freiheit	Lille—Le Travailleur	HUNGARY
Truthseeker	HOLLAND	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	ROUMANIA
John Swinton's Paper	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair	Bucharest—Pruncul Roman
Tax Reformer	En Avant	Jassy—Lupta
Boston—Woman's Journal	Liege—L'Avenir	DENMARK
Liberty	Antwerp—De Werker	Social-Demokraten
Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	SWITZERLAND	SWEDEN
Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Zurich—Social Demokrat	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Toledo (O.)—Industrial News		
Cleveland (O.)—Carpenter		

**SITTING ON THE SAFETY-VALVE.**

A GENTLEMAN, who ingeniously signs himself "Y. Knott," writes to the papers to suggest that Trafalgar Square should be turned into a flower-garden to prevent demonstrations from being held there in future, and instances the case of Kennington Common by way of a "precedent," this always carrying great weight with the middle-class mind. Perhaps this gentleman imagines that when he has suppressed the expression of discontent, no discontent will exist; or it may be that he considers no amount of distress so dangerous as the assembling of a large number of the "lowest classes" in a given locality. Such ostrich-like obliquity can only cause us to wonder at the persistence with which the lords of creation try to identify themselves with their humbler neighbours.

Amusing, too, are the efforts of the *Standard* to pooh-pooh the demonstration held on the 21st, by putting the number of processionists at the lowest possible figure, making out the assemblage to consist mainly of middle-class sight-seers, confining the cheers of the crowd to the immediate supporters of the speakers, and reporting highly-coloured dialogues between respectable working-men about as natural as the pictorial representations of the Lord Mayor's Show.

By the way, the persistency with which newspaper-writers and others attempt to distinguish between the "respectable working-man" and the "London rough" is very noticeable. It does not seem to strike them that the rough is merely the respectable working-man driven or starved out of respectability. Even Lord Coleridge, presiding some time ago at a thieves' supper, told the guests that Society first made them thieves, and then punished them for being what it had made them.

I think that the worst thing that could happen to the Socialist propaganda would be for nobody to take any notice of it. One would suppose that this simple proposition would have been clear to most people by this time ; but press and pulpit continue to pour forth denunciations of revolutionary ideas, and all sorts of vain attempts are made to stem the progress of them among the working-class. This, of course, the upper classes cannot do ; having left the lower pretty much to themselves in the past, they need not wonder if the latter suspect the disinterestedness of a sudden interference with their political

aspirations. Hence mere brute force, on which it is obvious that Society ultimately rests, must be exhibited in all its nakedness, to prevent the outward embodiment of the new ideas. By thus sitting on the safety-valve they are doing their best to burst the boiler, or blow themselves up.

It does seem strange that all the lessons of history and of reason are lost upon the rulers of Society. People often say that what we have to do is to teach the rich to be generous ; that when Socialism is understood by the privileged classes, they will accept it. But it seems that they never will understand it, because they are guided not by reason but by instinct, which is simply a blind impulse towards self-preservation, *as they understand it*. But this same instinct is working in the people themselves, only stronger and more imperious, for their need is greater. It is this force which urges all social problems to their solution ; a selfish force indeed in the rich and strong, but in the poorer mass only the force of *hunger*. When this name is given to the demand of the people for the satisfaction of their reasonable needs, for the necessities of their life in fact, it will be seen to be one that must and will be granted sooner or later. REGINALD A. BECKETT.

## TOWN AND GOWN.

HAVING an engagement a little time back whereby I was obliged to go to Oxford, I was able so to time my visit that I should be there on the evening of the usual weekly meeting of the Oxford Branch of the Socialist League. Not having lately travelled by the Great Western Railway, I was unaware of there being third class carriages to the fast trains, I therefore booked by second class. I hardly regretted this after being seated, as my company was instructive. As soon as we were out of the darkened station I turned to the work I had to attend to and studied my papers of instructions. When this was done I looked out on the country to see if Moule and Wey were in flood, for it was raining heavily, as it had done for some days. This relaxation from the study of papers induced, I suppose, a lady opposite to say to me that it was a bad day for the wedding, and was I going to it? I said no, and that I was never at a wedding, to my comfort, but that I supposed a wet day did not much matter for a wedding, but was certainly trying at a funeral. The lady was good-natured enough not to be put out by this somewhat rude indifference to so soul-moving a contrivance as a modern wedding, and entered freely into jests at the expense of the unhappy who had not the courage or the wish to refuse to go to weddings. Our conversation lulling a little, I turned to consider and make a note or two as to what I should say at the meeting in the evening if I were asked to join in the discussion, and I mused over the text for debate which had been sent to me by the friend, who would be my host at Oxford. This was it: "For lack of knowledge." My friend had added as note, "This lack of knowledge, that is most fatal to progress, is the lack of knowledge of how others live and feel." One of my notes was, "Hear the other side, the most important and least allowed to speak; the 'other side' is practically dumb." When I had noted down thus far we were at Reading, and two other passengers got into the carriage. One of them was an English Church dignitary of such extraordinary cleanness of person, that I gaped with wonder at what soap and patience could do on a human being destined for the shining courts of paradise. This almost transparent image evidently did not belong to the aforesaid "other side." If the Royal and Imperial Queen of England, Ireland, India, etc., etc., had got into the carriage, with all her finest State robes on, and the fourpenny-bit of a crown stuck on the tip of her top-knot, it would hardly have been a greater contrast. Well, my mother-of-pearl-like Churchman found a friend in the lady who had talked awhile with one who was not all transparent, and they fell-to on gossip, leaving me free to think of the "great unwashed." Occasionally, what I wrote in my note-book got mixed up with the conversation of my opposites, and the incongruities must have cast a humorous smile on my otherwise absorbed face. As I went on I wrote down "these dumb have to depend upon 'middlemen'; now middlemen have, deservedly, a bad name, as their usual quality is not that of impartial judge between differing people, but rather that of the advocate for himself or his class; and for types of middlemen we may say, on one side, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and on the other, Mr. Bradlaugh; both respectable people," etc. While I was writing down this wise reflection, he with the little dignitary rosette on his hat-band, was so impressive on the subject of some sapling of his order doing pretty well at college, but as not being particularly bright, that my ears were engaged on his talk whether I enjoyed the distraction or not. It seemed to me, as my thoughts coursed at lightening speed, that a second-class carriage was not a bad place in which to consider causes of ill or well.

When I got to Oxford, and had done my particular business, I went to the College where my host was at *his* business; the work of putting two and two together, and, in the matter of academical life, finding (though he is a mathematician) that they make five, or perhaps seven, but certainly not four. After a simple lunch of bread-and-cheese, and quick talk on things various and moving, I left him to his further "nut-cracking," and went on my way, having first agreed to be back at College at 6 o'clock to meet two or three undergraduates, who were friendly to the cause of the people, at a modest dinner before going to the Branch meeting. I then wended my wet way about the still beautiful old city and University, and, as it was a place that had concerned me in my earlier years of life, I found much to make me notice, that any town not ugly in England, now, was a surprise as well as a



delightful wonder. One of the things claiming my attention was of history, on points of date of the construction of one of the ancient buildings, and in turning over books, what struck me most was, that the founders, in the main, gave their estates for the good of "poor scholars," and my mind recurred to the transparent dignity of the morning and his saplings to be provided for! Oxford is a place having this advantage over funerals in churchyards, that if you have thick shoes and an umbrella, you need not be wearied in mind though it may rain "cats and dogs," and the cats be "gib cats," and the dogs muzzled and likewise "melancholy."

I was back at College eager and hungry at 6 o'clock, and while my host was washing his hands I introduced myself to two undergraduates—somewhat fearfully, I must say—but as I was in for the penny of Socialist ignorance, I might not be disturbed at being in for the pound of sucking learned students. They met my somewhat old-fashioned advances with very becoming friendliness, and we four sat down to dinner, in an ancient seat of learning, in a beaming frame of mind, though the minds themselves were almost as various as the direction of the weather-cocks on the many steeples of the place. Now, catch an "Oxford man," a young one, just on the second or third rung of the ladder of learning, and, not unjustly, you may expect he will be reserved, or antagonistic, or bumptious, or in other ways inhuman, but the colleagues at my host's table were neither, they were good company with natural tact; and, as it will out, neither of them asked me what I thought would be a good rendering of a passage in Plato! So far, for awhile, with "Gown." We four now trudged through the lit wet streets to the meeting-place of the Oxford Branch of the League.

The Temperance Hall is a good enough and airy room, not so large as to look dismal with a small meeting, and yet with space to hold a hundred or more, easily. On entering I saw a known comrade, the representative of the Oxford Branch at our last congress. I was at once at home and in good company. After awhile, chairman and secretary were in place, and the work of the evening began by the aforesaid congressman opening the discussion—the subject pitched upon having been chosen from the curious letters which had lately appeared in the *Daily News*. Facts and figures were given in proof of our lack of knowledge, and of how things went from bad to worse because so few amongst us noted amazing anomalies wrapped in customs of the Mumbo Jumbo, "respectability;" the devotees of this great god not being anxious to encourage knowledge which might reduce the offerings at the highly favoured shrine;—Silence being Golden here, surely! Well, our company, amounting to some twenty-five or more, among which were two or three women, followed on in discussion, and in that curious variety of ways in which I have observed different people look at the same facts. Still, the points were kept to, and the arguments carried on in a spirited way. One of the undergraduates spoke, and without regard to the possible consequences to himself. There was considerable freedom of speech from the more distinctly "working men," and illustrations were vigorous and often greatly amusing, so that we were in no way dull. The writer of this article put in his railway-considered words to an audience too kind to be harshly critical; and my college host added a short speech in a way very much unlike an Oxford "don," but humanly wise; and so we came away. As my feet clattered in the now quiet eleven-o'clock streets, I thought "Here are the founder's 'poor scholars'!" No need here, if things were as they should be, for long galleries of well-filled libraries being only accidentally tenanted with a student as at present, day after day. It does not need a very strong imagination to see your cobbler, or seamstress, or wheelwright, mason, or girl schoolmistress busy at his or her work for half the day and treading the quadrangles of the quiet colleges for the other half, and no man saying them nay.

I parted with my host under his college gateway, after witnessing there, at past eleven o'clock at night, a half-comical, half-rough bit of wrestling bear-fight between three or four students; just to get their wind, I suppose, after, perhaps, some heated controversy on the merits of a deceased jockey—who knows? I came away to the inn for the night, and slept the sleep of—say—one who has slept for years under the sound of the bells from the many towers of this noble city.

At breakfast in the morning (it being degree time) there were some out-of-college young fellows in the coffee-room. One of them was silent and sullen over the fire, seemingly as if he had too much care on his mind, or too little. After a while another student came in; he was bright enough and company for me. He had taken his degree the day before, and smiled pleasantly at his own name in the *Times* as a B.A. He fell to asking what I thought of the translated Welsh prayer given in the newspaper as having been offered at a "Gorsedd of the Bards of the Isle of Britain" in the Temple Garden the day before. I read it seriously and said I thought it admirable. He told me it was much briefer and better in the original; at which I expressed an old longing I had to know Welsh. My friend thought this strange, for he said, most people speak slightly of the Welsh and their language; to which I repeated to him Carlyle's saying, concluding with "mostly fools." From this we (my friend was a Welshman who could talk Welsh, and from Jesus College of course) got to talking of various things, and among others of the Welsh poets, of the Icelandic sagas, of George Borrow, of William Morris, and as much other talk as could possibly be put into half an hour. When I left, he asked me why Morris did not go to Wales and preach Socialism? I answered, "Why not? the Welsh people at all events are worthy of the effort." As long as I live I shall say that a good free honest companion is the best of boons in the wide world. Given that we get Socialism there will be more of them, and what is perhaps better still, a less number of unfree,

cross-grained darkeners of counsel and other learned and ignorant pests of the present state of things,—existing, let us hope, only to die, and that quickly. This seems as if all I had to say which would in any way interest my comrades is said; but it is possible that those of them who have not looked about such a place as Oxford still is might be interested in my saying a word or two to picture one of the pleasantest colleges? I wanted some further information about the buildings of it, and my host in the afternoon, when he had done the first part of his day's work, good-naturedly offered to get me inside the library. We called at the porter's lodge and found the authorities were out at exercise; but while thinking of what next to do, one of the powers came into the quadrangle who was personally known to my host. This lock-compeller addressed my host in a half-jocular half-cynical way as a "Dynamiter;" upon which my friend introduced me as another of the same trade! However, we found our way into the library; and although Cerberus was in a hurry, he got interested in my questions and doubts as to facts, or things stated to be facts, and stayed longer than we expected. On his leaving, my host said, "Well, you can leave us here alone a little; we will promise not to blow the place up, and will shut-to the door with its spring lock." Some laughter and some shrugging of the shoulders, and we were alone to enjoy there what was a pleasure indeed. A great, long, handsome old wide gallery of a place, misty towards the end from its great length. Bookcase after full bookcase, set at right angles to the walls, windowed right and left, leaving a private chamber with its double bench and reading desks, space after space the whole length of the room. Overhead, the old oak cradled roof which clearly belonged to the same walls before they were transformed in Queen Elizabeth's time. In truth, this portion of the building was part of what remained of Chichele's monks' college, taken over by the founder of the present college. At the end of this, the old library, was the new one at right angles to it, and of even greater length—built by Inigo Jones in James the First's time. Here you have two great libraries only crying aloud for "poor scholars" by the hundred to fill them and be filled by them with such good as heads untrammelled by hypocrisy, misbelief, class fear, and other devils, could make use of.

PH. W.

### THE OLD, OLD STORY.

A FEW days ago the *Daily News* published the opinions of a Dr. Zinkgraf on the social conditions of the Congo. Dr. Zinkgraf pathetically expatiates on the cruelties of the native races towards the negroes, the reason of his objection being, apparently, that solitary confinement or hard labour would be as effectual punishments. Dr. Zinkgraf is very solicitous about the negro's self-respect, and about his having an "aim in life." "It is work," says Dr. Zinkgraf, "which teaches him his personal value and the aim of his existence." Now for giving him the "aim of his existence," and a value for his personal labour, Dr. Zinkgraf evidently thinks the negro ought to be truly thankful to the European, the fact of his retaining this personal value for himself or giving it to his benefactor being a matter of no consequence. Poor negroes! How happy were you before you knew anything about "personal value" and "aims of existence!" But there is worse in store for you. Hear the learned doctor! "Before the negroes are capable of adopting the Christian religion truly and with result, their whole nature must have changed, and this can only be brought about by their being kept to physical labour under energetic guidance, so that they may come to acknowledge its value." Penal servitude is thus an indispensable preparation for the true Christian spirit. One of these days we may hear of an insurrection in Congo, and a necessity for the establishment of order by martial law. But the Revolution may also come in Europe before the governing classes exactly expect it. And then the personal value of Dr. Zinkgraf, and other very energetic guiders of niggers, may sink very low indeed, and the aim of their existence be considerably modified. Tormenting niggers for the good of their better selves may not be quite so profitable when there are no Governments at home ready to assist them with Gatlings and "square formation."

E. BELFORD BAX.

### LITERARY NOTICES.

"A Letter to Employees of the Midland and other Railway Companies" has been issued by Edward Carpenter on behalf of the Sheffield Socialist Society, and may be procured from that body at the Wentworth Café, Sheffield. It is a calm logical exposé of the way in which railroad corporations pile up their profits out of the labour of their servants, and occasion is duly taken to point the moral of the tale.

The *Southport Standard* of November 13 has an article summing up its late battle with a sweater, in which it has been virtually victorious though technically cast in damages. Were all the local journals of the kingdom as courageous as this one, and would speak out, less wrong would be done the wellnigh helpless workers.

A mass of literature, emanating from various railroad and emigration agencies, lies—in a double sense—upon our table. Lurid light is cast upon the tangled webs of falsehood by the letters and papers continually being received from colonists inveigled out of England by their specious promises. Beside them is, among others, the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* of October 7, containing several advertisements and notices of monster meetings of the unemployed, and admissions of general distress. Whosoever monopoly has set its accursed foot there is poverty, and labour suffers.

"Lays and Legends" (Longmans, Green, and Co., 5s.), by E. Nesbit (Mrs. Bland), is a collection of poems, most of which have already appeared in various periodicals. While they are not of the highest, they are yet of very high excellence. The shorter poems are strong and tuneful, and may be read with enjoyment and remembered with pleasure. The really powerful "New Year Song" on p. 100 is a veritable gem.

S.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### THE LONDON SOCIETY OF COMPOSITORS AND THE PROPOSED FEDERATION OF THE METROPOLITAN PRINTING AND PAPER TRADES.

A Special General Meeting of the London Society of Compositors was held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on Saturday last, to consider the Report of the Delegates appointed to devise a scheme for the Federation of the Metropolitan Printing and Paper Trades. The meeting emphatically affirmed the principle of federation, in spite of some paltry cavilling and vexatious opposition on the part of a section of the members, but unfortunately allowed itself to be bamboozled by a pompous flatulent individual of the name of Radley. He, whilst pretending to be in favour of federation, took up a very large share of the time of the meeting with an harangue of the most narrow-minded pettifoggish character in proposing an amendment in regard to the representation on the executive of the federated bodies, which showed that it was not federation but domination that he desired. The Report had stated that it was a vital point in regard to the proposed federation that it should be on the basis of equal representation and voting power; but this obviously reasonable proposition to all those who fully realise the true principle of equality and brotherhood which is implied in Trades' Unionism was too wide for the narrow soul of Mr. Radley, who was so full of his own importance and that of the illustrious Society of London Comps. that he could apparently conceive of no virtue and intelligence outside of our ranks, and appeared to be possessed with the idea that the sole motive that could possibly actuate other societies in federating with us would be in order to plunder and destroy our magnificent and wealthy organisation. Possessing the fatal gift of fluency, by the aid of specious clap-trap and the meeting being somewhat out of the control of the chairman, who is yet new to his duties, this mischievous amendment was carried by a small majority, and the matter is remitted back to the delegates. It is earnestly to be hoped that all those who feel the importance of this question of federation will take care to be in force on the next occasion the question is brought forward, in order that there may be no further delay in giving practical effect to the principle of federation to which the London Society of Compositors is committed.—T. B.

### UNITED TRADES' COMMITTEE OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS.

The undersigned members of the London United Trades' Committee, acting as the representatives of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners in the London district, beg to inform the public that we know of no authority whereby Messrs. Scott and Wilkinson took upon themselves the liberty to represent the Society before the Prince of Wales at Sandringham, as no member was officially appointed to do so.—(Signed) John T. Mackie, chairman, Robert A. Stonehouse, F. Moore, John Smyth, Josiah A. Powell, F. Gregory, James Maxwell, David Duncan, John Kennedy, Charles Lye, and G. Drew, secretary, United Trades' Committee of Carpenters and Joiners. [Possibly the "representatives" of some of the other trades who took part in this humiliating business had equally little authority, and if so we hope that their Unions will follow the example of the Carpenters and Joiners.]

### THE MINERS' NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

MANCHESTER, Nov. 25.—At to-day's sitting it was resolved: "That in view of our latent productive ability the time has arrived when seven hours should in all cases constitute a working-day; and, further, that each delegate go back to his men and propagate the above as a policy after which we meet again at a conference to be agreed and arrange if possible, when the system of seven hours shall be commenced." A resolution proposing a stoppage of work for ten days in January was negative. A resolution was adopted approving of the Seven Hours (Mines, Scotland) Bill, and recommending the labour party in Parliament to support the measure. A resolution was passed in favour of a Royal Commission on the question of royalty rent and way-leaves, and another declaring that men should have three years' experience before they were allowed to work alone in any dangerous place.

### NEW COLLIERS' FEDERATION.

WOLVERHAMPTON, Nov. 30.—Yesterday a new federation of miners was started at Wolverhampton. It embraces North and South Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Shropshire. Twenty delegates, representing ten thousand paying members, assembled, and organisers were appointed to visit the districts and explain the rules of the federation. Mr. E. Edwards, Burslem, was appointed president. Encouraging reports were given touching unionism in the various districts, and the belief was expressed that a powerful federation would be built up in the Midlands. The conference adjourned till December 20.

### SIGNALMEN'S HOURS OF DUTY.

LEICESTER, Nov. 24.—A well-attended meeting of the night signalmen of the Midland Railway Co. in the Leicester district was held here to-day. The chairman explained that the Company had just issued a circular establishing a fourth class. The wages of the first-class men were from 21s. to 23s.; second, 20s. to 22s.; third, 19s. to 21s.; and fourth, 17s. to 19s., the last-named also being without bonus. The chairman concluded by submitting the manifesto of a Leeds Committee declaring for the eight hours' movement. A signalman explained that on the previous night he had worked thirteen hours; that 148 trains had passed him; that over 2000 lives had been entrusted to his care; that he had made 3500 figures: 1500 bell beats, 2300 dial signals, and pulled over the levers 500 times. For the whole of that he had been paid at the munificent rate of 3½d. an hour. (Shame.) He moved that the meeting should approve the Leeds Manifesto and award it its undivided support. This was carried unanimously, and delegates to the Leeds meeting were appointed.

### THE SPINDLE AND THE LOOM.

COLNE.—THE WAGES AGITATION.—On Tuesday, Nov. 23, a shop meeting of weavers employed at Messrs. Hartley Brothers and Houldsworth, and also of Messrs. Eccles and Co.'s Winewall Mill, weavers, was held in the Co-operative Assembly Rooms, Cotton Tree, for the purpose of considering the present unsatisfactory rate of wages paid at these firms. A deputation of five from the Colne Weavers' Association were also present. A number of new members were entered on the register of the association. Ultimately it was resolved that the meeting be adjourned.

IS THIS JUSTICE?—At a certain mill in this district there is a ring throstle on a spindle who had the misfortune to break one or two spindles in doffing. He was stopped 1s. 9d. for each. Recently she happened to be out of the alley, when one of the spindles flew out on the floor and broke. For this,

again, she had to stand another abatement of 1s. 9d. She returned rather early one day to the mill from breakfast. The engine had been running all the meal-time, and her frame was stopped. The overlooker came to her and told her to set her frame on. She then told him she would not until the proper time of starting. She thought the overlooker was picking at her when he passed all the other frames, and this made her more defiant, and she told the overlooker that he could give her notice from that date. He told her she would have to leave right away. The female was wronged, firstly, by being abated 5s. 3d. for something accidental; secondly, by the overlooker passing all the other frames and telling her to set her frame on, which was provocation; thirdly, by the overlooker trying to compel her to violate the Factory Act by running her frame in contravention to the factory laws.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

### STRIKE AND LOCK-OUT OF MILL HANDS AT DUNDEE.

Last Monday morning a strike on a limited and a lock-out on an extensive scale took place at the Camperdown Linen Works, situate at Lochee, a suburb of Dundee, and belonging to Messrs. Cox Brothers, jute manufacturers. The works are the largest of the kind in Scotland, and give employment to more than 5000 hands. The strike broke out among a number of young women engaged in the power-loom department, in consequence of dissatisfaction with the present rate of wages. As they did not return after breakfast-time, the whole of the looms in the factory were stopped simultaneously, by order of the employers, and the work was brought to a standstill. Shortly afterwards the engines were put off, and all the departments of the Camperdown Linen Works were closed. 5000 work-people are consequently thrown out of employment. It is said that in the course of the day representatives of the workers waited on the employers to ascertain when work would be resumed, and the answer was, "When the bell rings." The strike and lock-out caused much excitement in Lochee, as a large proportion of the inhabitants depend on Messrs. Cox for employment.

### AMERICA.

The cotton mill operatives at Fall River have determined on a movement for an increase of 13 per cent in wages. The scale was cut to that extent in 1884, and the condition of the cotton market and the market for the manufactured product is better now than before the reduction. The mills have recently declared dividends, but they show no disposition to concede the demand, and it is likely to lead to another of those great strikes for which Fall River is notorious.

Writs have been served at Providence, R. I., on the Riverside Oswego Mills to recover the sum of 1000 dollars on each of the forty-eight cases of foreign labour imported, this being the penalty incurred by importing foreign labour under chapter 164 of the United States statutes at large.

The Miners' Association of the Connellsville coal region, whose membership is 12,000, has presented demands to the operators for uniform house-rents of 1 dol. per month for each room; 1 dol. per month for coal to be carried to the houses; that scales be placed on each tippie; that coal be paid for by weight, not measure, and check-weighmen be allowed; wages paid every two weeks, without cash deductions for store orders; a new scale for car workers; that trappers and boys' wages be advanced from 68 cents to 1 dollar per day; and that the association be recognised. The local K. of L. will support them in their demands.

The Plumbers' strike in New York still continues with no break in their ranks. Since the strike 109 firms have yielded to union rules and these shops are among the largest. The men are as determined and confident as ever.

### "A CALL FOR A CONVENTION OF TRADES UNIONS."

A circular headed as above has just been received, which we gladly publish as evidence of the growth of that spirit of solidarity amongst the workers which it is the special mission of the Socialist League to stimulate:

"CLEVELAND, O., November 10, 1886.—To the Officers and Members of all Trades Unions of America—Fellow Workers: On May 18, 1886, a conference of the chief officers of various National and International Trades Unions was held in Philadelphia, Pa., at which twenty National and International Unions were represented, and twelve more sent letters of sympathy tendering their support to the conference. This made at that time thirty-two National and International Trades Unions, with 367,736 members in good standing. . . . The time has now arrived to draw the bonds of unity much closer together between all the Trades Unions of America! We need an annual Trades Congress that shall have for its object: 1. The formation of Trades Unions and the encouragement of the Trades Union movement in America. 2. The organisation of Trades Assemblies, Trades Councils or Central Labour Unions in every city in America, and the further encouragement of such bodies. 3. The founding of State Trades Assemblies, or State Labour Congresses to influence State legislation in the interest of the working masses. 4. The establishment of National and International Trades Unions, based upon the strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies. 5. An American Federation or Alliance of all National and International Trades Unions, to aid and assist each other, and, furthermore, to secure national legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion by peaceful and legal methods in favour of Organised Labour. 6. To aid and encourage the Labour Press of America, and to disseminate tracts and literature on the labour movement. With these objects in view a convention of all Trades Unions in the United States and Canadas will be held at Druid Hall, 146 South Fourth Street, Columbus, O., to begin on Wednesday, December 8th, 1886, at 10 a.m. The basis of representation will be: From National or International Unions, less than 4000 members, one delegate; 4000 or more, two delegates; 8000 or more, three delegates; 16,000 or more, four delegates; 32,000 or more, five delegates, and so on. From each local Trades Union, not having a National or International Union, one delegate. But no Trades Union shall be entitled to representation which has not been organised three months prior to the session of this convention. . . .—Yours fraternally, P. J. McGuire, secretary, Box 180, Cleveland, O. Committee: W. Weihe, Iron and Steel Workers; P. F. Fitzpatrick, Iron Molders; A. Strasser, Cigar Makers; Chris. Evans, Coal Miners; P. J. McGuire, Carpenters."

### FRANCE.

TROYES.—Enquiry Commissions and Labour Commissions are quite the order of the day now; at Troyes the Municipal Council has voted the constitution of a Labour Commission to watch the interests of the workers and inquire into all labour questions, etc., etc. This is very comforting to the worker, especially now the winter is setting in, and he will want some heartening up to go through with it without too loud a voice of complaint.

**ATHIS-MONS (ORNE).**—A certain man is pointed out to us who possesses almost all the land of this Commune, and who is "without a penny" when the question of paying workmen arises. He is brother to our former ambassador at Berlin. These persons are forced to exploit one way or other; else how would they live? When they pay, they pay little; this one has perfected the system, for he pays not at all.—*Cri du Peuple*.

**PARIS.**—At a factory of "unbreakable dolls," a very successful industry, apparently, a family of three persons skilful at the work can gain 240 francs a month between them, from which must be deducted one-fifth for materials, leaving 192 francs, an average of 64 francs a-piece. Yet the head of this business, M. Jumeau, in a pamphlet-advertisement distributed among his customers comfortably asserts that a woman can make a good day's wage of it, and that the work is well paid. In 1885, this good man was "decorated," heaven knows for what, whereupon the poor servile toilers of his ateliers subscribed to present their illustrious chief with the "star of honour."

#### AUSTRIA.

**VIENNA, Nov. 20.**—The following statements are designed to enlighten the English public a little on the situation of the Austrian proletariat. In Gasser's iron-foundry at St. Pölten deductions are made from the starvation wages already paid to supply the expenses for lighting and other things. In Harland's factory in the same town workers are forbidden to accept any magistrate into the common friendly society, or to visit public meetings, under pain of immediate dismissal. In Dania's factory, Vienna, X District, we find 26 workers and 26 apprentices, with salaries from 60 kr. (1s. 11½d.) to 1 fl. (1s. 2½d.) weekly. They never obtain even this completely, owing to deductions that often amount to half the wages. They are indemnified by excellent treatment—slaps, boxes on the ear, and kicks are in order. The smithy is full of smoke, owing to the defective furnace, which forces the smiths to go out alternately to breathe, and most often to take cold. The door is near the place where the iron-workers swing their hammers, so that a man entering incautiously runs the risk of being killed. When the factory inspector approaches, a foreman runs to the forge and stops the swinging. Wages are paid very irregularly. It is forbidden to complain to the factory inspector on pain of dismissal. Another paradise, especially for apprentices, is Schranz and Rödinger's factory. One instance will do. On October 23 Mr. Schranz seized an apprentice named Adam by the hair and kicked him viciously. When the lad attempted to run off, this "employer" threatened him with an iron pole, and the boy was again subjected to slaps and kicks.

We have a law introducing the eleven hours normal working day, but at Alt-Rohlau, near the famous Karlsbad, in some houses it is made to last from five o'clock in the morning to one o'clock at night. In a factory-hell of that town women obtain the gigantic salary of 20 kr.—i.e., 4½d.—per day! At a tailor's in Warnsdorf in Bohemia the workshop is also a winter stable for poultry. Remarkable invention of Mr. Smrcek—such is the name of the humane gentleman—at the side of labour-saving machinery we have in the civilised nineteenth century also stable-saving workshops! All this is nothing when compared with an act of savage cruelty which took place in Brünn. At Brand and Shulier's the apprentice Filka was cudgelled to death by the foreman Duffek. Up till now the murderous scoundrel is free from any prosecution. Comment is needless.—F. S.

**TURIN.**—The Italian Typographical Association of Turin has set on foot a struggle for the emancipation of Turinese printing. They have presented a tariff to the masters, fifteen of whom have accepted it. The rest have not yet consented, wherefore 300 men are on strike, and hope to be successful, as the funds of the association are considerable.

**Notice.**—The Strike Committee of the Socialist League invite communications from all interested in the Labour Struggle. H. A. Barker, General Secretary; H. Charles and V. Dave, Foreign Secretaries; T. Binning, Treasurer, and Editor of the Labour Column.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE VIERZON STRIKES.

The following letter has been received from Madame Lafargue at Paris:

"You will have learned how the Municipal Council has just refused the sum of 4000 francs claimed by Vaillant for the men at Vierzon. A group of Socialists are getting up a subscription in aid of the men on strike, and are making an appeal for help to the 'citoyennes Socialistes de tous les pays.' In my sister's absence I write to you, with the request that you will appeal to your countrywomen to help us in a cause which is that of the working-classes, and therefore of the women of all countries. The smallest contributions will be welcome.—Sincerely yours, LAURA LAFARGUE."

This is an appeal which certainly ought to be responded to, and I may say that I should be very glad to receive any contributions from my fellow countrywomen who are interested in the work of our foreign comrades, and sympathise with those families of Vierzon who are now suffering for the courageous attitude maintained by the workers of that commune.

Kelmscott House, Upper Mall,  
Hammersmith.

MAY MORRIS.

### SOCIALISTS AND THE NEWSPAPER PRESS.

There is an idea in the minds of many of the sympathisers with the Socialist movement that their advocates do not attempt to defend their principles more generally in the newspapers. My purpose in writing is to assure those doubters that letters after letters are sent to the editors, but they close their columns and will not allow this subject to be discussed. I have sent several letters, notably one in reply to a Mr. Griffiths which appeared in the *Echo* lately, a paper which professes to be Radical in its opinions and has for its motto "Be just, and fear not." And in the face of all its professions of Radicalism its conductors are base enough to sneer and jeer in their Notes at the efforts of honest men who are trying to mitigate the condition of the poor and unemployed, besides professedly opening their columns to a correspondence and then closing them to all but those who will attempt to write down the movement. The fact is, those men know that the theory of Socialism is true, and their fear is that its triumph is near if they allow a free, fair, and honest discussion in their papers. Under these circumstances the duty of Socialists is clear; it is to agitate, educate, and organise.

PHILIP R. DOMONEY.

Southampton, Nov. 25.

## REVOLUTIONARY RUMBLINGS.

### BRITAIN.

It is not often that the proceedings at the Surveyors' Institute are interesting to the general public, but the opening address of the president, Mr. Beadel, M.P., last week, contained some statements which are calculated to make an impression on the public. According to Mr. Beadel, who was no doubt careful to be correct, the average selling price of agricultural land in England fell from £52 per acre in 1875 to £32 per acre in 1885; and we all know that many landowners would be glad to get £30 an acre to-day if they could. But not only has the value of agricultural land fallen, but the bulk disposed of during the last ten years has diminished by two-thirds. Moreover, since the Socialistic agitations began land has become practically unsaleable. The question which occupies many shrewd minds is whether the bottom has been reached; but it must be confessed that the outlook for those pecuniarily interested in land is not very encouraging at present.—*Financial Chronicle*.

### AMERICA.

#### A. R. PARSONS AND THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

**CHICAGO, Nov. 17, '86.**—To all local assemblies of Knights of Labor, and kindred organisations throughout the world: Greeting.—Albert R. Parsons has for about ten years past been a member in good standing of the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, bringing to this Assembly (L. A. 1307) a transfer card signed by our general worthy foreman, Richard Griffiths. His career as a Knight has been without a blemish. Indicted for alleged conspiracy in the so-called Haymarket murder, the States' Attorney frankly declared that he and the other defendants in the so-called Anarchist trial were selected to be proceeded against not because they were more guilty than others, but because they were recognised leaders in the movement evidencing the discontent of the wage-class. Brother Parsons voluntarily presented himself for trial, coming like a true Knight to the conflict, strong in conscious innocence and upheld by a resolute courage. The trial was but a travesty on justice. The rulings of the presiding judge compelled the defendants to accept a jury most of whom confessed in advance their prejudgment of the case. The evidence failed utterly to connect the defendants with the throwing of the bomb, save the testimony of the impeached Gilmer, whose story was rejected by every man of honest intelligence. The verdict was merely the response of a jury of employes to the demands of their employers and the rancour of a panic-stricken and deceived public. We pronounce it an outrage, and claim that its execution, if carried out, will be simply judicial murder. In taking this action and requesting your co-operation, we are not unmindful of the fact that our late General Assembly at Richmond went no further than to commend these men to mercy. But with a fuller knowledge of the facts in the case and of the processes of this cruel trial and unrighteous conviction, we feel constrained to put on record our condemnation of this judgment and to demand as the simple need of justice what our Order at large has asked as the boon of mercy. We ask you to join us in our protest against this proposed crime, and that you at once notify this Assembly of any action you may take in the matter.—Local Assembly 1307. Address all communications to Fred W. Long, Recording Secretary L. A. 1307, 217 West Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.

### FRANCE.

**THE CHICAGO ANARCHISTS; PARIS, Nov. 27.**—Most of the members of the Paris Municipal Council and the Council General of the Seine held a special meeting yesterday, and signed an address to be forwarded to Mr. MacLane, the United States' Minister, requesting him to intercede with the Governor of Illinois on behalf of the Chicago Anarchists now lying under sentence of death.—*Reuter*.

**TOULON, Nov. 26.**—Five Socialists have been sentenced to fines and costs for holding a meeting on Socialism the week before. Nothing daunted, they intend convening another meeting to collect money for the fines on Tuesday next.

**BONCHAMP, Nov. 22.**—Deputies Basly and Planteau set out yesterday for Ronchamp, where they will take part in a large meeting which has been organised by the miners of this district.

### ITALY.

**ALESSANDRIA.**—The anti-clerical party of Alessandria held a large meeting on Sunday 14, about 4000 persons being present, and twenty-four associations sending contingents. The band played for the first time the "Chant of the Labour Party" amid much applause. The only resolution was one expressing the desire for emancipation from superstition and clerical rule. One of the local papers says, however, that the speaking treated more of Socialist and labour questions.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

**General Meeting.**—As the Council did not finish its deliberations until ten o'clock, the General Meeting of London Members was adjourned to Monday next, December 6, at eight o'clock.

### Executive.

At their usual weekly meeting on 29th the Council unanimously voted, "That this meeting of the Council of the Socialist League desires to express its heartiest sympathy with comrade Domela Nieuwenhuis in his imprisonment for the cause of Socialism." It was also resolved that the new secretary be elected by Dec. 20 at the latest, and take office on January 1, 1887. Nominations to be received up to December 13.

### STRIKE COMMITTEE.

H. C., 1s.; V. D., 2s.; M. M., 5s.; North London Branch (collected at Regent's Park), per Cantwell, 5s. 1d.; Hoxton, per Barker, 1s. 2d.—T. BINNING, Treasurer.

### FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Southport Liberty of Labour League, 2s. 6d.; collected by K. F., 3s.; collected by Mainwaring (Hyde Park), 4s. 1½d. Deficit, £2, 10s. 6d.

PH. W., Treasurer, Nov. 30.

### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Hammersmith Branch (two weeks), £1; Bloomsbury Branch (weekly) 5s.; T. B. (weekly), 6d.—£1, 5s. 6d. Glasgow Branch, first subscription to Fund omitted from list in October, 10s.

PH. W., Treasurer, Nov. 30.



## BRANCH REPORTS.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Friday, Nov. 26th, A. K. Donald catechised the Branch on the second chapter of Joynes's 'Catechism.'—L. W.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, November 24, H. H. Sparling lectured on "The Delights of Laziness." On Sunday evening, A. K. Donald spoke on "Primitive Communism." Good audiences and discussions. Fair sale of *Commonweals*.—W. B.

**CROYDON.**—Last Sunday evening, W. H. Uteley lectured on "Land Thieves and Labour Thieves" to a good audience. His lucid review of the rise of capitalism was listened to very attentively. Four new members enrolled, good collection, and sale of *Commonweal* fair.—A. T.

**FULHAM.**—Wm. Morris and Tarleton addressed our open-air meeting on Sunday morning at Walham Green, and was followed by McCormack, Mordhurst, Knight, and Mahney; also had some help from a neighbouring Land Nationalist; received some very ill-mannered opposition from the Tories, who indulged in the usual personalities. Mainwaring lectured at our rooms in the evening, and a good discussion followed. Four new members made. Sale of *Commonweal* 60. We intend to carry on our open-air propaganda on Saturday nights, and shall be glad of speakers who can help us, as our usual speakers cannot get away from business.—F. M'C.

**HACKNEY.**—Held a meeting at London Fields, Broadway, on Sunday morning, A. Donald and Flockton speaking. Two members made.—W. D., ast.-sec.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—On Sunday evening, Nov. 28th, Sidney Webb, of the Fabian Society, gave a lucid explanation of the theory of "Economic Rent." The lecturer said the theory in relation to land was first enunciated by Anderson, a Scotch corn-factor, in the last century, received various additions by West, Malthus, and Ricardo, and was finally elaborated by J. S. Mill, who became a Socialist in consequence. Later economists applied the same reasoning to capital and special ability, and the most recent were coming to the conclusion that all economic rent should be enjoyed by the community collectively.

**HOXTON.**—A good meeting was held on Sunday morning, and in the evening a number of members and friends took tea together, followed by a concert, which gave general satisfaction.

**MITCHAM.**—No meeting on the Green on Sunday morning. In the evening we held a meeting in our club-room; good discussion carried on by Gregory, Harrison, Wick, and others. *Commonweals* sold out, and four new members made.—C. H., sec.

**NORTH LONDON.**—We held a good meeting on Sunday morning in Regent's Park; Cantwell and Nicoll spoke. At Harrow Road on Saturday, Cantwell and Graham spoke to a fair audience. Sale of *Commonweals* good.—W. B., sec.

**BRADFORD.**—On Sunday, November 28, P. Bland read at the Exchange Debating Club, City Road, a paper on "Competition," which was well received by the audience. A good discussion followed, in which Minty and some sympathisers took part. We sold some pamphlets and a few *Commonweals*.—C. H., sec.

**GLASGOW.**—Good open-air meetings were held last Sunday on the Green, and on George's Square, Warrington and Rae being the speakers. On Sunday evening there was a good attendance of members at our rooms, when various points of Socialism were discussed. The report this week is incomplete, owing to Grey being off duty through illness.

**HULL.**—On Sunday, at our first public meeting in our new premises, the 'Manifesto' of the League, with Morris's and Bax's notes thereon, was read, and gave rise to an earnest discussion. John Delvin is now secretary of the Branch in place of Teesdale.—T.

**IPSWICH.**—On Wednesday last, the secretary of the Radical Association lectured on "Socialism a Myth." Our comrades attended, and a resolution was carried by nearly two to one in favour of Socialism. On Saturday, Fred Henderson debated the question of Socialism with Sydney Foulger, a leading local Radical, in the Co-operative Hall, F. J. Bugg in the chair. The hall was crowded, and when a resolution was put "That this meeting believes that in Socialism lies the only hope of the workers," only one hand was raised in opposition. On Sunday morning, Bailey and Henderson spoke on the Old Cattle Market, where the police interfered last week, and the hottest Tory crib in Ipswich. We made the old Tory walls ring again as they echoed three cheers for the Social Revolution. In the afternoon a good meeting was held at the Ship Launch. Sale of literature fair.—H. B.

**BEDFORD PARK CLUB.**—Wm. Morris lectured here Saturday 27th on "The Dawn of a New Epoch." The discussion was wandering and fatuous in the extreme, giving little for the lecturer to reply to.—S.

**PROGRESSIVE SOCIETY, PENTONVILLE.**—On Sunday, Nov. 28th, Wm. Morris lectured to a large and somewhat excitable audience. Animated discussion followed the lecture and was satisfactorily replied to.

**SOCIALISM AT CHELMSFORD.**—At a meeting of the Red Cow Mutual Improvement Society at Chelmsford on Friday, Mr. D. Kevan presiding, Mr. J. E. Barlas, B.A., Oxford, who has lately come to reside in Chelmsford, opened a discussion on "Socialism the Remedy for the Existing Evils of Society." There was a large attendance of members and others. At the close of a speech of over an hour's duration, Mr. Barlas moved: "That this meeting is of opinion that Socialism is the only remedy for existing economic evils." Several questions were asked at the close of the speech; and Mr. J. Gibbs moved the adjournment of the debate, which was agreed to.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday Dec. 3, at 8 p.m. Continued Debate on "Middle-Class Socialism" by F. Lessner.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Dec. 5, at 8.30 p.m. P. Barry, "The Future of Labour." Wednesday 8, at 8.30, E. Belfort Bax, "Ethics and Socialism."

**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Dec. 5, at 7.30 p.m. A. K. Donald, "Political Economy from a Socialist Standpoint."

**Fulham.**—338 Fulham Road. Sunday at 8.

**Hackney.**—We have taken premises at 79 Sheep Lane, London Fields, Broadway, and have drawn up rules for the formation of a Club. Shall be glad of any assistance in the shape of books, furniture, etc. Communicate with W. Diggins, assist. sec., 8 Holcroft Road, Well Street, Hackney.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Dec. 5, at 8 p.m. George Bernard Shaw (Fabian Society), "Some Illusions of Individualism."

**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Dec. 5, at 11.30 a.m. Committee Meeting: important business. In the evening, at 8, a Lecture.

**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday.

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.

**North London.**—Business Meeting at 32 Camden Road Fridays at 8.

## Country Branches.

**Bingley.**—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

**Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Rd. Wednesdays, at 8.

**Dublin.**—102 Capel Street. Sunday at 7.30 p.m.; Thursday at 8 p.m.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Free Tron Hall, Monday Dec. 6, Leo Melliet, B.A., LL.B., "The Aims of the French Commune." Tickets 1s., 6d., and 3d., to be had at 4 Park Street, and B. Given, 20 Bristo St.

**Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Saturday evening at 6 an open-air meeting will be held at the Green. On Sunday open-air meetings will be held on the Green at 11.30 and 4.30; and at George's Sq. at 12.30. In the evening, in our Rooms at 7 o'clock, a Discussion will take place on "Should we advocate Palliatives?"

**Hamilton.**—Branch meets every Thursday evening at 7.30 in the British Workman Meeting Room.

**Hull.**—11 Princess Street, off Mason Street and Sykes Street. Club Room open 7 to 10 every evening; Sundays 10 am. to 10 p.m. Public Lectures every Sunday at 7 p.m. Dec. 5 Nicoll's "Law and Order."

**Ipswich.**—The Branch has left the George Inn, and have not yet procured fit premises for the club about to be formed.

**Leeds.**—New Fleece Inn, Pemberton St., Dewsbury Rd.

**Leicester.**—Will meet at 8 p.m. on Wednesdays at Silver Street. Sunday Dec. 5, Members' Meeting in the morning; afternoon at 2.45 in the Spiritualists' Hall, J. L. Mahon will lecture on "A Plea for Socialism."

**Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. prompt. Lecture with discussion at 8 o'clock.

**Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

**Sa.** Harrow Road ("P. of Wales") 8 ... The Branch

**S.** Mile-end Waste ..... 8 ... The Branch

**S.** Hackney—"Salmon and Ball" 11.30...Lane

Hammersmith—Beardon Rd. 11.30...The Branch

London Fields—Broadway ... 11.30...H. Graham

Marylebone—Salisbury St. ... 11.30...The Branch

Mile-end Waste ..... 11.30...The Branch

Mitcham Fair Green ..... 11.30...Tarleton

Regent's Park ..... 11.30...H. G. Arnold

St. Pancras Arches ..... 11.30...The Branch

Walham Green, opposite Station 11.30...H. Sparling

Hyde Park (near Marble Arch) 3 ... The Branch

Clerkenwell Green ..... 7 ... The Branch

Tu. Euston Road—Ossulton St. ... 7 ... The Branch

Mile-end Waste ..... 8 ... H. Graham

Soho—Broad Street ..... 8 ... The Branch

W. London Fields—Broadway, 8.30...The Branch

## PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

**Ipswich.**—Old Cattle Market, 11; Ship Launch, 3 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Gorton Lane and Ashton Old Road, 11.30.

**Norwich.**—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.

**LANCASTER.**—A meeting will be held at the Market Hall Coffee Tavern, off King Street, on Saturday December 4, at 7.30 p.m., for the purpose of constituting a local Branch of the League. It is hoped all Socialists in the neighbourhood will attend and enroll their names. Those who cannot be present yet wishful to join will please send their names to E. P. HALL.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 48.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT fairly tires out one's attempts to understand how a once vigorous and combative man can fall so far behind the times he lives in, and his friends ought to put pen, ink, and paper out of his way. It is absurd enough that he should use Milton as a stalking-horse for his attack on the classic poets, since Milton had not the least sympathy for anything that was not classical; but except as showing Mr. Bright's inaccessibility to facts, and the narrow and conventional turn of his mind, that is of no great importance, since it is only a question of a slight alteration in the education dealt out to the middle-classes at modern Oxford; and whatever alteration is made in that education, it can for the present be nothing more than a cramming of middle-class persons to fit them for their competition for places in the hanger-on group of the well-to-do; a commercial education in the full sense of the word.

But his letter on depressed trade and high wages! Trades' unionism and Protection are still the enemies to him; and a fall in wages is the hope which he holds out to the British workman as a remedy for depression of trade! Nor does he seem to have considered how far the fall of wages is to go, nor how much the "concessions" of the Nottingham workmen may influence the livelihood of their brethren elsewhere; he can see nothing but a group of manufacturers competing against the world and "employing" labour as long as it is convenient for them to do so, and no remedy for the workmen, but always making it convenient for the manufacturers, at the cost of any amount of suffering to themselves—the Quaker's peace!

Mr. Bright is not likely to read these lines, nor would he heed them if he did; but for the benefit of any one of our readers who may have some lingering confidence, not in Mr. Bright, but in the middle-class democracy of which he was once a demi-god, one may say this, that when the British trades' unions understand the necessity of trades' unionism being international, they will find some better remedy for depression of trade than that the wealth-producers should quietly starve for the benefit of non-producers.

W. M.

Lady John Manners has been discoursing on the benefits derivable from hard work. Well, Socialists are in agreement with her ladyship, if she accept the proviso that the work be for the worker's own benefit and not for the profit of an exploiter. It is worth consideration, in passing, that members of the class which owns and controls all things, when preaching the gospel of toil to a proletarian audience, forget that it is they themselves as a class that keep a large number of their hearers from carrying out their precepts.

To "give employment" is a function supposed to be fulfilled by capitalists and "upper" folk generally. Should it not be counted to them rather that they give *un*-employment? For, were all hands set to fill all mouths and cover all backs, and having done this to rest and amuse themselves, where would room be for lack of labour or of leisure, and where would the modern bogie, over-production, come in?

What hinders the doing it but class-control of all the material resources of the community, and the compulsion of the workers to labour for an employer and cease when he is satisfied?

The loads of rubbish that are being thrown upon the market just now by enterprising providers of Christmas cards, and books, and gifts, and so on, are apt illustrations of the waste of labour, want of taste, and contentedness with machine-work of the worst kind, that are induced by commercialism.

At the same time the reckless disregard of effective demand, the unscrupulous competition in price and size and "novelty," never in real merit, and the ever increasing exploitation of the labour employed, are equally as marked as the artistic degradation; and naturally so, for they cause it.

Now that the Government, in prosecuting Mr. Dillon, proclaiming meetings, etc., has proven how definitely it sides with the landlords in the Irish rent-war, it is well to note the successive stages through which the affair has recently passed, and how in this as in all revolutionary movements the fears and prejudices of the possessing class fight on the side of the advance.

When Mr. Gladstone's bill for buying out the landlords was before the nation, a most hideous outcry was raised by all the crowd of exploiters and their parasites. Nothing was too bad to be said of the man who unconsciously worked as the landlords' friend and sought to provide "a bridge of silver for a flying enemy." The landlords would not be "robbed" by having their power to plunder exchanged for a set sum of hard cash.

Again came forth a friend to aid them, did they but know it, in the person of Mr. Parnell, who did at least attempt to give them a fixed rent, to be settled by appeal to regularly constituted "legal authority." Once more did the insensate crew refuse a compromise favourable indeed compared to any they would now be accorded.

Terror-stricken before the looming form of the Social Revolution, the Reaction can but think of renewed and extended oppression, and will not awake to its error till it is too late for retreat. Thus does even the Reaction itself help toward narrowing and accentuating the issue, and helping to defeat well-meant but futile efforts at compromise, force on the folk to simple unfaltering expropriation.

The Nationalists are going the right way to work with the law-and-order ruffians. Instead of treating the police seriously, they seek in all ways to make them ridiculous. At the Sligo meetings the speakers and people played at hide-and-seek with the authorities, appearing and disappearing, and making the constabulary chase them vainly over hill and dale. The "proclaimed" meeting reappeared as several, at which jury-packing was vehemently denounced, despite the Government. A strong blow has been struck in this way. As *United Ireland* says: "A government may survive being defied; a government that is both defied and derided is done for."

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

## SOCIALISM IN BRADFORD.

SOCIALISM is progressing very slowly here. How is this? Are the people not intelligent enough? One would not think so, since they have a free library with branches in each district, though I learned that the books most desired are novels, and a bookseller the other day told me in confidence that publications of any depth of thought do not take, but there was a good sale of 'Something to Read,' and similar trash. A bad sign this. But, after all, it would be rather unfair to judge the intelligence of a whole working population by the tests of a comparatively few. And it is not the hard-working man or woman that hunts our libraries for lying novels and sea-adventure stories. This idle "recreation of the mind" is left to more or less idle people or half-grown lads and lasses of the so-called middle-class. When a man has toiled thirteen hours at "night-turn" without even half-an-hour's rest for a meal, he has little desire for reading, not to speak of studying; his worn-out body demands rest, and his "recreation" consists in a pint of beer and a pipe of tobacco. The married woman that goes to the mill, and has to leave her little one with an old neighbour who nurses it for a few pence, will find plenty of work at home after her day's toil, but she will find no time for books of any description.

The indifference towards anything outside their daily toil is greatest here amongst this class of workers; if they have any opinion at all upon matters political and social it is derived from the local press, which manufactures and sells "public opinion" to anybody who cares for it. Those people are not within our reach yet. To preach and spread our principles we must go to those that already show a keener interest in public matters, however narrow their views upon social questions, however near-sighted their actions may be. Here we find our opponents, here our sympathisers, but at present more of the former than of the latter, which has its cause in mere technical matters.

Our success would be far greater were it not for the scarcity of means at our disposal to push our propaganda amongst the more intelligent portion of the workers here. There is a lack of speakers, men that are not only able enough but also sufficiently independent to appear in public on our behalf. The fear of loss of employment keeps many an intelligent fellow from joining our ranks or advocating our principles publicly. With selling your labour-power you sell silently in most cases your opinion, *i.e.*, the unbarred right of expressing your independent opinions, on social questions especially. Where your em-

ployer would not offer any objections to your being a teetotaller, vegetarian, chapel-goer, belonging to the Salvation Army, or wearing a tiny blue ribbon in your button-hole, he would most likely strongly object to employ a "dynamiter" in his shop.

In speaking of the spread of Socialism we can, of course, only judge by the increase of our numbers, which is, I am sorry to state, not very rapid. Still we are not disheartened at this, as we feel sure that the principles we try our best to spread, take up roots amongst the workers, and must continue to do so in spite of opposition and whether our actual members increase rapidly or not. Perseverance should be the great watchword, the device of our comrades, without it there is no success, without it no victory.

In speaking of our propaganda during the winter months, it is my duty to report, as the first effort of this season, the lecture which was delivered by Mrs. Annie Besant on behalf of our Branch. This lady had kindly consented to lecture for the Branch on the occasion of her present visit to Bradford, where she lectured on Sunday, Nov. 21st, under the auspices of the Bradford Branch of the Secular Society. We had made arrangements for the lecture to be delivered on Saturday evening, Nov. 20th, at the Co-operative Hall, Shipley. Mrs. Besant had chosen for a subject: "Why Workers should be Socialists." There were about 250 persons present. Our comrade Gaskell occupied the chair. Mrs. Besant delivered her lecture with that clearness of expression which could not fail to bring home to the most simple-minded listener the truth, fullness, and justness of the Socialist's principles. I need not go into details over the lecture, as I have already occupied too much space of the *Commonweal*; besides, I believe the lecturer's ideas to be well known among our readers, and, therefore, do not require repetition here. The discussion which followed was lively, and the prompt answers were well taken up. I think we have gained ground in this particular district, bearing in mind the peculiar nature of its Radical population.

In conclusion, let me mention Mrs. Besant's Sunday evening lecture in Bradford on "Radicals and Socialists," which was both an attempt at pointing out the Socialist tendency of Radical legislation and an appeal to earnest Radicals to work hand in hand with Socialists. The very numerous audience showed much appreciation and a good understanding of what the lecturer said. It is to be hoped that both her lectures, at Shipley and Bradford, will have stimulated at least some of our intelligent workers to think and study for themselves in the direction pointed out to them. However much we may differ in minor points, as to tactics or organisation of the future free Society, one point is important above all—the *Education of the Masses*. True liberty, true equality, and true justice will never be firmly established by an ignorant and superstitious people; but, free from those curses of mankind, the workers will be able to lay the foundation of a better and a happier life for themselves and future generations. Let us try, therefore, to double our efforts to spread the light amongst the miserable and down-trodden fellow-slaves of to-day. We may not see immediate success, but success there will and must be nevertheless. We have a mighty help-mate, *Necessity*, which will force at last people to accept what otherwise they would refuse.

C. HENZE.

## A DREAM OF JOHN BALL.

Continued from p. 283.)

Our men had got into their places leisurely and coolly enough, and with no lack of jesting and laughter. As we went along the hedge by the road, the leaders tore off leafy twigs from the low oak bushes therein, and set them for a rallying sign in their hats and head-pieces, and two or three of them had horns.

Will Green, when he got into his place, which was some fifty yards from where Jack Straw and the billmen were in the corner of the two hedges, looked to right and left of him a moment, then turned to the man on the left and said:

"Look you, mate, when you hear our horns blow ask no more questions, but shoot straight and strong at whatso cometh towards us, till ye hear more tidings from Jack Straw or from me. Pass that word onward."

Then he looked at me, and said:

"Now lad from Essex, thou hadst best sit down out of the way at once: forsooth I wot not why I brought thee hither. Wilt thou not back to the cross, for thou art little of a fighting-man?"

"Nay," said I, "I would see the play. What shall come of it?"

"Little," said he; "we shall slay a horse or twain maybe. I will tell thee, since thou hast not seen a fight belike, as I have seen some, that these men-at-arms cannot run fast either to the play or from it, if they be a-foot; and if they come on a horseback, what shall hinder me to put a shaft into the poor beast? But down with thee on the daisies, for some shot there will be first."

As he spoke he was pulling off his belts and other gear, and his coat, which done, he laid his quiver on the ground, girt him again, and hung his axe and buckler to his girdle, and hung up his other attire on the nearest tree behind us. Then he opened his quiver and took out of it some dozen of arrows, which he stuck in the ground beside him ready to his hand. Most of the bowmen within sight were doing the like.

As I glanced toward the houses I saw three or four bright figures moving through the orchards, and presently saw that they were women, all clad more or less like the girl in the Rose, except that two of them wore white coifs on their heads. Their errand there was clear, for each carried a bundle of arrows under her arm.

One of them came straight up to Will Green, and I could see at once that she was his daughter. She was tall and strongly made, with black hair like her father, somewhat comely though no great beauty; but as they met her eyes smiled even more than her mouth, and made her face look very sweet and kind, and the smile was answered back in a way so quaintly alike by her father's face, that I too smiled for goodwill and pleasure.

"Well, well, lass," said he, "dost thou think that here is Crecy field toward; that ye bring all this artillery? Turn back, my girl, and set the pot on the fire; for that shall we need when we come home, I and this ballad-maker here."

"Nay," she said, nodding kindly at me, "if this is to be no Crecy, then may I stop to see, as well as the ballad-maker, since he hath neither sword nor staff."

"Sweetling," he said, "get thou home in haste. This play is but little, yet mightst thou be hurt in it; and trust me the time may come, sweetheart, when even thou and such as thou shall hold a sword or a staff. Ere the moon throws a shadow we shall be back."

She turned away lingering, not without tears on her face, laid the sheaf of arrows at the foot of the tree, and hastened off through the orchard. I was going to say something, when Will Green held up his hand as who would bid us hearken. The noise of the horse hoofs, after growing nearer and nearer, had ceased suddenly, and a confused murmur of voices had taken the place of it.

"Get thee behind me, and take cover, old lad," said Will Green, "the dance will soon begin, and ye shall hear the music presently."

Sure enough as I turned from the hedge close to which I had been standing, I heard the harsh twang of the bowstrings, one, two, three, almost together, from the road, and even the whew of the shafts, though that was drowned in a moment by a confused but loud and threatening shout from the other side, and again the bowstrings twanged, and this time a far-off clash of arms followed, and therewithal that cry of a strong man that comes without his will, and is so different from his wonted voice, that one has a guess thereby of the change that death is. Then for a while was almost silence; nor did our horns blow up, though some half-dozen of the bill-men had leapt into the road when the bows first shot. But presently came a great blare of trumpets and horns from the other side, and therewith as it were a river of steel and bright coats poured into the field before us, and still their horns blew as they spread out toward the left of our line; the cattle in the pasture field, heretofore feeding quietly, seemed frightened silly by the sudden noise, and ran about tail in air and lowing loudly; the old bull with his head a little lowered, and his stubborn legs planted firmly, growling threateningly; while the geese about the brook waddled away gobbling and squeaking, all which seemed so strange to us along with the threat of sudden death that rang out from the bright array over against us, that we laughed outright, the most of us, and Will Green put down his head in mockery of the bull and grunted like him, whereat we laughed yet more. He turned round to me as he nocked his arrow, and said:

"I would they were just fifty paces nigher, and they move not. Ho! Jack Straw, shall we shoot?"

For the latter-named was nigh us now; he shook his head and said nothing as he stood looking at the enemy's line.

"Fear not but they are the right folk, Jack," quoth Will Green.

"Yea, yea," said he, "but abide awhile; they could make nought of the highway, and two of their sergeants had a message from the grey goose feather. Abide, for they have not crossed the road to our right hand, and belike have not seen our fellows on the other side, who are now for a bushment to them."

I looked hard at the man. He was a tall, wiry, and broad shouldered fellow, clad in a handsome armour of bright steel that certainly had not been made for a yeoman, but over it he had a common linen smock-frock or gabardine, like our field workmen wear now or used to wear, and in his helmet he carried instead of a feather a wisp of wheaten straw. He bore a heavy axe in his hand besides the sword he was girt with, and round his neck hung a great horn for blowing. I should say that I knew that there were at least three "Jack Straws" among the fellowship of the discontented, one of whom was over in Essex.

As we waited there, every Bowman with his shaft nocked on the string, there was a movement in the line opposite, and presently came from it a little knot of three men, the middle one on horseback, the other two armed with long-handled glaives; all three well muffled up in armour. As they came nearer I could see that the horseman had a tabard over his armour, gaily embroidered with a green tree on a gold ground, and in his hand a trumpet.

"They are come to summon us. Wilt thou that he speak, Jack?" said Will Green.

"Nay," said the other; "yet shall he have warning first. Shoot when my horn blows!"

And therewith he came up to the hedge, climbed over slowly because of his armour, and stood some dozen yards out in the field. The man on horseback put his trumpet to his mouth and blew a long blast, and then took a scroll into his hand and made as if he were going to read; but Jack Straw lifted up his voice and cried out:

"Do it not, or thou art but dead! We will have no accursed lawyers and their sheep-skins here! Go back to those that sent thee——"

But the man broke in in a loud harsh voice:

"Ho! YE PEOPLE! what will ye gathering in arms?"

Then cried Jack Straw:

"Sir Fool, hold your peace till ye have heard me, or else we shoot at once. Go back to those that sent thee, and tell them that we free



men of Kent are on the way to London to speak with King Richard, and to tell him that which he wots not; to wit, that there is a certain sort of fools and traitors to the realm who would put collars on our necks and make beasts of us, and that it is his right and his devoir to do as he swore when he was crowned and anointed at Westminster on the Stone of Doom, and gainsay these thieves and traitors; and if he be too weak then shall we help him; and if he will not be king then shall we have one who shall be, and that is the King's Son of Heaven. Now, therefore, if any withstand us on our lawful errand as we go to speak with our own king and lord, let him look to it. Bear back this word to them that sent thee. But for thee, hearken thou bastard of an inky sheepskin, get thee gone and tarry not; three times shall I lift up my hand, and the third time look to thyself, for then shalt thou hear the loose of our bow-strings, and after that nought else till thou hearest the devil bidding thee welcome to hell!"

Our fellows shouted, but the summoner began again, yet in a quavering voice:

"HO! YE PEOPLE! What will ye gathering in arms? Wot ye not that ye are doing or shall do great harm, loss and hurt to the king's lieges—"

He stopped; Jack Straw's hand was lowered for the second time. He looked to his men right and left, and then turned rein and turned tail, and scuttled back to the main body at his swiftest. Huge laughter rattled out all along our line as Jack Straw climbed back into our orchard grinning also.

Then we noted more movement in the enemy's line. They were spreading the archers and arbalestiers to our left, and the men-at-arms and others also spread somewhat under the three penons of which Long Gregory had told us, and which were plain enough to us in the clear evening. Presently the moving line faced us, and the archers set off at a smart pace toward us, the men-at-arms holding back a little behind them. I knew now that they had been within bow-shot all along, but our men were loth to shoot before their first shots would tell, like those half-dozen in the road when, as they told me afterwards, a plump of their men-at-arms had made a show of falling on.

But now as soon as those men began to move on us directly in face, Jack Straw put his horn to his lips and blew a loud rough blast that was echoed by five or six others along the orchard hedge. Every man had his shaft nocked on the string; I watched them, and Will Green specially; he and his bow and its string seemed all of a piece, so easily by seeming did he draw the nock of the arrow to his ear. A moment, as he took his aim, and then—O then I understand the meaning of the awe with which the ancient poet speaks of loose of the god Apollo's bow, for terrible indeed was the mingled sound of the twanging bow-string and the whirring shaft so close to me. I was now on my knees right in front of Will and saw all clearly; the arbalestiers (for no long-bow men were over against our stead) had all of them bright head-pieces, and stout body-armour of boiled leather with metal studs, and as they came towards us, I could see over their shoulders great wooden shields hanging at their backs. Further to our left their long-bow-men had shot almost as soon as ours, and I heard or seemed to hear the rush of the arrows through the apple-boughs and a man's cry therewith; but with us the long-bow had been before the cross-bow; one of the arbalestiers fell outright, his great shield clattering down on him, and moved no more; while three others were hit and were crawling to the rear. The rest had shouldered their bows and were aiming, but I thought unsteadily; and before the triggers were drawn again Will Green had nocked and loosed, and not a few others of our folk; then came the wooden hail of the bolts rattling through the boughs, but all overhead and no one hit.

The next time Will Green nocked his arrow he drew with a great shout, which all our fellows took up; for the arbalestiers instead of turning about in their places covered by their great shields and winding up their crossbows for a second shot, as is the custom of such soldiers, ran huddling together toward their men-at-arms, our arrows driving thump-thump into their shields as they ran: I saw four lying on the field dead or sore wounded.

But our archers shouted again, and kept on each plucking the arrows from the ground, and nocking and loosing swiftly but deliberately at the line before them; indeed now was the time for these terrible bow-men, for as Will Green told me afterwards they always reckoned to kill through cloth or leather at five hundred yards, and they had let the cross-bow-men come nearly within three hundred, and these were now all mingled and muddled up with the men-at-arms at scant five hundred yards distance; and belike, too, the latter were not treating them too well, but seemed to be belabouring them with their spear staves in their anger at the poorness of the play; so that as Will Green said it was like shooting at hay-ricks.

All this you must understand lasted but a few minutes, and when our men had been shooting quite coolly, like good workmen at peaceful work, for a few minutes more, the enemy's line seemed to clear somewhat; the penon with the three red kine showed in front and three men armed from head to foot in bright steel except for their short coats bright with heraldry, were with it. One of them (and he bore the three kine on his coat) turned round and gave some word of command, and an angry shout went up from them, and they came on steadily towards us, the man with the red kine on his coat leading them, a great naked sword in his hand: you must note that they were all on foot; but as they drew nearer I saw their horses led by grooms and pages coming on slowly behind them.

Sooth said Will Green that the men-at-arms run not fast either to or fro the fray; they came on no faster than a hasty walk, their arms clashing about them and the twang of the bows and whistle of the

arrows never failing all the while, but going on like the push of the westerly gale, and from time to time the men-at-arms shouted, "Ha! ha! out! out! Kentish thieves!"

But when they began to fall on, Jack Straw shouted out, "Bills to the field! bills to the field!"

Then all our bill-men ran up and leapt over the hedge into the meadow and stood stoutly along the ditch under our bows, Jack Straw in the forefront handling his great axe. Then he cast it into his left hand, caught up his horn and winded it loudly; the men-at-arms drew near steadily, some fell under the arrow-storm, but not a many; for though the target was big it was hard, since not even the cloth-yard shaft could pierce well-wrought armour of plate, and there was much armour among them. Withal the arbalestiers were shooting again, but high and at a venture, so they did us no hurt.

But as these soldiers made wise by the French war were now drawing near, and our bowmen were casting down their bows and drawing their short swords, or handling their axes, as did Will Green, muttering, "Now must Hob Wright's gear end this play"—while this was a-doing, lo, on a sudden a flight of arrows from our right on the flank of the sergeants' array, which stayed them somewhat; not because it slew many men, but because they began to bethink them that their foes were many and all around them; then the road-hedge on the right seemed alive with armed men, for whatever could hold sword or staff amongst us was there; every bowman also leapt our orchard hedge sword or axe in hand, and with a great shout, billmen, archers, and all, ran in on them; half-armed, yea, and half-naked some of them; strong and stout and lithe and light withal, the wrath of battle and the hope of better times lifting up their hearts till nothing could withstand them. So was all mingled together, and for a minute or two was a confused clamour over which rose a clatter like the rivetting of iron plates, or the noise of the street of the coppersmiths at Florence; then the throng burst open and the steel-clad sergeants and squires and knights ran huddling and shuffling towards their horses; but some cast down their weapons and threw up their hands and cried for peace and ransom; and some stood and fought desperately and slew some till they were hammered down by many strokes, and of these were the bailiffs and tipstaves and the lawyers and their men, who could not run and hoped for no mercy.

I looked as on a picture and wondered and my mind was at strain to remember something forgotten, which yet had left its mark on it. I heard the noise of the horse hoofs of the fleeing men-at-arms (the archers and arbalestiers had scattered before the last minutes of the play), I heard the confused sound of laughter and rejoicing down in the meadow, and close by me the evening wind lifting the lighter twigs of the trees, and far away the many noises of the quiet country, till light and sound both began to fade from me and I saw and heard nothing.

I leapt up to my feet presently and there was Will Green before me as I had first seen him in the street with coat and hood and the gear at his girdle and his unstrung bow in his hand; his face smiling and kind again, but maybe a thought sad.

"Well," quoth I, "What is the tale for the ballad maker?"

"As Jack Straw said it would be," said he, "the end of the day and the end of the fray;" and he pointed to the brave show of the sky over the sunken sun; "the knights fled and the sheriff dead: two of the lawyer kind slain afield, and one hanged, and cruel was he to make them cruel: and three bailiffs knocked on the head—stout men, and so witless, that none found their brains in their skulls; and five arbalestiers and one archer slain, and a score and a half of others, mostly men come back from the French wars, men of the Companions there, knowing no other craft than fighting for gold; and this is the end they are paid for. Well, brother, saving the lawyers who belike had no souls, but only parchment deeds and libels of the same, God rest their souls!"

He fell a-musing; but I said, "And of our fellowship were any slain?"

"Two good men of the township," he said, "Hob Horner and Antony Webber, were slain outright, Hob with a shaft and Antony in the hand-play, and John Pargetter hurt very sore on the shoulder with a glaive; and five more men of the fellowship slain in the hand-play, and some few hurt, but not sorely. And as to those slain if God give their souls rest it is well; for little rest they had on the earth belike; but for me I desire rest no more."

I looked at him and our eyes met with no little love; and I wondered to see how wrath and grief within him were contending with the kindness of the man, and how clear the tokens of it were in his face.

"Come now, old lad," said he, "for I deem that John Ball and Jack Straw have a word to say to us at the cross yet, since these men broke off his telling; there shall we know what we are to take in hand to-morrow. And afterwards thou shalt eat and drink in my house this once if never again."

So we went through the orchard closes again; and others were about and anigh us, all turned toward the cross, as we went over the dewy grass whereon the moon was just beginning to throw shadows.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

At the School Board election at Nottingham on Nov. 29, John Peacock, the Socialist candidate, polled 22,659 votes—more than double the number given to the lowest on the list of those elected, and nearly 8000 more than the next highest on the list. The conservative clericals were at the bottom of the poll.



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN NEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

**As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages.** None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

**Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.**

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

**NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.**—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

G. J. Pollard.—Thanks for your note. Can you give us the address of the secretary of the society?

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 8.*

ENGLAND		ITALY	
Justice	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	
Norwich—Daylight	Paterson (N.J.)—Labor Standard		SPAIN
Club and Institute Journal	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	Madrid—El Socialista	
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Cadiz—El Socialismo	
Die Autonomie	Knights of Labor	Barcelona—Acracia	
Freethinker	Portland (Oreg.)—Avant-Courier	La Justicia Humana	
Hull Express	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt		PORTUGAL
Personal Rights Journal	Detroit (Mich.)—Labor Leaf	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	
Radical	Cornwall (Iowa)—Revue Icarienne	Voz do Operario	
		Villafranca de Xira—O Campino	
INDIA		AUSTRIA	
Madras—People's Friend	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Brunn—Volksfreund	
	Le Socialiste	Arbeiterstimme	
CANADA		HUNGARY	
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Le Revolte	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	
Montreal—L'Union Ouvriere	Journal du Peuple		ROMANIA
	Guise—Le Devoir	Bucharest—Fruncul Roman	
UNITED STATES		Jassy—Lupta	
New York—Volkszeitung	Lille—Le Travailleur		DENMARK
Freiheit			Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker	Hague—Recht voor Allen		
Der Sozialist	En Avant		SWEDEN
John Swinton's Paper	Liege—L'Avenir		Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	Antwerp—De Werker		NORWAY
Denver (Col.)—Labor Inquirer			Kristiania—Social-Democraten
Cincinnati (O.)—Unionist			
Toledo (O.)—Industrial News			
Cleveland (O.)—Carpenter			
St Louis (Mo.)—Light in the West			

## EVOLUTION VERSUS REVOLUTION.

It may appear strange that in the year 1886 we should discuss the above question. It is not a new one. The same question, though in other words, was raised during the Radical agitation which preceded the first Reform Bill. During the Chartist movement it was again raised, and with most pernicious results. As the agitation advanced and the movement spread, the cry was raised of Moral *v.* Physical Force. Both sections declared they were in favour of the Charter and nothing but the Charter. But one section, representing mainly the small trading classes, were in favour of none but moral means. This naturally led the outside world to infer that the other section, representing almost exclusively the working classes, were in favour of a violent revolution. Both sections were forced into a false position; united action became impossible; and the foolish and absurd cry of moral *v.* physical force helped to ruin the movement. It was a source of discord and acted as a dissolvent.

But there were other cries raised, equally destructive of united action, such as "legal and constitutional," a cry as absurd as it is possible to conceive. If we had a constitution to which every one could refer, and if that constitution were based upon the rights and liberties of the whole people, then one might logically declare in favour of constitutional action. The same with regard to legality. But such is not the case. England has no constitution. There is no public recognition of the rights and liberties of the people; the legal of to-day becomes the illegal of the morrow; while the Government can, by a mere stroke of the pen, suspend the exercise of all those rights and liberties of which Englishmen boast so loudly. All such cries, by whomsoever raised, are an evidence of weakness and are a danger to the movement. The party becomes divided into hostile groups who quarrel with each other, and thus become far more dangerous to themselves than to the common enemy.

The cry of "evolution, not revolution" raised to-day is an unfortunate cry. It can serve no good purpose. As well might we think of drawing a line between thought and action. Yet to attempt to do

so would not only be illogical, but an act of extreme folly. To create new ideas, to raise new hopes, new aspirations, to be realised only with the consent of the tyrant, is not an act of wisdom. Where there is consistency, thought and action are one. It is impossible to separate them. It is equally impossible to separate evolution and revolution. To raise the cry of evolution, not revolution, is as absurd as was the cry of moral *v.* physical force raised within the ranks of the Chartist party.

Throughout the civilised world ever rampant tyranny rules supreme. The crowned usurper, encircled with a wall of fire and steel, bids the toiling millions obey. Mercenary legions are everywhere ready to obey the call of the tyrant oppressor. In the name of law and order the people are plundered of the fruits of their labour. In the name of society men and women are doomed to starve in the midst of plenty. To protest against oppression is to be guilty of sedition. To resist the will of the blood-stained tyrant is to be guilty of rebellion. Yet usurpation is the greatest of all crimes. Every act of tyranny is an act of war against the people. Usurpation is rebellion against the rights of the people, against the principle of eternal justice. Shall we strike down the highwayman who rifles one's pockets, and hold sacred the usurper who holds in bondage millions of human beings, and in whose ears ring as music the despairing cries of his expiring victims?

On what depends to-day the supremacy of usurpation? On the organisation and application of brute-force. By what means are the people everywhere held in bondage? By brute-force. By what means do the landed aristocracy take from the people some £180,000,000 a-year? By brute-force. By what means do the State clergy take millions annually in the shape of tithes? By brute-force. In a word, by what means are the people—the wealth-producing classes—plundered of at least seventy-five per cent. of the wealth they produce? By brute-force everywhere organised and everywhere present. The very supremacy of the non-producing classes throughout the civilised world depends on the supremacy of brute-force. All the industrious, all the economical conditions of society by which the plunder of the people is reduced to a system, all depend on brute-force.

Whenever a government endeavours by arbitrary measures to reduce the people to slavery, the government puts itself into a state of war against the people, into a state of rebellion against the rights of humanity, by which the people are freed from any further obedience or obligation, and are in duty bound to resume those natural rights which are their only refuge against tyranny and oppression, and which neither the decrees of tyrants nor the votes of majorities can ever either alter, diminish or destroy. The right of the people to put an end to tyranny and oppression by whatever means circumstances may render necessary, is a right that depends on neither time nor clime.

What is evolution, and what is revolution? Can they be separated? Does not one logically follow the other? As well try to separate thought and action. If I embrace the principle of equal justice for every human being, because that principle is opposed to existing institutions, and those institutions are upheld by brute-force, am I for ever to be content with the mere profession of that principle? am I for ever to remain a slave? am I never to strike a blow for freedom, for liberty? It is the duty of every one to embrace whatever is true, to approve and support whatever is pure, to realise as far as possible whatever is just. It is the duty of every one to combat whatever is evil, to seek to destroy whatever is tyrannical in government or oppressive in society. The means depend on circumstances, but the most speedy may be the most moral, the most legitimate. The true man is revolutionary from principle. He recognises no usurpation. He bends his will before no tyranny. He tamely submits to no oppression. With him profession and practice, thought and action, are one. He seeks no compromise; he accepts no mere modification of tyranny. Embracing a principle, that principle to him is a religion. He will labour for its realisation. He will devote to it more than the Christian's one day in seven. He will give to it his best hours, his best days, his best years—his thought, his energy, his love, and if need be, his life. As a Socialist, he will be revolutionary from principle. The realisation of the principle of equal liberty, of equal opportunities for every human being; the principle of eternal right, of eternal justice, will be the one grand aim of his life. To him the phrase "Evolution, not revolution" will be a contradiction in terms. To him the phrase "Morally possible" will be a moral absurdity.

To-day society is divided into two great classes—the producers of wealth and the non-producing consumers of wealth. The gulf that divides those classes is wide and deep, and grows wider and deeper as the years roll on. That gulf can never be bridged over by any political tinkering or social quackery. Just as the barons of old were revolutionary in relation to the crown, and just as the trading and commercial classes are revolutionary in relation to the aristocracy, so are the working classes revolutionary in relation to all the other classes of society. Between the producers and the non-producers there is war. Between the plunderers and the plundered there can never be peace. The workers are, and of necessity must be, revolutionary in relation to all that live on taxes, rents, or profits. The Socialist from principle, the worker from interest, must be revolutionary against those who merely consume the wealth produced by the labour of others. But just as the easy-chair politicians preached to the unenfranchised workers that half a loaf was better than none (as if they could divide a principle), we are told to-day that revolutionary Socialism is wrong; that it is wild and extravagant; that it is too continental, so contrary to English traditions. In the seventeenth century our forefathers sent to the grave a headless tyrant. Were they justified in so doing? Was the deed moral? Were the means legitimate? Behold in all the

States of Europe usurpation in the ascendent, tyranny everywhere rampant. Shall we sing "Te Deum" in honour of triumphant wrong? We see in all the European States and through all the ramifications of society, the most cruel oppression, the most brutal disregard of the wants and requirements of the wealth-producing classes. Shall we bow the head and bend the knee in honour of every exalted rascality? No; let our cry be, Down with tyranny, whatever the creed, whatever the clime! Down with oppression, whatever the name, whatever the form! Let the good men and true who are Socialist from principle, who will act from conviction, thoroughly devoted, grasp hands with each and all who are prepared for the combat. In the name of liberty, of the principle of eternal justice and the brotherhood of the human race, let us proclaim a holy war against whatever is evil, whatever is tyrannical or oppressive.

"Is it peace or war?  
Not peace with thieves or murderers;  
Not peace with usurpers, with tyrants.  
Not abnegation of duty.  
Not death; but life, however stormful.  
War, war against usurpation, whatever it may call itself;  
War even to the death, rather than compromise with any incarnation of wrong."

J. SKETCHLEY.

## IMPRESSIONS "ON THE ROAD."

### I.

To be "On the Road"! So they call their mode of travelling; and it is no fault of mine if to some the phrase be misleading and my "Impressions" disappointing. And since disappointment there must be, I will let you have it at the outset: I do not tread old country roads, either ancient or mediæval, but glide along on roads more recent and more fashionable, on roads embraced, like our lives, by bands of steel—on railroads.

How smooth and swift, how shaky and how dangerous withal! When you walk along the sunny hillside you may sit down at your liking and wipe from your brow the pearls that have come forth through your honest endeavour "to get on"; when you are driven in a coach and find the strides of your horses too fast for your safety, you may command or beseech the driver to take it easy—for the horses' sake; but when once you have handed your money and yourself to the keeping of the company that owns the "rolling stock"; when once you are boxed, herring-like, in the compartment of a modern fast train; when the door has been banged and the whistle been sounded,—what is your position? How about your "free will," your "self-reliance," and your "independence"? A man's life, thus tied to the fates of an express, is not worth five minutes' purchase. And if you are of opinion that your own life is worth more—that is to say, that you ought to be spared, or your relations compensated for your loss—why, then, grudge not to pay the insurance ticket offered you by the same company, which, by implication, guarantees your safety!

But stop! (I am not speaking to the train, but to the reader.) I seem to be wrong here. If your life in an express train be not worth five minutes' purchase, how is it that through the payment of one bashful penny you may ensure the receipt by your surviving relatives of the magnificent sum of £100 in case your earthly coil be shaken off you in the course of your journey? This wonderful trick is no confidence-trick at all, but the very reverse of it, since you lodge your penny with the receiver out of actual distrust in the *bona fides* of railway-company foresight and skill of management. It is a trick seemingly more wonderful even than that performed by the "Indian Tea Supp-lie Direct Company," who engage to make you a present of a set of genuine silver-plated spoons, if you condescend to buy and swallow five pounds of their tea at a price which is only one-third part of its actual cost; of tea which is, in fact, quite "substantial" and "syrupy" from sheer weight of its "intrinsic value"! The life-insurance trick is more wonderful because it seems more natural and less deceptive. Indeed, I should hesitate to call it a trick at all were it not for the blending of two principles so utterly opposed to one another as human solidarity and inhuman exploitation, were it not one of the many cases in which a Socialistic principle is applied and made the most of by self-seeking commercialism for individual gain.

In a rational—that is, Socialistic—community of human beings, where every capable one performs his due, a few unfit or failing ones may yet enjoy and be exempt from loss. Similarly, when capable members should happen to suffer through unavoidable natural causes, they may fall back upon the solidarity of all and from it gain relief.

There is no sentimental generosity in this idea. To-day's receiver of aid out of the common funds of strength may be a part-security for his neighbour's loss to-morrow, and the part-security of last night may be felled to the ground to-day and claim his share of help from those who are still standing. This principle of Socialism is but the recognition of the truth that in his battle with the wild forces of nature man must be infinitely more successful as part of a social organism than as an isolated being.

Commercialism has pressed most of the modern sciences into its service, and among them is the calculation of probabilities. Having found out, by the aid of statistics, that out of about every million of persons who travel by rail per annum, one is forcibly torn from his earthly pilgrimage and sent straight to heaven (this refers to England only; on the Continent they are sent somewhere else, and deservedly

so), some enterprising spirits concluded that if they could make each of the million travellers pay them one penny they might engage to pay to the one who quits this world thus unexpectedly the sum of one hundred pounds (24,000 pence) and yet not be losers in the transaction. Indeed, if every railway traveller, apprehensive of his safety, gave them the benefits of his doubts in the shape of a penny, there could scarcely be a better paying (and at the same time more respectable) concern than such an insurance company. But it is needless to say most of the railway passengers do not habitually think at all, and few only seriously consider the possibility of getting killed in transmission. Of those few, again, some are ready to run the risk for a penny, and would run it for a farthing. The rest pay the insurance fee, and hasten to secure in the travelling-box the corner most comfortable to be squashed in.

Now it is clear that if only the fortieth part of the said million (that is,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.) pay their penny of distrust, the company still get back what they lay out for the one victim, and hence in a Socialist community, where profit would be out of the question, we should only have to pay the fortieth part of a penny each to secure an equal benefit for the relations of those who fell on the railroad. Of course, this is assuming rather many things which shall not be *then*. There will be no money (hurrah!) to part with and none to look for; there will be less hurry on the railroad, and hence more safety and more pleasure; and finally there will be no need for us to provide for surviving relatives, as they would be cared for much better by the community. Apart from affectionate ties rent asunder by sudden death, the loss of a useful member will then simply be looked at economically as the loss of so much working power, and will have to be provided for in the general calculation of expenditure of labour-force for the common needs—

"Tickets, please!" says a servant of the company, and calls me back to the shabby reality of my present circumstances.

ANDREAS SCHEU.

## LITERARY NOTICES.

"The Lateral Expansion of England," by W. Green (Dean and Son, Fleet Street, 6d.), is a very thoughtful and earnest study from a moderately advanced standpoint of the problems befronting the British Empire. It is well worthy perusal by Socialists, as it shows how a quite honest non-Socialist faces such questions.

"England Arise!" (Modern Press, 1d.) is a "Socialist marching song," the words and music of which are by Edward Carpenter. It is printed in handy form, and should be useful.

"Social Salvation" (Progressive Publishing Co., 1d.) is a "lay sermon" delivered by Col. R. G. Ingersoll. In his usual brilliantly trenchant style, the lecturer passes the present system in review; but, as might be expected when he confesses that he is not a Socialist, there is no solution given of the problems set forth.

"The Children of Gibeon" (3 vols., Chatto and Windus) is one of those books by Mr. Walter Besant the interest and *raison d'être* of which are in the strong contrasts made in men and manners by the class-divisions of our alleged "system of society." It is of course, being written to sell, carefully balanced upon the ragged edge, so as not to unduly shock the sensitive souls of the "better classes" by a plunge into the fell abyss of truth; but the truth is so terrible that it forces recognition now and then. We wonder how many philanthropic fine ladies will take to heart the rebuke administered by a girl-worker: "The truth is that we don't want fine ladies here. We're work-girls and we've got to earn our living, and we aint ashamed of it. We don't want to be looked at like as if we were elephants in a circus. Let 'em go and look at somebody else. We aint a show. Lotty aint a clown; I aint a jumping-horse; Liz aint a salamander. . . . Sooner they go the better!" Will all or any of such books as this one do anything to rouse the bourgeois, read as they are to while away the dull intervals between the excitements so liberally furnished in "high life" by turf trickery and matrimonial complications? Charles Kingsley, Mrs. Lynn Linton, Eugene Sue, Victor Hugo, and many others have sought with passionate fervour to so speak out the truth of the proletariat's position, without effect upon the bourgeois: and where these have failed few others can look to succeed. It is to the people we must appeal; it is the proletariat that must be educated and roused; and this cannot be done by any one who stoops to perversion from prejudice, or to prettiness from complacency.

The Leicester Branch of the Socialist League have published a penny pamphlet with a selection of well-arranged extracts from Ruskin's 'Unto This Last.' It has been compiled by T. Barclay, and has an Introduction by J. Holmes. This is a good step towards putting Ruskin's magnificent writings within reach of workmen. Other Branches of the League might order some to sell them at their meetings. They will be supplied by the Branch Secretary.

M.

The employes on the District Railway works at Brompton are to be placed on short time at Christmas.

Owing to depression in the iron trade, the Wingerwork Iron Company in Chesterfield have decided to blow out all their furnaces for the present.

LIVERPOOL.—The Secretary of the Workers' Brotherhood is agitating for reforming the Poor Law by turning the useless toil of able-bodied paupers into useful work on co-operative estates. In this he is favoured by the local Ruskin Society, and also by Professor John Ruskin himself, who writes, "I am with you in all you say, and wish, and mean to try for." Address, the Rev. Herbert Mills, 6 Kenlyn Road, Stanley Park.

It is now four months since the workers of Vierzon first went out on strike. We ask ourselves how these men with all their resolution intend to get through the winter months that are setting in, and whether the strike so courageously held out will not fail at last through the intolerable hardships gone through, and still longer to be gone through, by these numerous families? The French Socialist papers would do well to find out details of how the Société Française progress, and what inconveniences they are suffering in consequence of the obstinacy of the strikers. The one cry from the friends of these last of course is "Money!" and yet again "Money!"



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### Strike Committee of the Socialist League.

A large number of communications have been received from trade organisations and individuals, promising financial and other assistance to the Committee and also agreeing to subscribe to and push the *Commonweal*. District secretaries are being appointed throughout the country. A resolution was passed at last meeting of the Committee, warning workers of Great Britain and Ireland against being led away by the enormous noise made by the Cunard Steam Ship Co. and sundry other companies in reference to foreign mails, as it matters little to the workers whether they are fleeced by foreign or home capitalists. The General Secretary of the

### INTERNATIONAL UNION OF GLASS-BOTTLE MAKERS

informs us that in connection with the strike in Lancashire one of the employers is now on the Continent endeavouring to secure "hands." Our foreign secretaries have taken means to warn foreign workmen against accepting engagements.  
H. A. BARKER, Gen. Sec.

### INTERNATIONAL TAILORS' SOCIETY—LONDON GROUP.

A Special General Meeting to discuss finance and future policy of this Society will be held on Tuesday first, Dec. 14, at 8.30 p.m., in the Club, 49 Tottenham Street, W. Admission on showing card of membership only.  
—J. MACDONALD, English and American Sec.

### THE SOUTH WALES TIN-PLATE TRADE.

The outlook in the tin-plate trade of South Wales is exceedingly black—Abercarn having been closed for a month; notices of a reduction of ten per cent. in wages in Pontyemeisti, Abertillery, Blaenau, and Nantyglo. The notices at Margam and Mansell have expired since Saturday last. A meeting of delegates from the several districts took place on the evening of the same day, at which the following resolutions were adopted: 1. That in the opinion of the workmen engaged at the mills and the tinhouse at Mansell and Margam works, it would be injurious to both employers and employed in the trade were they to accept the ten per cent. reduction which is now proposed to them. 2. Each body of men at each works in the district pledge themselves to raise subscriptions towards maintaining the Margam and Mansell men in an honourable manner during the struggle, and that an appeal be sent to the various works for a liberal support for this purpose.

### THE FLUNKY DEPUTATION.

The City Society of Painters and Decorators have passed the following resolution: "That in the opinion of this society the deputation that waited on royalty at Sandringham, comprising certain members of the London Trades' Council, was unrepresentative, mean, and contemptible, and entirely opposed to the doctrines held forth by many of them in past years on public platforms." Resolutions expressing disgust at the conduct of the deputation have also been passed by the Metropolitan Radical Federation, the Hackney Radical Federation, the Fawcett Liberal, the John Bright, and three Hammersmith clubs. We hear, also, that other trades are taking action in regard to the matter, and some of the flunky deputation are likely to have an unpleasant quarter of an hour in explaining their conduct to their respective societies. It is gratifying to see the workers resent the audacious attempt of a clique of self-seeking toadies to pose as their representatives. Those who aspire to be the leaders of the democracy in the stirring times before us will need to be made of sterner stuff.

### "BRITISH WORK AND WAGES LEAGUE."

A circular has been issued by the "British Seaman's Protection Society," announcing the formation of a "British Work and Wages League." It starts with a superficial explanation of the cause of distress among the workers, and continues with a mean-spirited jingo-tainted tirade against foreign workmen. There is a distinctly bogus ring about its appeal, and the usual bosh about "constitutional" means. Who are these people? Kelly and Co.? Potter and Co.? Liberty and Property Defence League? Or are they a sub-committee of the London Trades' Council, subsidised in the interest of capitalists, as they were in the case of the Sugar Bounties meetings at the Memorial Hall? In the latter case the various trades paid the delegates attendance fees, and the interested sugar people (Quinton, Hogg, and Co.) found the intrinsic saccharine for the hire of hall, and by some process, not necessarily reasoning, induced in the wire-pullers of the L. T. C. an extraordinary amount of interest as to sugar. Perhaps some reader will find out and forward something more about this queer "working-class" society.

### WOMEN AND THE FACTORY ACTS.

The Factory Acts, the passing of which was so bitterly opposed by Mr. John Bright, are sometimes enforced; but the difficulty of obtaining convictions is very great owing to the starvation wages given to women and girls. The legal hours, if alone worked, would barely pay rent; consequently, where women and girls cannot take work home to do, they generally assist the masters to break the law. What is the use of a law which settles the working hours, and not the wages? "The firm of Messrs. Selman and Hill, manufacturers of japanned goods, Wolverhampton, were fined over £10 and costs at the police-court, on December 3, for contravention of the Factory Acts by employing women and girls at illegal hours." It would be interesting to know the wages of these women and girls if they only worked the "legal hours." The employment of female labour is a point of vital interest to the whole working community. Under the pretence of "freedom" and "philanthropy," girls and women are engaged to compete against their brothers and fathers, without any regard to fitness or decency so long as the capitalists can screw a little extra profit out of the transaction. The strike that is now on at the Bostock Mills, near Bolton, is of special interest, from the fact that the quarrel is not so much as to wages and hours, but to protect girls and women from following an occupation which tends to demoralise and degrade them. The men do not ask for the discharge of the females, but only that the system shall be allowed to die out by engaging men to fill up vacancies as they occur. It is to be hoped that the operatives will be well supported in their struggle.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE, Dec. 3.—A strike of weavers, which is expected to affect at least 5000 operatives, commenced here to-day. The grievance is that the Ashton-under-Lyne employers are paying less than the North Lancashire manufacturers for their class of fancy work. The struggle has been anticipated for several years. Some time ago they were forced to submit to a new and reduced list of prices, and since then they have been

waiting for a favourable opportunity to obtain their old scale of pay. All the strength of the Amalgamated Association of Weavers, which has 135,000 members, is pledged to support the operatives, and there is reason to believe that the struggle will be a very long and bitter one.

At Stockport the cotton doublers are agitating for an increase of  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per hour, a concession which the masters do not seem inclined to grant. In several mills nightwork is largely adopted, and extra prices are paid for this, but the men contend that the work should be done within the working hours, and the wages should be equalised. The matter is still in dispute.

NORTHAMPTON.—This town is still deep in the labour difficulty. Last week the Board of Guardians announced that they would open the labour yard, payment to commence at 6d. a-day for single men, with increases up to 2s., according to the number in family, for married men. The men decided to strike rather than accept such terms. The Watch Committee considered the subject, and the chief constable has received instructions to deal with the men collecting subscriptions for the unemployed as he would with ordinary vagrants.

JARROW.—A thousand men employed by the Tyne Coal Company, Hebburn Colliery, Jarrow, have received a fortnight's notice on account of the colliery not paying. The company have been searching for a new seam, but failed to find it; hence the notice.

The signalmen employed by the Midland Railway Company are making some headway in their agitation against the contemplated changes in the classes of signalmen, which will affect the wages adversely. We learn that at Birmingham a signalman passed 174 trains in 12 hours, or over 14 trains per hour. Each train averaged 25 figures to be entered in 21 columns, and a column for remarks, making a total of 4350 figures in 12 hours. There were 1485 beats of the electric bell, 3132 beats of the needle, and 800 movements of the lever. It is claimed that when the exactitude of the work is considered it is not difficult to see that the hours of the signalmen are fully employed, and any movement should take the direction of shorter hours and an increase, not a reduction, in their pay. Meetings of the men have also been held at Shipley and Leicester.

The chainmakers strike still goes on, and the men are bearing up hopefully in their struggle. The strike has now lasted over sixteen weeks, and more than 2500 hands are affected.

### NEW SOUTH WALES.

The following has just been received in a letter dated October 12 from a clerk at the gas-works, Sydney: "Trade is very bad here; I don't think it has been so bad for twenty or thirty years. Hundreds of men are out of work, and we have to turn scores away from the office every week. Our new gas-works are being put up and we are employing about fifty men. We are expecting a revival of trade, but it will take a long time first. Unless intending emigrants have a nice sum of money to come with, I would advise them to wait till things are better."

### AMERICA.

New York gas-fitters have struck to support the demands of the plumbers.

There are said to be 32,000 cigarmakers in the International Union since it absorbed the Progressive.

RICHMOND.—Some fun is contemplated ere long in this city from the fact that the contract for granite for our new City Hall has been awarded to a quarry upon which a general boycott has been placed by the K. of L.

PHILADELPHIA.—There is a possibility of trouble between the Philadelphia carpet manufacturers and their employers. The men have asked for an increase, which was not only refused, but met with a thirty days notice of intention to reduce the existing wages.

CHICAGO.—The outcome of the great packing-house strike in Chicago is a combination among the bosses to refuse to employ any man who belongs to a labour organisation. They can make the attempt, at least, while they can use the militia of the State to further their decision. What a howl would go up if the men undertook to use the militia to drive out all but union men from the packing-houses, and make the people pay the expenses!

PATERSON, N. J.—The strike of the moulders at Paterson, N. J., will probably last all winter, as there are no signs of an understanding being reached. The moulders demand a uniform rate of wages at 2 dol. 50 c. per day, but the employers refuse to accede, claiming that some men are worth more than others. An effort will be made to arrange the rate at 2 dol. 50 c., but if this were proposed as a uniform rate the bosses would still insist on paying some men less.

The *Workmen's Advocate*, the official journal of the organised workmen of New Haven and vicinity represented in the Trades' Council of New Haven (Conn.), has now been adopted as the official journal of the Socialistic Labour Party of North America. In notifying the "promotion" our comrades say: "We trust that our many readers will accompany us on the progressive course which our new functions indicate, and by their active appreciation of our efforts sustain us in the struggle against the most insidious foes of humanity—landlordism and wage-slavery." We heartily wish success to the *Workmen's Advocate* and the cause it represents, and congratulate the workers of New Haven in having such a brisk bright journal to fight the battle of Labour.

### BELGIUM.

AMERCEUR.—The Directors of the coal mines of Amersœur and Bois-del-Ville are at bay, and trying to entice workers of the Borinage and the Centre to replace those on strike. The strikers maintain their attitude of cool and energetic resistance.

JUMET AND GOHYSSART.—The miners of these places have been struggling against their "owners" for nearly a month. They are hopeful as to the issue of the struggle. It is a new Decazeville which is in preparation in Belgium, therefore it concerns all workers to come forward in this struggle against capital, for it is the fight of one and all.

GHEENT.—At Ghent, the authorities have been on the alert all the week owing to some disturbance à propos of a strike declared among the weavers. The police appeared upon the scene and succeeded in irritating the manifestants, and the Burgermaster called out the civic guard to parade the streets and instil fear into the heart of man.

AMSTERDAM.—Our comrade Van der Hout recently addressed a large meeting on "The Labour Movement in England." Great enthusiasm was aroused by a description of the advances made by the English workers, and the formation of the Strike Committee of the Socialist League was heartily commended.  
T. BINNING.

## REVOLUTIONARY RUMBLINGS. AMERICA.

News comes from America that the exploiters are preparing to maintain their ascendancy by strengthening the militia. New posts are being established in various large labour centres; the latest improved repeating magazine gun is to replace the regulation army rifle. Target practice and street evolutions are to be encouraged, and it is stated that one of the gun manufacturers has received orders during the past few months for gatling guns from over twenty of the larger cities.

The very fact that more than a column of telegrams in regard to the action of the Socialists in London on November 9, were printed in an obscure evening paper at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, indicates the intense interest the capitalists of the world have in the action of all Socialists.

The American workmen are following the example of their fellow workmen in Germany. In Milwaukee they have elected to the legislature one of their number who was arrested and imprisoned as a "bloodthirsty Anarchist" last May.

The late elections have proven that Socialism, as a scarecrow, is worn out and even Anarchy is losing its ragged edges which only a short while since were wont to cut such horrible gashes in the feelings of timid people. Capital will have to raise some other scare-crow cry.—*Labour Enquirer*.

### BELGIUM.

CENTRE.—A year ago, says the *Avenir*, there only existed in the Centre, one Labour Society, the "Solidarity," composed of 200 members, being an old section of the International. They had a Conference a year ago, and constituted a Labour League, and since then the propaganda has been steadily and rapidly growing. The *Federation du Centre* constituted last May, included 12 affiliated societies; it now numbers 61, many others being in course of formation. In spite of all persecutions of the police and the masters, the labour movement is thus making great progress in the Centre. At all our meetings, which are public, gendarmes in plain clothes and policemen are always present, attempting to intimidate the workmen, but without success.

The people demanded amnesty for the two thousand victims of bourgeois justice, to which the king has replied by a categorical refusal, and, as though to further trifle with his subjects, the "Co-bourgeois" has granted pardon to those among the condemned whose sentence has already been fulfilled by their imprisonment while awaiting trial. As to Schmidt and Falleur, these unfortunate victims, for whom more than 50,000 citizens have signed petitions, the "Saxe-Cobourgeois" holds them, and does not intend to let them go, and does not grant them one day's grace out of the 20 years' hard labour which they have to undergo. We quote from a bourgeois journal: "We are assured that the Minister has granted 400 free pardons, the most part for very minor condemnations mostly covered by their preliminary detention; there are also about 200 slight penalties. Finally, the minister has refused to grant one day's grace to about 70, among whom are Schmidt and Falleur."—*En Avant*.

M. Beernaert, replying beforehand in the Senate to M. Crocq's motion of amnesty, which was not even discussed there, declared that the Government rejects the amnesty, and that "those which have not been pardoned till the present time—among them Schmidt and Falleur—will obtain nothing, not even an abatement of penalty."

In a public meeting held last Monday, near Liège, Michel Thonar openly declared that he considered that the African negro was better off than the workers of his own country, and that the planters took more thought for their slaves than our capitalists of their employés. "Why?" he asks. "Because these niggers are the goods, the capital of their masters, and, therefore, cared for according to their value; constituting the elements of wealth, they are preserved out of self-interest; while in our countries wealth consists of money, capital, and machines." In civilised, humane, and Christian countries wealth consists of machines truly, but of two sorts, the "man-machine" and the "monster-machine." The latter works, feeds, and suspends its labour for a certain number of hours; the former works, feeds, and suspends its labour for a certain number of hours—for to call by the name of "rest" a mere blank suspension of toil, which is often the most that workers attain to, is the veriest mockery of men and abuse of language. The sole difference, economically, between the two is that the man-machine is, on the whole, much less carefully tended than the monster he is in charge of, or whose labour, by the ingenuity of latter-day development, he supplants and imitates, for the reason that he is so very, very cheap to buy, and so easily replaced when worn out.

### FRANCE.

Like all other laws for the protection of labour, that which regulates matters between master and apprentice is a dead letter for the most part. I quote one or two passages: "The master must conduct himself towards the apprentice as a good father," etc. That, of course, is out of date, a last straggling record of the nature of apprenticeship in mediæval time. "The master shall never employ his apprentice in work which is unhealthy or beyond his strength. No night-work shall be imposed on any under the age of 16. On no account shall they be kept at work on Sundays or fêtes-days either generally recognised or legal. . . . A certificate must be given to the apprentice on leaving," etc. How long is this mockery and farce of legality in all labour exploitation to be kept up? One prefers the frank brutality of the rough-grained "master of men," who declares aloud he means to make his toilers work "or know the reason why."

The Minister of Marine, in the course of the year 1887, will have to dismiss more than 40,000 workmen temporarily employed in the arsenals for the work of the extraordinary armaments for Madagascar and China. It is a necessity caused by the Budget, it seems. What will these unfortunates do now?—*Cri du Peuple*.

On Sunday last a meeting, so called private, got up by MM. Tolain and Gragnon at the Tivoli Vauxhall, was broken up and ended in a general scene of confusion, owing to those "Anarchists" of the *Cri du Peuple* objecting to some irregular proceeding on the part of the organisers, who, on demand of the meeting, refused to constitute the "bureau," which is usual at such semi-public meetings. In the meeting of about a thousand there were only some 50 Socialists. The result of the disturbance was the suspiciously prompt and sudden appearance of the police and arrestation of eight Socialists. Tolain is a renegade of the party, a workman, an old member of the International, etc., and much execrated by Socialists.

### AUSTRIA.

VIENNA.—Against the Bill for creating Labour Chambers brought in, as we have already reported, by the Liberal party the Social Democrats have taken up a strong position. Without one dissident, they consider the Bill futile and insufficient, a token of vain straining after lost popularity and an open effort to maintain the infamous "representation of interest" on which our hypocritical swindlers have based the construction of the House of Deputies. They claim a true and sincere social reform, instead of the pretentious quackery which forms at once the newest sport and business of our ruling classes.

According to the report of the delegate Dumba, "civilisation" makes great progress in the occupied provinces Bosnia and Herzegovina. We do not in the least envy the poor inhabitants of that country the blessings of the "culture" pressed upon them. Imported goods, produced in Austria on a great scale in the way before described, and therefore dirt-cheap, ruin the small home industry. The handicraftsman, unable to compete, is being expropriated, and becomes a proletarian. Owing to the revolts of 1878 and 1882, many families have been driven from the soil, and the process of the pauperisation of the great mass, slowly indeed, but incessantly progresses. Only the great capitalist is yet needed to make the country totally happy. This will soon be done. The low standard of life of the people will entice bourgeois greedy for profits; manufactures and factories will be established, in case of necessity even with the help of the State. Thrice fortunate folk, you will then be "civilised"!

It was in January 1885 that, owing to the coercion-bill then brought in, many trades' unions dissolved voluntarily, to avoid compulsory dissolution. The unions of bookbinders, casemakers, and kindred industries in Vienna did so. Dreadful conditions consequently spread in this industry, threatening to change it into one in which the work is done at home, with true starvation wages. It was necessary to found a new trade union. Therefore the statutes which had been the basis of the nine years' activity of the old dissolved union was submitted to the magistrates. In the meantime no new law had been issued, but notwithstanding that, the old statutes had become unlawful. Firstly it was forbidden to insure the members against disease and age, and to support their widows and orphans, because these are the tasks of insurance societies, founded for gain, and not falling under the law of 13th November 1867; further was forbidden the establishment of tariffs for wages, the watching over the relations between boss and worker, the procuring of employment, because these are reserved to the guilds re-established by the law of 15th March 1883; also was forbidden the help of unemployed, because strikers are also unemployed, and the aid for strikers has no legal effect. There was therefore nothing left for the activity of a trade-union and the foundation did not take place.

The issue of 24th inst. of our organ the *Volksfreund* published a respectful report, written in the mildest language. This article was confiscated by the public prosecutor. The editors omitted the said report and published a second issue with an article on Henriks Ibsen, which was also confiscated. Our brethren in Germany suffer from Bismarkian coercion-laws; but, as hard as these laws may be, under them they have more political rights than we without exceptional ministerial ordinances. No miracle, therefore, that anarchism flourishes, especially in our country, and that now a great part of Austrian comrades are against every legal agitation. Everywhere the bourgeoisie endeavours to hold up its power; but nowhere it employs means so base, so brutal, so infamous as against the Austrian worker. F. S.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

*General Meeting.*—The next General Meeting of London Members will be held on Tuesday January 4, 1887, when the following will be the order of business: Reports of provincial and London Branches; Report of Strike Committee; Report of Ways and Means Committee; Statement of weekly *Commonweal* to date; Motions of which notice has been given.

*Library.*—The printed catalogues are now ready and can be obtained from the Librarians at 2d. each.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Mile-end, to June 30. Birmingham, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Croydon, Dublin, Marylebone, to Sept. 30. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bloomsbury, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to Dec. 31.

### The Free Speech Fight.

The case of comrade Mahon has been adjourned again to Dec. 22, when sentence will be passed or the accused sent for trial at the Sessions. There is still a deficit in the fund for defence in these cases, and subscriptions should not be allowed to fall off until there is at least a small balance in hand.

### An Appeal for the Children.

Considering the success of our Children's Christmas Party last year, it has been decided to hold a similar one on December 27, for which end we appeal to our friends who cannot attend personally to give us some help in money for this Reunion of children, which we are confident by experience will be a pleasant one. Subscriptions payable to Mrs. Wardle, 9 Charlotte Street, Bedford Square; May Morris, Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, Hammersmith.

### Executive.

Upon the report of the Reunion Committee, it was resolved to abandon the idea of a reunion of the whole League, as the country branches were from various causes not in a position to attend. It was decided to give a Christmas treat to the children instead, to be followed by a Social Meeting of members and friends. The General Meeting of London Members has been fixed for the first Tuesday in each month in future.

### STRIKE COMMITTEE.

H. C., 1s.; T., 1s.; V. D., 1s.; S. M., 6d.; R. F. E. Willis, 3s. 6d.; Norwich Branch (per Mowbray), 1s. 3d. T. BINNING, Treasurer.

### FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Daily Chronicle Chapel (Mainwaring Concert), 2s. Deficit, £2, 8s. 6d. PH. W., Treasurer, Dec. 7.

### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

W. M. (donation), £1; Bloomsbury Branch (weekly) 5s.; T. B. (weekly), 6d. Mainwaring (sale of *Commonweal*), 4d.—£1, 5s. 10d. PH. W., Treasurer, Dec. 7.

## BRANCH REPORTS.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Friday, Dec. 3rd, F. Lessner lectured on "Middle-class Socialism."—L. W.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, December 1, Wm. Morris lectured on "Socialism, its Aims and Methods." Good discussion followed a very interesting lecture. On Sunday evening, P. Barry spoke on "The Future of Labour;" also gave analysis and diagrams. Good audience and discussion. A fair sale of *Commonweals*.

**CROYDON.**—Last Sunday evening, A. K. Donald lectured on "Political Economy from a Socialist Standpoint." He pointed out that the "dismal science" deals simply with the social relation of the present competitive system; whereas Socialism, the true Political Economy, while noting these relations, says that competition should cease and be replaced by co-operation, and shows how the change is to be brought about. There was a short discussion. Very good sale of literature and collection.—A. T., sec.

**FULHAM.**—Tochatti, Mahney, and McCormack addressed our meeting at Walham Green on Sunday morning. Although very cold had a good muster. Sale of literature fair, and no opposition. Mrs. Wilson lectured at our rooms in the evening, and was well received. A good discussion followed, and five new members made. We have arranged to hold a debate on Saturday evenings.—F. McC., sec.

**NORTH LONDON.**—We held a good meeting on Sunday morning in Regent's Park, when Cantwell, Nicoll, and Arnold spoke; a temperance advocate opposed, and was answered by Nicoll. Sale of *Commonweals* good.—W. H. B., sec.

**EDINBURGH.**—On Monday, November 29th, Prince Kropotkin addressed a large and enthusiastic meeting in Free Tron Hall. A considerable quantity of literature was sold.

**GLASGOW.**—On Saturday, Glasier and Stirling Millar addressed an open-air meeting on the Green, which was not so large as usual owing to the severe weather. On Sunday morning Glasier addressed a good meeting on the Green, and at mid-day he spoke to a large "well-to-do" audience on George's Square. In the evening in our rooms a discussion took place on "Palliatives," in which Muirhead, McLaren, Glasier, and others joined.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—On Sunday evening, December 5, G. Bernard Shaw, of the Fabian Society, in laying bare "Some Illusions of Individualism," incidentally exposed the hollowness of the dogma of the Neo-Malthusians that poverty is mainly the product of over-population, by quoting statistics which proved beyond doubt that the produce of wealth per individual is greater now than when the population was smaller.

**HAMILTON.**—M'Munn being unable to lecture on December 2, as announced, W. Small, of Cambuslang, addressed the meeting on "Communal Life." Glasier, of Glasgow, followed with a short sketch of Kropotkin's life, which was much relished by the audience. The best means of advertising our meetings, and of increasing the sale of *Commonweal*, was afterwards discussed.—W. M.

**HULL.**—On Sunday, December 5, Nicoll's lecture on "Law and Order" was read by Sansom. A good discussion was taken part in by Dean, Teesdale, Delvin, Shekell, and Smith.

**IPSWICH.**—Two outdoor meetings were held on Sunday. In the morning at Old Cattle Market, and in the afternoon on The Mount, another fresh place, and we intend to address meetings in all the open spaces, so as to spread our principles to all parts of the town. F. Henderson and Bailey spoke at both meetings, and comrade Slaughter, of Norwich, was also with us.—H. B.

**LANCASTER.**—On Saturday night we held the first business meeting of the Branch. E. P. Hall was voted to the chair, and the attendance was encouraging. The rules of the League were unanimously passed, with an amendment on the point of Committees, the entire body constituting ordinary Committee. Jos. Hayle was elected treasurer, and Leonard Hall secretary. We enrolled a strong list, and anticipate making Lancaster one of the important centres before 1887 is very old. Sale of literature remarkably good.—LEONARD HALL, sec.

**LEEDS.**—On Sunday, at 3 p.m., Hill and Maguire addressed a very attentive meeting in Vicar's Croft. An opponent, who could not induce the audience to listen to him, has challenged Maguire to an open-air debate of Socialism, to take place on Sunday afternoon, Dec. 19th, in Vicar's Croft, at 3 p.m. On Sunday evening, Maguire gave a lecture on the "Principles of Socialism" at the Gardener's Arms, Domestic Street. A very interesting discussion took place, which was adjourned until Sunday evening, the 19th inst.—F. C., sec.

**LEICESTER.**—On Sunday, J. L. Mahon met us in the morning, and gave us valuable advice. At the lecture in the afternoon, which had been announced, there were over a hundred present. Robson took the chair. Mahon's address excited strong sympathy. Several additional members were enrolled, considerable literature was disposed of, and a number of members met for tea, after which Mahon was escorted to the station.—P. BARCLAY, sec.

**NORWICH.**—Good meeting held at Sprowston; this is new ground; 20 *Commonweals* sold. Good meeting at St. Mary's Plain, also in the Market-place at 3, and opposite the Agricultural Hall at 7. Lecture indoors at Branch meeting-place at 8.15., subject, "Usury and Interest," by C. W. Mowbray; a good discussion. Our membership now numbers 88, and we are considering a plan of district division. Sale of literature, etc., £1 8s. Collected for Strike Fund, 1s. 3d.—C. W. MOWBRAY, sec.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday December 10, at 8 p.m. A. K. Donald will catechise on the third chapter of Joynes's Catechism.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Dec. 12, at 8.30 p.m. H. A. Barker, "Material and Spiritual Consolation." Wednesday 15, Annie Besant, "Means for Staving off Revolution." Branch Members' Business Meeting first Sunday in each month, 7 p.m. sharp.

**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Dec. 12, at 7.30 p.m. C. L. Fitzgerald, "The Road to Ruin."

**Fulham.**—338 North End Road (corner of Shorolds Road, opposite Liberal Club). Sunday Dec. 12, at 8 p.m. F. Kitz, "The Rise and Progress of English Manufactures."

**Hackney.**—24 Audley Street, Goldsmiths Road. On Saturday Dec. 18 there will be a Concert in aid of the Funds of the Hackney Socialist Club. We appeal to all members that can possibly attend to do so. Programmes, 3d.—H. GRAHAM.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Dec. 12, at 8 p.m. William Morris, "England as it was, as it is, and as it may be."

**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Dec. 12, at 11.30 a.m. E. Pope, "The Peasant's Revolt." In the evening, at 8, W. C. Wade, "How I became a Socialist."

**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday.

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.

**North London.**—Business Meeting at 32 Camden Road Fridays at 8.

## Country Branches.

**Bingley.**—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

**Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Rd. Wednesdays, at 8.

**Dublin.**—102 Capel Street. Sunday at 7.30 p.m.; Thursday at 8 p.m.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10. The Treasurer attends for members' subscriptions first Wednesday of every month.

**Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday open-air meetings will be held on the Green at 11.30 and 4.30; and at George's Square at 12.30. In the evening, in our Rooms at 7 o'clock, Chapter VI. of Joynes's "Socialist's Catechism" will be discussed.

—On Tuesday 14, in Rooms, at 8, Monthly Business Meeting—all members are requested to turn up.—Notice—Owing to the difficulty in obtaining a suitable hall, our winter public lecture arrangements cannot yet be announced.

**Hamilton.**—Branch meets every Thursday evening at 7.30 in the British Workman Meeting Room for Lectures and Discussions.

**Hull.**—11 Princess Street, off Mason Street and Sykes Street. Club Room open 7 to 10 every evening; Sundays 10 am. to 10 p.m. Public Lectures every Sunday at 7 p.m. 12th, Morris's "Labour Question."

**Ipswich.**—The Branch has left the George Inn, and have not yet procured fit premises for the club about to be formed.

**Leeds.**—New Fleece Inn, Pemberton St., Dewsbury Rd. Lancaster.—Market Hall Coffee Tavern Lecture Room. Saturday evenings at 7.30.

**Leicester.**—Silver Street. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. prompt. Lecture with discussion at 8 o'clock.

**Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

**S.** Hackney—"Salmon and Ball" 11.30...D. J. Nicoll  
London Fields—Broadway ...11.30...H. Graham  
Marylebone—Salisbury St. ...11.30...T. E. Wardle  
Mitcham Fair Green..... 11.30...Kitz  
Regent's Park .....11.30...The Branch  
St. Pancras Arches.....11.30...Chambers  
Hyde Park (near Marble Arch) 3 ...Mainwaring  
W. London Fields—Broadway, 8.30...The Branch

## PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

**Ipswich.**—Old Cattle Market, 11; Ship Launch, 3 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.  
**Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

**HAMMERSMITH CLUB, Grove House, The Grove.**—On December 11, G. B. Shaw will lecture on "Malthusianism and Socialism."

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

THE "Dissentient Liberals" have had their field-day; and at first sight the thing which would strike the observer most would be the extreme shabbiness of their purpose. These lords and gentlemen—these superior persons—were met together really for the purpose of enforcing their legal right to take the last penny out of the pockets of a few poor people on the verge of pauperism. Stripped of a very thin veil of pretence to patriotism, fair dealing, ten commandments, and the like, this is the only explanation of their conduct. And one must say that the sweating of the Jews by King John was a generous and almost ideal proceeding compared with this dull, blank shabbiness; for at all events the Jew had something worth taking, and his "portable property" might well captivate the imagination of a hard-up mediæval king.

Their desperate earnestness in their purpose was also striking. "The manly straightforwardness" of Lord Hartington—which an enemy might perhaps call grovelling stupidity—the old-womanish spite of Mr. Bright's much-be-cheered letter, Mr. Chamberlain's quaintly arrogant telegram, are not more remarkable than the obvious eagerness of the rank and file to declare themselves supporters of Lord Salisbury. Fear had consolidated these opponents of Home Rule, that is clear; but fear of Home Rule? Surely not.

For if they had no enemy save Home Rule the game for these patriots to play would be support of the tenant-farmers against the landlords; to be able to say, "What do you want with a Dublin parliament when we will give you all you ask for, and as an instalment, to show that we mean it, will stave off the landlords from you at this pinch, so that you may make *some* livelihood out of the land?" Surely this would have been the card to play for a party calling themselves Unionists. And to an outsider it seems as if it would have been so easy, too. The National League with its "Plan of Campaign" would appear almost to have been asking the *Liberal* Unionists to dish it. At least Mr. Bright might have been expected to be on the side of the tenant-farmers.

After all, our Irish friends seem to have understood the people they were fighting against, and that they could be trusted to plunge deeper and deeper into the mire. And as for Mr. Bright, he is one of those persons who roar out for sweeping reforms as long as there is no chance of their being realised, and draw back in terror as soon as they seem likely to come about.

In short, there are no two words to be said on the matter: The terror arises from the attack on property, as it seems to their eyes; though to ours the "Plan of Campaign" seems rather a recognition of the rights of property, and therefore to be deprecated. But it is clear from the speeches that Socialism was the bugbear, and Lord Salisbury once again echoed the feeling in his speech to the Conservative Club; in which, by the way, he was naturally jubilant over the definite adhesion of the "Liberal Unionists." He has a strong party to lead now.

Neither are there wanting signs that the greater part of the Gladstonian Liberals will soon be in the same camp. The avidity with which they will seize on an excuse to go over to the safe side was well illustrated by the article in the *Daily News* following Lord Kilcourse's letter on Mr. Dillon's speech. It meant once more: "Yes, we will do what Mr. Gladstone wishes as long as the natural results don't seem likely to come of our doing so; but then—." The Gladstonian Liberals also are beginning to understand what Irish affairs mean; and when they have come to understand fully that it is not a question of Parliamentary politics, but of property, then, except for the Irish themselves and a few Radicals, there will be but one party in Parliament as far as Ireland is concerned. But, meantime, how the Irish party must despise their Liberal allies!

Yes, the Tory party seems safe, and it would be unreasonable if it were not so, since except in this matter of Home Rule, in which they are not in earnest, the Liberal party has nothing to propose which the others are unwilling to accept. Take as an example Mr. Arnold's ridiculously misnamed "Free Land" scheme, and here is Lord Salisbury's remark on that point: "Anybody must be absolutely ignorant of the history of this country who believes that the desire to make the acquisition of land easy" (to those who have the privilege of

money understood) "is inconsistent with the principles of the Conservative party." Perhaps Lord Salisbury had better let history alone. But "the principles of the Conservative party" at present need no stretching to enable them to accept a scheme which would strengthen the power of capital, as the "Free Land" business certainly would.

To those who wish to retain any respect for human nature, the stupidity exhibited by the speakers at meetings like the Poor-law Conference is somewhat of a blow. Meantime, it is not worth while to hunt these people through the labyrinth of lies which they construct so elaborately. Yet, fools as they are, it is strange that even they cannot see that their arguments against the exceptional nature of the distress, which no one denies, form the heaviest indictment possible against the cruel fraud which they call Society, and which they sustain so persistently. If this is to be our ordinary condition in the future, and if you have no plan for getting rid of this "chronic" and necessary misery and degradation, what scheme of revolution can be too wild for us to try? In sober truth it seems to most thinking people that we are being pushed down a long incline, and that before long we shall look back to this dismal year as one of comparative prosperity. What is the remedy for the present condition of the poor? To get rid of the condition of the poor; and we know how to do it if we will, by getting rid of the condition of the rich, to whose existence as a rich class the poor are necessary.

WM. MORRIS

## A VISIT TO THE TYNESIDE.

THE North of England is just now peculiarly adapted for Socialistic agitation. It is in a great state of excitement. The workmen are forming a Labour Federation to obtain a working-day of eight hours, and the seamen are agitating also to raise their wages from £3 10s. to £4 per month. I found, therefore, upon visiting this part that the people listened eagerly to any ideas that promised to benefit them. I spoke twice upon Socialism, once in the open-air, and again in the Gladstone Hall, Bedford Street, North Shields. My task was not an easy one, for the local papers, as usual, have been very busy burlesquing and misrepresenting our teachings. The virulence of some of the papers concerning us would be amusing, but, unfortunately, they are doing a great deal of harm. I will give an example of their work: "We have been taught that the Socialists are a lot of drunken vicious agitators, who are making a living by duping foolish workmen," said a man to me at the conclusion of one of the meetings; and I must add, these are the views commonly held about us. The lying press have done their work well on the Tyneside. In spite of this, those to whom I had the opportunity of speaking received our doctrines with favour. The usual questions were asked: "Who will do the dirty work?" "What are you going to do with the idle people?" and "Cannot you give us a detailed scheme?" These I answered to the best of my ability. One great obstacle to the advance of Socialism in this place is the intense Radicalism or Republicanism of the people; should you speak slightly of either of these they are offended. Many of them too belong to the Atheistic-Individualist school of thought; this may be due to the influence of a very strong branch of the National Secular Society in South Shields. I was sorry too to see the homage they gave to Mr. Gladstone, amounting nearly to idolatry. Until they can shake off this worship little good can be done by them; it is both pernicious and dangerous. On the question of land nationalisation we were all agreed. One very noticeable and sad fact is the hatred in which the "foreigner" is held. It is lamentable that such should be the case, but it is easily to be understood. It is through the action of foreign sailors that the wages of seamen have been reduced to the miserable pittance of £3 10s. per month. It also seems that they will put up with coarser food than an Englishman. They have also hampered the action of the English by holding aloof from the sailors' organisation. Of course I attempted to break down this national prejudice, but I am afraid that it is a hopeless task while the foreign seamen persist in their present conduct. However, I have great hopes for Socialism in the North of England if put before the people in a reasonable manner.

At the conclusion of my last meeting, I obtained sufficient names to form a Branch, and Mr. Lydon, 63, Bedford Street, North Shields, consented to act as secretary. It may be as well to state that he is at present secretary to the local Branch of the Irish Nationalist League, and I trust that any one who is willing to help the North

Shields Branch of the Socialist League will communicate with him. Unfortunately, I was not able to hold a meeting in Newcastle, time not allowing. That town, however, has a Society for the discussion of Socialistic questions.

My visit to the North has taught me that the men there are too important to be neglected. They do not need agitation, for they are keenly alive to their wrongs; they do not need organisation, for they are splendidly united. In this matter they set us a fine example. What they need is education in the truths of Socialism; tell the people of these in a stirring and proper manner and they will gladly accept them. They have led the way in many a struggle to emancipate labour, and I believe that when the great and final battle comes they will not be found in the background.

W. A. CHAMBERS.

## A DREAM OF JOHN BALL.

(Continued from p. 291.)

I GOT into my old place again on the steps of the cross, Will Green beside me and above me John Ball and Jack Straw again. The moon was half-way up the heavens now, and the short summer night had begun, calm and fragrant, with just so much noise outside our silent circle as made one feel the world alive and happy.

We waited silently until we had heard John Ball and the story of what was to do; and presently he began to speak.

"Good people it is begun, but not ended. Which of you is hardy enough to wend the road to London to-morrow?" "All! All!" they shouted. "Yea," said he, "even so I deemed of you. Yet forsooth hearken! London is a great and grievous city; and mayhap when ye come thither it shall seem to you over great to deal with when ye remember the little townships and the cots ye came from. Moreover, when ye dwell here in Kent ye think forsooth of your brethren in Essex or Suffolk, and there belike an end. But from London ye may have an inkling of all the world, and over burdensome maybe shall that seem to you, a few and a feeble people. Nevertheless I say to you remember the fellowship, in the hope of which ye have this day conquered; and when ye come to London be wise and wary; and that is as much as to say be bold and hardy; for in these days are ye building a house which shall not be overthrown, and the world shall not be too great or too little to hold it: for indeed it shall be the world itself, set free from evil-doers for friends to dwell in it."

He ceased awhile, but they hearkened still as if something more was coming. Then he said:

"To-morrow we shall take the road for Rochester; and most like it were well to see what Sir John Newton in the castle may say to us: for the man is no ill man, and hath a tongue well shapen for words; and it were well that we had him out of the castle and away with us, and that we put a word in his mouth to say to the King. And wot ye well, good fellows, that by then we come to Rochester we shall be a goodly company, and ere we come to Blackheath a very great company; and at London Bridge who shall stay our army? Therefore there is nought that can undo us except our own selves and our hearkening to soft words from those who would slay us. They shall bid us go home and abide peacefully with our wives and children while they, the lords and councillors and lawyers, imagine council and remedy for us; and even so shall our own folly bid us; and if we hearken thereto we are undone indeed; for they shall fall upon our peace with war, and our wives and children they shall take from us, and some of us they shall hang and some they shall scourge, and the others shall be their yoke-beasts—yea, and worse, for they shall lack meat more. To fools hearken not, whether they be yourselves or your foemen, for either shall lead you astray. With the lords parley not, for ye know already what they would say to you, and that is, 'Churl, let me bridle thee and saddle thee, and eat thy livelihood that thou winnest, and call thee hard names because I eat thee up; and for thee, speak not and do not, save as I bid thee.' All that is the end of their parleying. Therefore be ye bold, and again bold, and thrice bold! Grip the bow, handle the staff, draw the sword, and set on in the name of the fellowship!"

He ended amid loud shouts; but straightway answering shouts were heard, and a great noise of the winding of horns, and I misdoubted a new onslaught; and some of those in the throng began to string their bows and handle their bills; but Will Green pulled me by the sleeve and said, "Friends are these by the winding of their horns; thou art quit for this night, old lad." And then Jack Straw cried out from the cross: "Fair and softly, my masters! These be men of our fellowship, and are for your guests this night; they are from the bents this side of Medway, and are with us here because of the pilgrimage road, and that is the best in these parts, and so the shortest to Rochester. And doubt ye nothing of our being taken unawares this night; for I have bidden and sent out watchers of the ways, and neither a man's son nor a mare's son may come in on us without espial. Now make we our friends welcome. Forsooth, I looked for them an hour later; and had they come an hour earlier yet, some heads would now lie on the cold grass which shall lie on the feather bed to-night. But let be, since all is well! Now get we home to our houses, and eat and drink and slumber this night if never once again amid the multitude of friends and fellows; and yet soberly and without riot, since so much work is to hand. Moreover the priest saith, bear ye the dead men, both friends and foes, into the chancel of the church, and there this night he will wake them: but after to-morrow let the dead abide to bury their dead!"

Therewith he leapt down from the cross, and Will and I bestirred ourselves and mingled with the new comers. They were some three

hundred strong, clad and armed in all ways like the people of our township, except some half dozen whose armour shone cold like ice under the moonbeams. Will Green soon had a dozen of them by the sleeve to come home with him to board and bed, and then I lost him for some minutes, and turning about saw John Ball standing behind me looking pensively on all the stir and merry humours of the joyous uplanders. "Brother from Essex," said he, "shall I see thee again to-night? I were fain of speech with thee; for thou seemest like one that has seen more than most." "Yea," said I, "if ye come to Will Green's house, for thither am I bidden." "Thither shall I come," said he, smiling kindly, "or no man I know in field. Lo you, Will Green looking for something, and that is me. But in his house will be song and the talk of many friends; and forsooth I have words in me that crave to come out in a quiet place where they have each one his own answer. If thou art not afraid of dead men who were alive and wicked this morning, come thou to the church when supper is done, and there we may talk all we will."

Will Green was standing beside us before he had done, with his hand laid on the priest's shoulder, waiting till he had spoken out; and as I nodded Yea to John Ball he said: "Now master priest, thou hast spoken enough this two or three hours, and this my new brother must tell and talk in my house; and there my maid will hear his wisdom which lay still under the hedge e'en now when the bolts were abroad. So come ye, and ye good fellows, come!"

So we turned away together into the little street. But while John Ball had been speaking to me I felt strangely, as though I had more things to say than the words I knew could make clear: as if I wanted to get from other people a new set of words. Moreover, as we passed up the street again I was once again smitten with the great beauty of the scene; the houses, the church with its new chancel and tower, snow-white in the moonbeams now; the dresses and arms of the people, men and women (for the latter were now mixed up with the men); their grave sonorous language, and the quaint and measured forms of speech were again become a wonder to me and affected me almost to tears.

I walked along with the others musing and as if I did not belong to them, till we came to Will Green's house. He was one of the wealthier of the yeomen, and his house was one of those I told you of, the lower story of which was built of stone. It had not been built long, and was very trim and neat. The fit of wonder had worn off me again by then I reached it, or perhaps I should give you a closer description of it, for it was a handsome yeoman's dwelling. The house on the other side of it, the last house in the village, was old or even ancient; all built of stone, and except for a newer piece built on to it—a hall, it seemed—had round arches, some of them handsomely carved. I knew that this was the parson's house; but he was another sort of priest than John Ball, and what for fear, what for hatred, had gone back to his monastery with the two other chantrey priests who dwelt in that house: so that the men of the townships, and more especially the women, were thinking gladly how John Ball should say mass in their new chancel on the morrow.

Will Green's daughter was waiting for him at the door and gave him a close and eager hug, and had a kiss to spare for each of us withal; a strong girl she was, as I have said, and sweet and wholesome also. She made merry with her father; yet it was easy to see that her heart was in her mouth all along. There was a younger girl some twelve summers old, and a lad of ten, who were easily to be known for his children; an old woman also, who had her livelihood there, and helped the household; and moreover three long young men, who came into the house after we had sat down, to whom Will nodded kindly. They were brisk lads and smart, but had been afield after the beasts that evening, and had not seen the fray.

The room we came into was indeed the house, for there was nothing but it on the ground floor, but a stair in the corner went up to the rooms above. It was much like the room at the Rose, but bigger; the cupboard better wrought, and with more vessels on it, and handsomer. Also the walls, instead of being panelled, were hung with a coarse loosely-woven stuff of green worsted with birds and trees woven into it. There were flowers in plenty stuck about the room, mostly of the yellow blossoming flag, but in the window near the door was a pot full of those same white poppies I had seen when I first woke up; and the table was all set forth with meat and drink, a big salt-cellar of pewter in the middle, covered with a white cloth.

We sat down, the priest blessed the meat in the name of the Trinity, and we crossed ourselves and fell to. The victual was plentiful of broth and flesh-meat and bread and cherries, so we ate and drank, and talked lightly together when we were full. Yet was not the feast so gay as might have been. Will Green had me to sit next to him, and on the other side sat John Ball; but the priest had grown somewhat distraught, and sat as as one thinking of somewhat that was like to escape his thought. Will Green looked at his daughter from time to time, and whiles his eyes glanced round the fair chamber as one who loved it, and his kind face grew sad, yet never sullen. When the herdsmen came into the hall they fell straightway to asking questions concerning those of the fellowship who had been slain in the fray, and of their wives and children; so that for a while thereafter no man cared to jest, for they were a neighbourly and kind folk, and were sorry both for the dead, and the living that should suffer from that day's work. So then we sat silent awhile. The unseen moon was bright over the roof of the house, so that outside all was gleaming bright save the black shadows, though the moon came not into the room, and the white wall of the tower was the whitest and the brightest thing we could see. Wide open were the windows, and the scents of the

fragrant night floated in upon us, and the sounds of the men at their meat or making merry about the township; and whiles we heard the gibber of an owl from the trees westward of the church, and the sharp cry of a blackbird made fearful by the prowling stoat, or the far lowing of a cow from the upland pastures; or the hoofs of a horse trotting on the pilgrimage road (and one of our watchers would that be). Thus we sat a while, and once again came that feeling over me of wonder and pleasure at the strange and beautiful sights, mingled with the sights and sounds and scents beautiful indeed, yet not strange, but rather long familiar to me.

But now Will Green started in his seat where he sat with his daughter hanging over his chair, her hand amidst his thick black curls, and she weeping softly I thought; and his rough strong voice broke the silence. "Why lads and neighbours, what ails us? If the knights who fled from us this eve were to creep back hither and look in at the window they would deem that they had slain us after all, and that we were but the ghosts of the men who fought them. Yet, forsooth, fair it is at whiles to sit with friends and let the summer night speak for us and tell us its tales. But now, sweetling, fetch the mazer and the wine."

"Forsooth," said John Ball, "if ye laugh not over much now, ye shall laugh the more on the morrow of to-morrow, as ye draw nearer to the play of point and edge."

"That is sooth," said one of the upland guests. "So it was seen in France when we fought there; and the eve of fight was sober, and the morn was merry." "Yea," said another, "but there, forsooth, it was for nothing ye fought; and to-morrow it shall be for a fair reward." "It was for life we fought," said the first. "Yea," said the second, "for life; and leave to go home and find the lawyers at their fell game. Ho, Will Green, call a health over the cup!"

For now Will Green had a bowl of wine in his hand. He stood up and said: "Here, now, I call a health to the wrights of Kent who be turning our plough-shares into swords and our pruning-hooks into spears! Drink around, my masters!"

Then he drank, and his daughter filled the bowl brimming again and he passed it to me. As I took it I saw that it was of light polished wood curiously speckled, with a band of silver round it on which was cut the legend, "*In the name of the Trinity fill the cup and drink to me.*" And before I drank, it came upon me to say, "To-morrow, and the fair days afterwards!" Then I drank a great draught of the strong red wine, and passed it on; and every man said something over it, as "The road to London Bridge!" "Hob Carter and his mate!" and so on, till last of all John Ball drank, saying "Ten years hence, and the freedom of the fellowship!" Then he said to Will Green: "Now Will, must I needs depart to go and wake the dead both friend and foe in the church yonder; and whoso of you will be shriven let him come to me thither in the morn, nor spare for as little after sunrise as it may be. And this our friend and brother from over the water of Thames, he hath will to talk with me and I with him; so now will I take him by the hand: and so God keep you fellows!"

I rose to meet him as he came round the head of the table, and took his hand. Will Green turned round to me and said: "Thou wilt come back again timely, old lad; for betimes on the morrow must we rise if we shall dine at Rochester." I stammered as I yea-said him; for John Ball was looking strangely at me with a half smile, and my heart beat anxiously and fearfully: but we went quietly to the door and so out into the bright moonlight. I lingered a little when we had passed the threshold, and looked back at the yellow-lighted window and the shapes of the men that I saw therein with a grief and longing that I could not give myself a reason for, since I was to come back so soon. John Ball did not press me to move forward, but held up his hand as if to bid me hearken. The folk and guests there had already shaken themselves down since our departure, and were gotten to be reasonably merry it seemed; for one of the guests, he who had spoken of France before, had fallen to singing a ballad of the war to a wild and melancholy tune. I remember the first rhymes of it, which I heard as I turned away my head and we moved on toward the church:

*"On a fair field of France we fought on a morning  
So lovely as it lieth along by the water.  
There was many a lord there moved men in the medley,  
Amidst the banners of the barons and bold men of the knight-hood,  
And spearmen and sergeants and shooters of the shaft."*

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

The brass workers of New York, who have been on a strike for two months, propose to establish a co-operative factory.

At the partial municipal elections in Brussels a workman professing Socialist opinions has been returned for the first time.

A writer in the *Hull Express* protests against the Socialist attacks on the labour M.P.'s, but discreetly leaves those attacks unanswered. Of course it is well known that trades' unionists generally are ashamed of their representatives in Parliament. The *Express* thinks Socialists ought to be grateful to Broadhurst and Burt for their help in passing such Socialistic measures as the Employers' Liability and Mines Regulation Acts. But these Acts are not Socialistic, and, anyhow, were not the particular progeny of the two Whig gentlemen who represent "labour" in St. Stephen's. The whole of the factory legislation is merely a proof of the admitted rottenness and iniquity of the capitalist system, and an attempt to make it bearable rather than to destroy it. It is rather late in the day to defend the labour M.P.'s. Their want of spirit and their unvarying readiness to act as bootblacks to the Liberal leaders has damned them, and their meek acceptance of Government patronage has double-damned them.—J. L. M.

## BE CONTENT.

SAID the parson, "Be content,  
Pay your tithe-dues, pay your rent;  
They that earthly things despise  
Shall have mansions in the skies;  
Though your back with toil be bent,"  
Said the parson, "be content."

Then the parson feasting went,  
With my lord who lives by rent;  
And the parson laughed elate,  
For my lord has livings great.  
They that earthly things revere,  
May get bishops' mansions here.

Be content! be content!  
Till your dreary life is spent;  
Lowly live and lowly die,  
All for mansions in the sky.  
Castles here are much too rare;  
All may have them—in the air.

T. MAGUIRE.

## 'Echoes of Truth.'

PUBLISHED as a memento of a well-known and much-lamented comrade, this volume of twenty-four sermons selected from the posthumous papers of E. M. Geldart, has a special interest for Socialists. With whatever of speculative opinion finds place in these discourses the *Commonweal* has nothing to do, there is little in them for either orthodox or heretic to cavil over or condemn, but in a thousand places there speaks out the warm strong heart of a man who felt and fought for freedom and truth, who knew no country but the world and no shibboleth that could mark him off from all humanity.

"The name of freedom is a glorious name; the voice of freedom is a mighty voice. Thrones shake and tyrants tremble at the sound. With liberty there dwells a talismanic power which leads forlornest fortunes to sure victory. The raising of its standard makes its armies strong, and spreads in hostile camps confusion and dismay. The peaks and valleys of fair Switzerland once leapt to hear its cry, and the hosts of the despot oppressor shrank cowering and withered at the blast. As its champion, Napoleon conquered; as its foe, at last he fell. In many a war of independence, in many a great rebellion, it has approved itself of all inspiring causes the most invincible. Beaten down to the earth, it arises in a while more terrible; crushed for a season by superior force, it smoulders like a smothered fire, only to break forth, ere long, once more in an all-devouring flame. It is a buckler of impenetrable steel on the breast of its dauntless heroes; it makes a giant of a single man, and one a match for a thousand. The pride of kings and emperors, the pomp of prelacy, the craft of priests are powerless before it. Martin Luther at the Diet of Worms, John Huss at the Council of Constance, were more than conquerors; the enemies of freedom were cheated of their prey. The one they browbeat, but they could not bend; the other, though they burnt, they could not bury."

"Denounce sharp practice in trade, and decline to connive at the maxim of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest, irrespective of all considerations; at the ways and means which bulls and bears invent for cheapening the commodities which they wish to buy, and enhancing the value of the articles which they desire to sell. Avow your conviction that the usurer who decoys his game into nets of extravagance and folly, with the certainty of ample reprisals at the hands of parents and guardians; that the broker who negotiates transactions for a wretched clerk, which he knows he can only pay for with the money of his firm; that the tradesman who walks to chapel in his smiling Sunday face, and blandly deposits in the missionary-box some fragment of the savings earned by shallow measures and short lengths, worn weights and adulterated goods; that the swindler who, having purchased what he never hoped to pay for, sells up for a shilling in the pound with the air of an injured man, and after concealment of his assets, or settlement timely and adroit, contrives to rise from the ashes of his bankruptcy like a Phoenix repairing his plumes,—is not one whit a more respectable person than the footpad, whose blow with a bludgeon, for the sake of a wayfarer's purse, is rewarded by strict incarceration, hard labour, and the lash."

"The strength of a cause is, that it can stand alone; the force of a movement is its native vigour; the power of truth is that it proves itself, and needs the fulcrum of no foreign aid."

Passages pregnant with virile wisdom abound, and the whole book may be read with an abiding pleasure. It is published at 6s. by Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., Paternoster Square, and may be obtained from them or from Mrs. Geldart, 82 Lansdowne Road, Croydon.

H. H. SPARLING.

With the present power of the machinery of the world to furnish things of use and beauty for the service of mankind, what superabundant supplies for every conceivable earthly want might be enjoyed by the whole human race under a logical system of production and distribution!—*John Swinton's Paper.*

The *Weekly Bulletin*, "a journal of finance and investment," published in London, has in its issue of 4th inst. some curiously naïve admissions as to the unscrupulous thieving that goes on among those gentlemen who—"for a consideration"—are kind enough to help commerce along by dealing in stocks and shares. "It is within our knowledge that as much as £10,000 has been spent in London on a single project which did not float"; "£5000 would be a very common drop in unsuccessful exploitation." Every item in this paper illustrates well the solemn assurance with which the bourgeois swindles his fellow—or is swindled—out of wealth which he did not produce and cannot use when he has it, save to begin again the same process or to expend it upon surroundings that shall be in keeping with the loathsome hypocrisy of his life.





"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

**All articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages.** None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

**Rejected MSS.** can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

**Subscriptions.**—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s., six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

**Business communications** to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

**NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.**—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

G. J. POLLARD; E.—Many thanks. Will communicate with the secretary. REPUBLICAN (Dalston).—'Financial Reform Almanac,' Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1s.; 'American Almanac,' Trübner, 2s.

J. J. MARTIN (Tulare, Cal.); ALFRED CRIDGE (San Jose, Cal.); G. VENABLE SMITH (Cleveland, O.).—Information to hand, for which thanks. Shall be utilised as soon as space will permit.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 15.*

ENGLAND	FRANCE	SWITZERLAND
Justice	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Zurich—Social Demokrat
Norwich—Daylight	Le Socialiste	
Club and Institute Journal	Le Revolte	
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Guise—Le Devoir	
Church Reformer	Lille—Le Travailleur	
Christian Socialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	
Practical Socialist	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair	
The Socialist	En Avant	
To-Day	Liege—L'Avenir	
Freethinker	Antwerp—De Werker	
Anarchist		
INDIA	ITALY	
Madras—People's Friend	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	
Allahabad—People's Budget	Reggio—La Giustizia	
Bombay—Times of India	Brescia—Lo Sperimentale	
Voice of India		
CANADA		
Toronto—Labor Reformer		
Montreal—L'Union Ouvriere		
UNITED STATES		
New York—Volkszeitung		
Freiheit		
Truthseeker		
Der Sozialist		
John Swinton's Paper		
Boston—Woman's Journal		

### IS TRADE RECOVERING?

WE are being told by the middle-class press at present, that there are signs of the passing away of that depression of trade which nobody denies is real enough. Now, non-Socialists will doubtless look on Socialists who dread this recovery of trade as likely to calm down the present agitation as very dreadful persons; but I would ask them first to remember that the realisation of Socialism means to us a new and happy world; and considering how frightful are the sufferings of a large part of civilised populations, and how still more frightful is their degradation even in prosperous times of trade, we are surely justified by our point of view in thinking the speedy advent of Socialism worth paying a heavy price for. Furthermore, those of us who study history and believe in the evolution of the race, cannot doubt that Socialism can only be realised by the rotting away of the system which it is getting ready to supplant. No amount of preaching, of enthusiasm, or of devotion even, will induce the workers, with whom the worlds' future lies, to accept and to act upon mere abstract propositions of what they have a right to aspire to; necessity must push them on before they can even conceive of the future of equality and mutual good-will which we KNOW awaits them.

When the working-classes become conscious of the struggle which is always going on between them and the classes which live upon their labour, then they will be able and ready to face the dangers of the action which must come before the realisation of the new order of things; the dangers, the added miseries, the load of responsibility which must attend such action; then, and not till then. And necessity only can make them conscious of this struggle. The classes that live upon the labour of the workers, if they are not conscious of this, yet act instinctively as if they were. They act as if they knew that the consciousness of the class-struggle were being forced upon the workers. Except for a few poor-law and charity organisation pedants, no one in public ventures to speak of the working-classes with the brutality

which I am old enough to remember as the common manner of talk about them. All kinds of philanthropical schemes are set on foot for their supposed benefit by the richer classes, from the building of goody-goody people's palaces up to schemes which are a kind of demi-semi-Socialistic. The aim of all this philanthropy is undoubtedly to make it somewhat easier for the workers to live—as wage-slaves; and possibly many of the philanthropists believe that they are acting thus of their own free-will; but as a class they not so doing, necessity is compelling them on the one hand to keep the poorest slaves quiet by hope of charity in some form or another; and on the other to give all opportunity possible for the better paid workers to rise into the capitalist class. To make the basis of exploitation as wide as possible, to interest as many as possible in the plunder of labour, is the aim of all middle-class dealings with the workers which are not mere demented folly. It is clear that this attempt at diverting the aspirations of the workers into the channel of mere individual self-interest has not the same chance of success when times are bad and trade slack, as in periods of commercial prosperity; and if that prosperity should when it came turn out to be steady and continuous, Socialism would become a mere "pious opinion"; because the pleasure and excitement of the gambling for livelihood which would be open to all the better-off workmen, would blind them to the degradation of their condition and the sordidness of the desperate struggle. In short, the class-struggle would tend toward the creation of a new class formed out of the superior workmen, just as our present middle-class has been formed out of the guild-craftsmen and freedmen of the Middle Ages.

To counteract this tendency is the main business of Socialists at present. To assert the necessity of the wage-workers, not only of all countries but also of all conditions, to unite; to refuse to admit any distinction between skilled and unskilled, employed or unemployed, must be our answer to the bourgeois attempt at building up a new middle-class. And Socialists must consider that if that tendency becomes a fact and the new class does grow up, it will show that we have been mistaken in supposing that the present system was rotting to its end. It would mean that Socialism was put off not for fifty years, but for centuries.

Therefore, at the risk of being accused of want of sympathy with suffering, and inhuman party spirit, we are bound to hail the signs of the rotting away of commercialism, the depression of trade and confusion of politics, just as an oppressed people hails the war which is to set them free. It is unheard of and impossible that birth should take place without struggle and suffering; but in spite of that we long for the birth.

As for the recovery of trade with which we are threatened, the signs of it are not very obvious as yet. Probably in many cases it is simply a matter of speculation, as the *Cotton Factory Times* of November 26 tells is the case with the apparent recovery in that industry; in others it simply means that the stocks have been somewhat worked off, and so give opportunity for beginning fresh over-production. An account to hand of the final report of the Commission on the Depression of Trade makes no boast of recovery, and is not very heroic in its proposed remedies. After having admitted that "there is a tendency in the supply of commodities to outrun the demand," they say, "that the great object to be aimed at is to diminish the cost of production, so far as it can be done consistently with the maintenance of sound quality and good workmanship." Has it occurred to these Gothamites that the only way of reducing the cost of production is by reducing the labour used in producing, and under our present system that can only be done by lowering wages. What these curious persons propose is to remedy over-production by producing more on the one hand, and by decreasing our power of consumption on the other.

The ridiculous position of these Commissioners is an indication amongst others numerous enough, that a recurrence to the roaring times of trade is unlikely to happen, or at least that if it did, the recovery would speedily be followed by a deeper depression. That means that the state of trade will go from bad to worse, until at last the workers will be forced to take the organisation of labour into their own hands, and make an end of our system of usury and robbery. That is the apparent logical conclusion to be drawn from passing events; nevertheless, disturbing influences may put off the day of change; and I hold that the above-mentioned possible tendency toward a new lower middle-class is even now visible as one of them, and must be guarded against sedulously. Therefore, we should set our faces sternly against any proposal which seemed likely to benefit one part of the workers, while it left the other out in the cold, however specious its form might be; and at the same time we should above all things put forward complete equality of condition as our ultimate end.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

The political economy of our age can be summed up thus: When you get an undue advantage hold on to it and have special laws made to protect you in the enjoyment of it, and hold on to all you can steal until the prison bars stare you in the face, then disgorge enough to purchase immunity, start a bank with the remainder, join a missionary society and take a front pew in church.—*Industrial News*.

One of the delightful results of our vaunted system is well shown by the report submitted by the treasurer of New South Wales to its Parliament. In a fertile country, with enormous annual production of wealth, and no "spirited foreign policy" to sustain, there is yet a very large and increasing number of men unemployed, "stagnation of business," and the deficit of £1,350,000 with which the present financial year was begun will be much over two millions at its close!

## SCOTTISH NOTES.

FOR some time past a series of articles on Socialism has been appearing in the Dundee *People's Journal*, a weekly newspaper which has a large circulation. The articles have mainly dealt with the history of schemes of social reconstruction on lines similar to Kauffmann's 'Utopias.' The writer appears anxious to be perfectly fair, and displays much more sympathy with Socialism than one is accustomed to meet with in Liberal and Radical newspapers.

The writer's knowledge of modern Socialism appears, however, to be somewhat fresh. Dealing with "Present-Day Socialistic Literature" in a recent number, he makes some rather stupid mistakes. William Morris, he tells us, "is now associated with the *Socialist*, the organ of the Socialist League." *Commonweal*, he says in another place, "is a milk-and-water imitation of *Justice*." He also informs his readers that the Social Democratic Federation is opposed to parliamentary methods!

Our comrade George McLean—who keeps a sharp eye upon the enemy's press, and never loses an opportunity of thrusting a Socialist paragraph or letter into those advertisement mediums—wrote to the *People's Journal* protesting in vigorous terms against the error and absurdity of the writer's remarks. Last week the writer in a note attached to his article acknowledges receipt of the letter, and explains. *Socialist*, he says, was inadvertently written for *Commonweal*, and the phrase "milk-and-water imitation of *Justice*" consequently applied not to the *Commonweal* but to the *Socialist*. Regarding the Social Democratic Federation and parliamentary action, he complains that "if the Social Democrats are in favour of parliamentary action it is not wise on the part of their leaders to use language which can only be construed into a profound contempt for politics and politicians." Whatever may be thought of the merits of this explanation, one thing is certain—it should never have been needed. These mistakes, as well as other, seriously mar the accuracy of articles otherwise useful in drawing the attention of the people to the most important of all questions of the day.

Mr. Young, the architect for the Glasgow Municipal Buildings—now in course of erection—has submitted a proposal to the Corporation: that with the view of commemorating the Queen's jubilee, a group representing her majesty surrounded with niggers, Hindoos, elephants, buffaloes, kangaroos, and other interesting ethnological and zoological subjects, should be sculptured on the pediment of the façade of the building.

Whatever may be thought of Mr. Young's ability as an architect, no one, we think, will question his adeptness as a flunkey. The Greek and Roman architects, to whom Mr. Young is indebted for almost every feature and detail of his design, did not stick dumpy old women on their pediments; but then the Greeks and Romans were vulgar, and had not the advantage of reading Chesterfield's 'Letters,' or the expectation of being smiled upon by a batch of parvenu princes and their "fairly godmother."

Beware, Mr. Young, beware! The Queen will not live for ever. The Social Revolution is at hand! The Socialists of Glasgow might tolerate for a time your amazing conglomeration of machine-made columns and machine-carved cornices, your sham arcades and meaningless balustrades; but your Victorian pediment—what if it should prove the Jonah of the structure! Remember the column of the Vendôme!

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

## THE POOR'S HOUSE.

A SERIOUS indictment has lately been preferred by Louisa Twining against our treatment of indoor paupers. Reference is made to published details of five recent deaths owing to cruelty. These may be summarised as: Falling into an open fire of one of several uncared for epileptics, the finding of an old blind woman dead in bed with her hands tied (she having been bound before by the paid pauper nurses to save trouble), the spiteful infliction by the nurses of severe injuries upon a helpless paralytic, and a case of manslaughter of an aged imbecile who had been beaten with a strap. It is stated that drunkenness and theft, and other evil practices, are far more common among workhouse officials than the outside public believes, and attention is directed to the importance of the subject is shown by the fact that, taking London, one-fifteenth of all deaths take place in the workhouse, and one-ninth in either workhouse or hospital. Few disinterested persons will dispute the conclusion that all matrons should be specially trained and educated, and no pauper nurses allowed. If there were any doubt on the subject it might well be removed by the late Liverpool scandal, in which an old man's death was "accelerated," the jury said, "by a cold bath given under a misapprehension." Light was thrown on the value of official statements by the master saying that a large card was in all the bathrooms forbidding such bathing without a doctor's order, whereas the pauper wardsman and others had never seen this rule until the day before the trial. The tale is only a plain one. A feeble pauper sixty years old is under charge of a cripple, and a very old nearly deaf and almost blind pauper. This last was asked, "If he had said, 'Oh, I'm dying, take me out of the bath!' could you have heard him?" and, "If he was fainting could you have seen him?" to both of which questions he answered "No!" He did not even know what a thermometer was! A witness declared that as soon as the man was put in the bath he went pale, and began to shiver

and gasp. His feet turned up and he fell back, so the witness shouted "You'll kill the man!" (By-the-by, there was no distinctive mark between the hot and cold water-taps.) The doctor was asked, "You did not know what he was suffering from, you say; now, might not the medicine you gave him have had the very opposite effect to what you intended?" He replied, "I do not know." There was no record kept of deaths in this workhouse hospital. The jury declared the circumstances disclosed grave laxity as regards the bathing, and also the neglect of the doctor in failing to seek aid, after which the Guardians (West Derby) resolved that "the management of the workhouse is irreproachable." Were it not a vital matter, we might stop to admire the drollery of these "Guardians of the Poor!" As it is we are indignant at such open insolence and shameful betrayal of trust. There is another branch of the same subject which it would be well for the workers to consider, namely, the food supplied to paupers. Two of the Southwark guardians lately again called attention to the bad quality of the bread in use, and described some they had seen as "not fit for a pig to eat," and "it would have done well for modeller's clay." A clergyman said "it was a great hardship to poor people to have to eat this horrid stuff." A Vigilance Committee, wherever there is a strong Branch of the League, might be a useful check upon this and other abuses.

R. F. E. W.

## A LETTER FROM A CAPITALIST.

SIR,—It is now some weeks since I forwarded a letter to your detestable journal, which with suicidal folly you published. I am quite convinced that the unanswerable arguments in my previous letter have been the means of losing you many adherents and subscribers. Your hitherto supposed invulnerable position is being gradually but surely undermined by the friends of law and order and decency.

The sacred rights of property, authority and religion, are being defended in a thousand ways. During last summer we formed committees in the most crowded districts to encourage indoor gardening, and prizes in the shape of testaments and scriptural illuminated texts were given to successful growers of Nettle Geraniums and Creeping Jennys. The daily press gave kindly appreciative notices of our efforts to neutralise your pernicious teachings. Among many such I excerpt the following:

"Last evening, a gathering took place in the infant's schoolroom of St. Lazarus of working-men and their wives and families, and also of ladies and gentlemen belonging to the local Window Gardening Society, for the purpose of distributing the prizes to the successful competitors, who, although they looked pinched and wan, wore a cheerful expression as their prizes, consisting of Bibles and illuminated Scriptural texts, were handed to them. After a few cheering words from the Revs. Messrs. Nippall and Tither, advocating thrift, temperance, and humility, and the singing of the Doxology, the gathering dispersed. We are pleased to notice the efforts of disinterested members of the well-to-do classes in the above direction. It tends to distract the attention of their poorer brethren from the wild revolutionary nonsense now being preached so assiduously in their midst, and although unfortunately there is, owing to our high state of civilisation, a great deal of want on the part of those unsuccessful in the battle of life, yet the contemplation of their prizes won in a harmless contest, together with the care bestowed upon their window sills, will keep them from brooding over the hardships incidental to their lot, and many an otherwise wasted meal-time will be passed in the cultivation of their tiny gardens. It would be strange but consolatory if the cry of the lusty costermonger as he pushes his plant-laden barrow through the poorer districts of our Modern Babylon: 'Eres yer Creepin' Jennys, all a-blowin' and a-growin',' was found to express in rough but honest language the true solution of one at least of the pressing social problems around us to-day. The richer members of the community would do well to support this movement, and spare from their gardens their plants past blooming, which would be gratefully received by the Secretary of the Association, and serve as a means to bridge over the gulf that separates classes, who would then be joined in the language of flowers, and whilst stemming the tide of revolution would bring about a settlement of the question how to feed and recreate the masses."

Sir, the foregoing valuable testimony to the value of our work in opposing your maleficent agitation but faintly portrays the amount we are doing in the same direction. That servant of the Lord, A. White, has been labouring in the vineyard and has reaped a goodly harvest, a mass of discontented paupers have by his efforts been removed from our midst and planted in the bracing atmosphere of Manitoba.

It is a feature of our unwhipped and rebellious generation to censoriously attack every well-meant effort directed towards the reduction of our pauper class, and hence we find the Manitoban emigration field described as the British Siberia, and because some of the weaklings cannot stand a temperature of 30 deg. below zero the authors of the scheme are shamefully abused.

The fittest survive, and they are the means of keeping down the preposterous demands of the native workmen, and affording to the promoters of the Canadian Pacific Railroad an opportunity of securing fresh grants from the Dominion Parliament on the score of increased population along the line of route, and thus the labours of Christian men and women, for we must not forget Miss Rye, are blessed, and out of the curse of London pauperism is brought the blessings of increased profits upon production in Canadian cities by reduction of cost, and a flow of capital into the hands of captains of industry and enterprise in railway concessions.

I have said that the fittest survive, but owing to the profligacy of the lower orders there still remains the question of the "unfit," and to its consideration our brother White has brought his superior Christian qualities and statesmanlike ability, reviving the doctrine of Malthus, "that it is the duty of the State to formally deny the right of the poor to support, and that to the punishment of want they should be left." He has in his 'Problem of a Great City' courageously faced the problem, now made more difficult by the crapulous tenderness of Boards of Guardians in their treatment of the poor, and boldly declares that the poor should be allowed to die unpitied in the street. Further, that in order to prevent the reproduction of their species the poor should be sterilised. I hear that already a company has been formed and shares taken up in it for the patenting of a process of sterilisation, and thus you see, sir, that the friends of law and order are bestirring themselves, and your ill-judged attempts to their overthrow only lead to fresh capitalistic enterprises, for surgery will yet save Society. Many object that these theories are not in consonance with Christian teaching. We have revised once; we can revise again, and with revision, decision and excision, the basis of Society will be preserved.—Yours contemptuously

A CAREWORN ANXIOUS CAPITALIST

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### Strike Committee of the Socialist League.

ADVERTISEMENTS FOR "SCAB" LABOUR IN THE PROVINCIAL PRESS.

The attention of the Committee having been directed to advertisements for workmen to apply to addresses in London, enquiries have been made in certain cases and warning sent to our agents, who will in future keep a sharp look-out for all such attempts to procure cheap labour. It is a matter for congratulation to the London Society of Compositors that Messrs. Hazell, Watson & Viney, the "unfair" firm to whom the London School Board have given their printing are amongst those who have found it necessary to seek for their "rats" outside the metropolis.

#### GLASS BOTTLE MAKERS.

We have received from the General Secretary of the Glass-Bottle Makers' International Union a very interesting record of the efforts made by the employers to secure Continental workmen to take the place of the men on strike in Lancashire. They have so far been unsuccessful. By a curious coincidence the delegation sent by the union went to and returned from Sweden in the same vessels with a member of the firm. Our foreign secretaries have also taken care to publish the matter in Austria and Germany.

#### TYNESIDE SEAMEN AND THE FOREIGNERS.

In reference to the seamen's agitation referred to by our comrade Chambers in another page under the heading "A Visit to the Tyneside," the Strike Committee are busily engaged trying to bring about a common understanding between the English sailors and their foreign comrades.

The pressure on our space prevents notice here of important letters from Bantyre, Liverpool, Manchester and Norwich; but in all cases the Committee will take care the valuable information furnished shall be duly acted upon.

H. A. BARKER, Gen. Sec.

#### THE LATE MRS. PATERSON.

It is peculiarly fitting that in these pages notice should be taken of the death of one who from her earliest youth was unwearied in the labour struggle. The mere record of the life-work of this able, earnest, and unselfish woman is an incentive to those of us who may feel inclined to falter in the fight. Mrs. Paterson was the first to induce working-women to adopt trades' unionist principles in 1874, by the formation of the Women's Protective and Provident League. The London Bookbinder's Union was the earliest women's trade society, quickly followed by unions of the upholsterers, the shirtmakers, the tailors, the dressmakers, the Dundee jute-workers, and the Portsmouth staymakers. In 1875, Mrs. Paterson was the first woman admitted to the Trades' Union Congress, and she attended and spoke or read papers at all the subsequent Congresses. As honorary secretary of the Women's League, Mrs. Paterson worked indefatigably until almost her last hour; she organised and addressed public meetings in London and the provinces; she arranged social gatherings at the League's London offices, and she edited the *Women's Union Journal*, a monthly record of the League's work.

#### LEICESTERSHIRE HOSIERY UNION.

The monthly reports of the Leicestershire Hosiery Union are among the most interesting of any of the trades' unions. Besides the usual business details, a good deal of space is given to the discussion of industrial topics. The secretary writes: "It is not to set class against class we aim at, but to abolish class distinctions. We do not wish to uphold or perpetuate a slave class on one side and a master class on the other. What we say is that manhood does not rest upon social position but upon mental and virtuous qualities, which can only be properly developed when justice has sway." It would be as well to reprint the secretary's comment on the Trades' Congress discussion of overtime: "An amendment was drawn up by Mr. Marks of London and our delegate, which without doubt would have been carried had the subject been fully discussed; but there seemed some concerted action by some of the more prominent members of the Congress to defeat us. The previous question [was carried] by a vote hurriedly snatched, which was anything but wise, kind, or just in the opinion of a very large number of delegates. Every delegate attending that Congress sending in a resolution ought not to be ignored because he is not known to the officials of the Congress." The September Report concludes with some letters and speeches on the overtime question. These reports should be forwarded to the *Commonweal* regularly as they appear, as they are a really valuable part of current labour literature. The Union has bought for distribution among its members a large number of the Ruskin pamphlet on the rights of labour, compiled by a member of the Leicester Branch of the Socialist League.—J. L. M.

#### SCOTTISH RAILWAY SERVANTS' HOURS.

Under the auspices of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants for Scotland, "a mass meeting of all grades of the railway service in and around Glasgow" was held in the Albion Hall, Glasgow. Mr. J. M. Jack, general secretary of the Associated Iron Moulders of Scotland, presided, and in his opening remarks he said that that meeting was held as a protest against the excessive hours of railway men. Mr. Henry Tait, general secretary, Glasgow, stated that on the North British Railway, in the Glasgow district, drivers and firemen on passenger trains were working 12, 14, 16, and 17 hours daily, and guards of passenger trains ranged from 12 to 15 hours per day. "Goods" drivers, firemen, and guards worked from 12 to 18 hours daily, and on Thursday he met one "goods" driver who was on his way home after performing 19 hours' work. Several members of the Trades' Council spoke in support of the following resolution, which was adopted:—"That this meeting calls upon the whole railway servants in Scotland to at once join the Society, and through organisation consolidate and protect their interests and labour, as other trades have done."

There is a dispute amongst the glass-bottle workers at Stairfoot, and men are requested to keep away till it is settled.

The coalowners of Northumberland propose to reduce the wages of the miners by 15 per cent.

The extensive tinplate and ironworks at Port Talbot and Aberavon have been closed owing to the workmen resisting a reduction in wages of 10 per cent. About 1500 hands are thrown out of employment. All the men and boys employed at the Burradon Collieries, Newcastle, Glamorganshire, numbering about 500, have struck work in consequence of proposed wages reduction of 15 per cent.

The Aberdeen Trades' Council have resolved to memorialise the Lord Provost to provide employment or take steps to relieve the wants of their fellow-workmen who are out of employment.

The Scottish Miners' National Federation have held a meeting in Waterloo Rooms, Glasgow, all the districts in Scotland being represented. Mr. R. C. Robertson, Slamannan, presided. It was remitted to the executive to arrange, if possible, for an international federation of the various miners' unions.

Owing to important rearrangements, all work at the Glass Works, Crindau, Newport, was suspended on Saturday. Extensive alterations are understood to be under consideration, and it is doubtful whether labour will be resumed for several weeks. During the interval, the workers may starve after what fashion they please.

The miners employed at the New Tredegar Collieries have struck work against a reduction of 2½ per cent. in the wages rate. The strikes at Wernddu Colliery, Caerphilly, and the Windsor Collieries, Ynysybwll, also continue, and upwards of 1000 workmen have been thrown out of employment. Notices are posted up by the Ebbw Vale Company at the Glyn Collieries, Pontypool, that all contracts between masters and men will cease at Christmas.

A society of shop assistants, under the title of the United Society of Shop Assistants for the United Kingdom, has been formed. The objects of the society are shortening the hours of labour; obtaining the maximum rate of wages for every member; assisting members to obtain situations; enforcing the existing laws in their favour; agitating for eight hours a-day labour; and assisting members in sickness and when out of employment. The address of the secretary is Mr. H. J. Priest, Phoenix Hall, Hatton Wall, E.C.

The Glasgow joiners have held a largely attended meeting in the Albion Halls, and discussed the advisability of reducing the working hours of the trade. The proceedings were conducted in private, but it is understood that no decision was arrived at on the question. Will some Socialist friend in Glasgow send further information to the Strike Committee?

At a crowded meeting of chainmakers held at Cradley Heath, it was reported that 4000 loaves had been distributed during the week. The Executive Council of the Amalgamated Union of Bakers and Confectioners of Manchester had forwarded £5 worth of loaves to be distributed amongst the chainmakers on strike. Mr. Homer reported that £5 had been received from Mr. B. Hingley, M.P., and £6 from the boot and shoe finishers of Manchester. It was unanimously resolved to continue the strike.

The male and female clerks in the employ of the Post-office are at war. The days of chivalry are past. The males are the aggressors, and are endeavouring to show that female clerk-labour should not be employed, on account of its inferiority. The respective wages are: Men, £80; women, £65 per annum. The "gentlemen" will have a tough job to prove £15 a-year superiority. The men-clerks should organise and insist on the women receiving the same wage as themselves, then the grievance would altogether disappear. It is a poor way indeed to work. If the recalcitrant scribblers will send a deputation to the offices of the Socialist League, a much more rational *modus operandi* will be taught them. Newsboys can organise; it appears clerks cannot.

#### AMERICA.

The cigar makers of Wrennerville, Pa., recently defeated in a strike, have started a co-operative factory and are doing well.

L. A. 300, of Des Moines, Iowa, has decided to establish a co-operative glass factory, and other workmen have begun to enquire into the system.

Southing, Conn., Knights of Labour are about to establish a co-operative cutlery company. They are thinking of locating in New Haven.

The Lynn Lasters Protective Union is the largest and richest labour union in New England. They own an elegantly furnished hall, a billiard room containing seven tables, a lot of land which cost them 12,000 dollars, and have just contracted for a 40,000 dollar block and have within 5000 dollars sufficient to pay for the same.—*Labour Enquirer*.

Delegates from all the organisations of shirtmakers and kindred organisations, numbering, it is estimated, 15,000 in New York, Brooklyn, Jersey City, and Belleville, have formed a general organisation and established a union label which they intend affixing to all shirts made by them. They meet monthly at 208 Eighth Avenue, New York City, to discuss matters of interest.

A unique boycott is in force at Mechanicsville, Saratoga County, N.Y. A short time ago a young lady was re-instated in one of the mills at that place on condition that she would sever her connection with the Knights of Labour, and that she would never join a labour organisation again. Recently she attended a ball given by the Knights of Labour. No one noticed or paid any attention to her, allowing her to go to supper alone, although she had heretofore been quite a favourite among the young men. She is shunned by every member of the Knights of Labour of Mechanicsville.

Mr. Thompson, an English Socialist, owner of the extensive Braddocks Steel Works in Pennsylvania, the most extensive works of the kind in the State, runs his business on a co-operative plan, and never had a strike, nor has he put out his fires for eighteen years. His contract with his men is that customary wages shall be paid; that men working five years shall have all doctor's bills paid, and receive regular wages during sickness; that men who have worked twenty years shall be retired on half-pay and given a deed to their homes, which are originally built by Mr. Thompson.—*Knights of Labour*.

CHICAGO.—"Our Girls Co-operative Clothing Manufacturing Company"—Miss Mary McCormick, President; Miss Augusta Westerlund, Secretary, 158 N. Market Street, Chicago, Ill.—The above company has been formed by a number of work-girls who wish to emancipate themselves from the wage-system. They constitute Labour Assembly 7707, D. A. 24, K. of L. It is to be hoped their appeal for aid in their undertaking will meet with success.

The Amalgamated Carpenters of Chicago are full of confidence in the success of their new co-operative enterprise. They have been successful in obtaining a contract for three houses, the figure for which is over 6000 dols., and have received every encouragement from a number of architects to make their business a success; so much so that work has been submitted which they could not venture to undertake owing to their limited resources. They anticipate that in a few months their position in the trade will be established to the satisfaction of all architects of the city.

SAN FRANCISCO.—At last meeting of the Representative Council of the Federated Trades, the Secretary made a report on the proposed International Federation of the labour unions of Australia and this coast. It was shown that both parties had ratified a treaty, and that the Federation would soon be consummated.



## FRANCE.

**SAINT-POURÇAIN.**—A railway being in course of construction in this locality, the contractor neglects no opportunity of saving—to his own profit. The approach of winter multiplying the demands for work, the exploiter Milton takes advantage thereof to reduce the pay he gives to the unlucky wights who toil for him to 25 c. an hour. Not content even with this, he counts as 9 hours, a day consisting really of 10 and 11 hours, and woe to him who ventures to open his mouth in remonstrance!—*Cri du Peuple*.

**LYONS.**—The house of Dutet and Co., gilding manufacturers, having decreased the salary of their workmen and women to an exorbitant extent, the latter have declared themselves on strike. The men formerly gained 4 fr. and the women 3 fr. for a day of 12 hours. The firm will now only pay 3 fr. and 2 fr. respectively. In spite of police provocations, the strikers, supported by their syndicate, which has black-listed the firm, have resolved to stand out quietly and undemonstratively for their claims, which are legitimate even as legitimacy of claims goes nowadays in the eyes of the virtuous upholders of law and order. The president of the syndicate was ill-advisedly arrested, but on the protest of the workers had to be released immediately.

**PARIS.**—Under pretext of economy and "want of funds," the administration of the Prefecture has dismissed the street-sweepers and sewer-men of the town by hundreds, and in spite of the vote of the Municipal Council desiring the director of the works to re-engage these men whom he had with arbitrary brutality deprived of their meagre salary, not one of them has been taken back. One man writes to the *Cri* of the hardships and uncertainty of this kind of life, and the wretched pay the men get, finishing up with, "You know as well as I do that all functionaries of administrations have a right to a pension whether sound in health or no, while as for us, we are shown to the door when done with; if worn out, deprived of all means of subsistence."

## ITALY.

**BOLOGNA.**—At Casalecchio, near Bologna, the women-workers of the Canonica spinning factory have declared themselves on strike, claiming the sum of 1 fr. for a day's wage.

**SAN REMO.**—The League of the Sons of Labour of this town, composed of young workmen desirous of doing something, so as not to stand with their hands idle, are going to set on foot some form of co-operative stores, and have issued a manifesto inviting their fellow-workers to lend their aid thereto.

**MONZA.**—In the hat-factories here things go from bad to worse. At one firm the workers get from 10 fr. to 12 fr. weekly; in another they make about 12 fr. for a fortnight's work!

*This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.*

## REVOLUTIONARY RUMBLINGS.

**IRELAND.**—The "Plan of Campaign" is gaining adherents everywhere and all the time. North, south, east and west it is being adopted enthusiastically by large meetings which pledge themselves fully to an unrelenting fight against rackrenting. In the Sligo jury-packing case the Government has been defeated and the panel quashed. Great excitement has been aroused by this clear proof of the truth of an often-denied charge. Some Sligo wags, in continuation of the policy of making "law and order" ridiculous that was alluded to last week, announced a demonstration on the top of the desolate Hill of Keash. In due course the "meeting" was proclaimed and a large force of police put round the mountain, where they stood shivering for hours in the fog and rain. A band and some boys tried in vain to entice the "peelers" into a chase over the bogs: they quietly waited and—went! Meanwhile a double policy is being pursued by the Government, which issues "secret" circulars in favour of the tenants and at the same time assists the landlords.

## FRANCE.

**LYONS.**—On Thursday an important meeting of the unemployed was held here. Delegates were nominated, chosen from each corporation, and escorted by about 2000 persons immediately repaired to the Municipality to demand the work of filling up the ditches of the neighbourhood. During the reception of the delegates the crowd remained without, clamouring for "Work!" The sooner the unemployed of Lyons and elsewhere understand the value of makeshift relief-works the better. Once understood, they will not let the farce be repeated many winters.

**PARIS.**—The *Revue Socialiste* celebrated its second anniversary on Sunday last by a banquet at the Palais-Royal, at which a hundred and forty citizens and "citoyennes" were present to show their sympathy with this interesting publication, which bears the well-known name of Benoit Malon for its founder. Healths were drunk and responded to by numerous comrades, and the company separated with many cordial promises to assemble again in the same way next year.

On the 3rd December about 200 persons marked the anniversary of that gloomy drama of 1851, the *coup d'etat*, by visiting at the Montmartre Cemetery the tomb of Baudin, who was killed on the barricade of the Faubourg St. Antoine on the second day of the *coup d'etat*. Several orations were pronounced over the tomb by delegates from the different groups of those formerly proscribed by the Empire.

"We have several times spoken of the intellectual proletariat, showing, with figures before us, the steady growth of this proletariat, whose position is even worse than that of the proletariat of labour. Here is a striking fact: the college of Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, advertised for a professor of Greek and Latin, in answer to which 36 applicants appeared for the place."—*Le Socialiste*.

## ITALY.

**REGGIO-EMILIA.**—The editor of the *Giustizia* has, we hear, just been sentenced to three months' imprisonment, under the accusation of stirring up class-hatred.

Emilio Castellani of Venice, one of those condemned for conspiracy at the prosecutions at Padua, will finish in January 1888 the imprisonment of a year and a half to which he had been condemned. The fines of 1350 fr. remain to be paid. The prospect of thirteen months longer of prison life cannot be a pleasant one to himself or his family. Several comrades of Venice and Padua are initiating a public subscription to collect money for the fine.

M. M.

## AUSTRIA.

**VIENNA, Dec. 9.**—Before me is a specimen of the new Labour Paper, *Gleichheit* (Equality) of whose preparation I have informed you in a previous letter. We have had in Vienna already many Socialistic papers, the last, *Wahrheit*, has been suppressed owing to abundant confiscations and the "exceptional state." Since that the Austrian capital has remained without an organ of the workers' movement. The vacancy so caused will be filled by the new weekly periodical. It appears under the editorship of our comrade Dr. Victor Adler, who has spared neither time nor money to endow it worthily. An exact knowledge of the Austrian situation is necessary to consider this event from the due standpoint. According to our press-law every paper appearing more times than thrice a month must pay a large deposit and a further tax of one kreutzer for each copy. The police and public prosecutor are empowered to seize any number without summoning the editor and the Provincial Court of Justice has to decide on the seizure in his absence. In this manner the press is delivered over to the magistrates, who can readily suppress every unpleasant periodical. Owing to the great damage caused by such arbitrary but "legal" proceedings, for a weekly Labour paper much capital is necessary, especially as it cannot accept swindling advertisements such as appear in the bourgeois press. Therefore the Labour press has to contend with enormous difficulties, and every new representative of the disinherited in Austria is to be hailed with joy. While giving, therefore, the new organ a hearty "Good Speed," we may express a hope of being soon able to report fresh fighters in our just cause.

Now the Diets with which Austria swarms are to be convened. Obviously these provincial parliaments represent only the exploiting classes, as is to be seen from their divers statutes; for they consist of one-third or more landlords; the second third representatives of the towns and industrial places and the commercial chambers—i.e., the great and middle capitalists; and the remainder are the rural communes under the domination of churchmen, counts, and so on. To be elector as landlord you must pay 250 fl. in direct taxes; to be elector in the industrial places, electing directly, and in the rural communes electing indirectly, you must pay at least 5 fl. in direct taxes of State—a sum amounting often to 10 to 20 fl., owing to the divers overtaxes ("Zuschläge") for war, commune, province, school, etc. From this it ensues that there's no place for the exploited in these corporations; few honourable ones excepted, only parasites, small and great exploiters and swindlers, sit in these "representations of the people." Therefore people have nothing to expect from them; they themselves must help themselves.

F. S.

## LITERARY NOTICES.

'Landon Deecroft,' a Socialistic novel, by Laon Ramsey (Reeves: cloth, 3s. 6d., boards 2s. 6d.), has been written with the object of popularising the tenets and principles of Modern Socialism. The various chapters dealing with the practice of usury, individualism, co-operation, and religion, and the relation of these to Socialism, should be read by all who take an interest in the great social problem, and who have at heart the moral, intellectual, and material improvement of the people.

It is a pity that 'A Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment,' by Roundell, Earl of Selborne, should be published at the prohibitory price of 7s. 6d., for were it within their reach the workers would find in it a great deal of amusement, and, it may be, some instruction. The learned lord has so damaged the cause he defends that one may be pardoned for expressing the hope that he will enter the lists in the service of landlordism and capitalism. Fortune send us such enemies!

Articles in the December reviews and magazines worth reading are: *Nineteenth Century*: "On the Suppression of Boycotting," Justice Stephen; "Rural Enclosures and Allotments," Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice and H. Herbert Smith. *Contemporary*: "Tenant Right and Agrarian Outrage in France," R. E. Prothero; "Ten Years of National Growth," Canon Isaac Taylor. *Fortnightly*: "Science and Morals," Prof. Huxley; "State Purchase of Irish Railways," Charles Waring; "Outcast London," Rev. G. S. Reaney; "Mobs and Revolutions," Lieut.-Col. W. W. Knollys. *Blackwood's*: "The Fall of an Island," R. D.

S.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

**General Meeting.**—The next General Meeting of London Members will be held on Tuesday January 4, 1887, when the following will be the order of business: Reports of provincial and London Branches; Report of Strike Committee; Report of Ways and Means Committee; Statement of weekly *Commonweal* to date; Motions of which notice has been given.

**Library.**—The printed catalogues are now ready and can be obtained from the Librarians at 2d. each.

## Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Mile-end, to June 30. Birmingham, Clerkenwell, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Croydon, Dublin, Marylebone, to September 30. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to November 30. Bloomsbury, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to December 31.

## Children's Christmas Party.

A Children's Party, Christmas Tree, and Entertainment will take place on Monday December 27, in the Hall, 13 Farringdon Road. Those willing to help in any way should communicate with Mrs. Wardle, 9 Charlotte Street, Bedford Square; or May Morris, Kelnscott House, Upper Mall, Hammersmith.

## STRIKE COMMITTEE.

H. C., 1s.; V. D., 1s.; Norwich Branch (per Mowbray), 1s. 4d.

T. BINNING, Treasurer.

## FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Deficit, £2, 8s. 6d.

PH. W., Treasurer, Dec. 14.

## "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Hammersmith Branch (two weeks), £1; A. Miller (donation), 5s.; T. B. (two weeks), 1s.; E. B. B. (weekly), 1s.; M. M. (weekly), 1s.; Bloomsbury Branch (weekly) 5s.; North London Branch (two weeks), 3s.; W. M. (donation), 1s.

PH. W., Treasurer, Dec. 14.

## BRANCH REPORTS.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Friday, Dec. 10th, A. K. Donald catechised the Branch on the third chapter of Joynes's "Catechism."—W. A. C.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, December 8, F. Belfort Bax lectured on "Ethics and Socialism;" Good discussion followed a very interesting lecture. On Sunday evening, H. Barker spoke on "Material and Spiritual Consolation. Good audience and discussion. Fair sale of *Commonweals*."—W. B.

**CROYDON.**—Last Sunday, C. L. Fitzgerald delivered a highly interesting lecture on "The Road to Ruin." He pointed out how the cheap labour of India and China is being used against the European workmen, thus intensifying the struggle here, and hurrying us, in common with the Continent and America, along the road to commercial ruin. He urged upon Socialists the necessity of getting upon municipal boards, where they would have at once the handling of the poor laws, while they could be working also to transform the municipality into the future Commune. Good discussion and sale of literature.—A. T., sec.

**HACKNEY.**—On Sunday evening, a meeting was held in the club-room, where Graham opened a brisk discussion on "Co-operation."—H. G.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—On Sunday evening, December 12, William Morris lectured upon "Early England." He dealt with the period from the earliest historical time to the Norman Conquest. With the wonderful insight bred of sympathetic study of such contemporary records, material or literary, as have come down to us, the lecturer drew a picture of our half agricultural, half sea-going, and wholly predatory ancestor, who still was able in the intervals of his other occupations to turn his hand to the writing of a copy of verses. Our comrade read a specimen from the Exeter book, remarking that like the Sagas of the North and 'Homer,' it was the production of the whole people, and not of any individual.—W.

**MERTON.**—We have suspended our Sunday evening lectures until after the Christmas holidays, when we hope that the Merton and Mitcham Branches will have a good list to carry out until the spring. We shall, however, hold Sunday morning debates in our club-room, open to all. We ask all sympathisers in this neighbourhood to aid us in giving a treat to the children on or about Jan. 3rd. A subscription sheet hung up at club-room, and all local subscribers to *Commonweal* who are not members of the Branch could assist with subscriptions or take tickets.—F. K.

**MIRCHAM.**—On Sunday evening in our club room, J. Lane addressed a good audience on "The National Loaf, those that earn it and those that eat it;" he was attentively listened to throughout the lecture, which evoked much sympathy. The meeting closed with Morris's chant, 'No Master,' the whole of the members joining in. Sale of *Commonweal* good, and three new members made.—S. G., sec.

**NORTH LONDON.**—On Sunday morning, we held a good meeting in Regent's Park, when Cantwell and Nicoll spoke to a good audience. See Branch notice.—W. H. B., sec.

**EDINBURGH.**—On Monday, December 6th, a lecture on the "Aims of the Paris Communists," was given by M. Melliet in Free Tron Hall. Some literature was sold.—J. G., jun.

**GLASGOW.**—On Saturday evening, Daniel McCulloch delivered a vigorous lecture on "The Social Revolution," in Southern Christian Institute, which was well received. The chairman's frank avowal of his belief in Communism being a gratifying sign. On Sunday morning Glasier addressed a good open-air meeting on the Green. In the afternoon, Glasier delivered a lecture to the W. O'Brien Branch of the National League on "Freedom, what it means." The lecture, which was a plea for Socialism, was received with much approval, one of the members stating that Irishmen will all be avowed Socialists before long. In the evening in our rooms, there was considerable discussion on the sixth chapter of Joynes's "Catechism," the discussion being adjourned. At the same time our comrade Mavor gave an exposition of "Political Economy" to the Henry George Institute. I omitted to state in last week's report that the Rev. John Glasie, Edinburgh, delivered under our auspices an exceedingly able lecture on "Christian Socialism." After the lecture many people declared their conversion to Socialist principles.—J. B. G.

**HAMILTON.**—At our usual meeting, J. B. Glasier, of Glasgow, lectured on "The Element of Socialism in Existing Society." It was an admirable lecture, leaving our members plenty of food for reflection, and was listened to with great attention; no opposition. The need of a new meeting-place was discussed, and one arranged for.—W. M., sec.

**HULL.**—On Sunday, December 12, Morris's lecture on "The Labour Question" was read, and a short discussion followed.

**LANCASTER.**—Despite bad weather on Saturday night, we had a good muster of members and friends. Propagandist methods were discussed, the result of which was a decision for a party of us to meet those people who toil and spin for others, as they travel to and fro at noon-time, taking the various "shops" in rotation. The speakers will expound briefly, and the "silent partners" distribute literature. Friends in the locality please note that the Branch will meet henceforth on Fridays, 8 p.m., at the Market Hall Coffee Tavern, for addresses, papers, and business.—LEONARD HALL, sec.

**MANCHESTER.**—We have discontinued our outdoor meetings for the winter months, but have a meeting in the club-room every Wednesday night for discussion.—F. H. C.

**NORWICH.**—Good meeting held at Sprowston at 11. Henderson was moved, although the publican had given him leave to stand on a piece of ground opposite his house, the police threatening him with consequences if he let the Socialists stand there. However, we found another spot, and sold 24 papers; we go again next Sunday. Good meeting at St. Mary's Plain. Our meeting in the Market-place at 3, was attended by upwards of 2000 persons, who gave three ringing cheers for the Social Revolution. Crowded meeting opposite the Agricultural Hall. Lecture indoors by Henderson, "The Political Party." Literature sold, £1 11s. 1d. Collection, 3s. 0½d.—C. W. MOWBRAY.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday December 17, at 8 p.m. Mr. M. J. Lyons (L. P. D. L.) on "State Education." Members and friends are urgently requested to attend.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Dec. 19, at 8.30 p.m. T. E. Wardle, "Socialism." Wednesday 22. Alexander Donald, "The Meaning of the Social Revolution." Business Meeting first Sunday in each month.

**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Dec. 19, at 7.30 p.m. W. L. Phillips, "Labour and Socialism."

**Fulham.**—338 North End Road (corner of Shorolds Road, opposite Liberal Club). Sunday at 8 p.m.

**Hackney.**—23 Audley Street, Goldsmith Row. On Saturday Dec. 18 there will be a Concert in aid of the Funds of the Hackney Socialist Club. We appeal to all members that can possibly attend to do so. Programmes, 3d.—H. GRAHAM.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmiscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday December 19, at 8 p.m. R. A. Beckett, "Equality."

**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Dec. 19, at 11.30 a.m. Committee Meeting. In the evening, at 8, T. Binning, "Socialism and Trades' Unionism."

**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions will be held every Sunday morning. Dec. 19. "Land Robbery."

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.

**North London.**—On Friday evening next Mr. Gruning will give a discourse on "Productive Co-operation" at 32 Camden Road, at 8.30. Members of the Bloomsbury and other near Branches requested to attend.

## Country Branches.

**Bingley.**—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

**Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

**Bradford.**—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road Wednesdays, at 8.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10. The Treasurer attends for members' subscriptions first Wednesday of every month.

**Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday open-air meetings will be held on the Green at 11.30 and 4.30; and at George's Square at 12.30. In the evening, in our Rooms at 7 o'clock, further consideration of Chapter VI. of Joynes's "Socialist's Catechism."

**Hamilton.**—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Blackswell School. Comrade McCulloch will lecture on Thursday first on "The Coming Social Revolution."

**Hull.**—11 Princess Street, off Mason Street and Sykes Street. Club Room open 7 to 10 every evening; Sundays 10 am. to 10 p.m.

**Ipswich.**—The Branch has left the George Inn, and have not yet procured fit premises for the club about to be formed.

**Leeds.**—New Fleece Inn, Pemberton St., Dewsbury Rd.

**Lancaster.**—Market Hall Coffee Tavern Lecture Room. Saturday evenings at 7.30.

**Leicester.**—Silver Street. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. prompt. Lecture with discussion at 8 o'clock.

**Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

**S. Hackney.**—"Salmon and Ball" 11.30...The Branch Hammersmith—Beadon Rd. 11.30...The Branch London Fields—Broadway 11.30...H. Graham Regent's Park 11.30...H. G. Arnold St. Pancras Arches 11.30...Chambers Walham Green—Station 11.30...The Branch Hyde Park (near Marble Arch) 3 ...Mainwaring

## PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

**Ipswich.**—Old Cattle Market, 11; Ship Launch, 3 p.m.

**Norwich.**—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.

**Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

## The 'Commonweal.'

## TO PUBLISHERS AND BOOKSELLERS.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 50.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 25, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## “THE LAW” IN IRELAND.

THE Government has struck its stroke and we are to have another State trial on behalf of law and order. Unless a miracle of jury-packing is performed the accused will be acquitted, or at least the jury will not agree; so it is hard to see what the Government can gain unless they are prepared to go head over ears into coercion. Meantime not only are the Tory and other definitely reactionary papers jubilant at this exhibition of firmness, but all the Liberal Press approves with the single exception of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, to which must be added that Mr. Labouchere at Birmingham spoke strongly and generously of Mr. Dillon “as one who had come forward to protect the poor and humble Irish against the exactions of the vilest set of Shylocks that ever existed;” and was by no means scared at the illegality of Mr. Dillon’s action.

It is perhaps not certain that this apparent withdrawal of the Liberal party from the Irish alliance is as serious as it looks, because it may mean nothing more than the usual conventional twaddle that Parliamentary people are wont to indulge in; but whether it is merely this kind of petty lying, or a serious attempt to back out of a difficult position and surrender the Gladstonian fort to the enemy, it is discreditable enough to the Liberal party. In the first place these virtuous people are in a mighty hurry to condemn the accused before they have been heard; for, to take the matter on the lowest grounds, is it so sure that the Plan of Campaign is illegal? As the *Pall Mall* leader writer very reasonably points out, just the same kind of decisions as the Judges have made in Mr. Dillon’s case the Judges gave in cases of combination between workmen in the militant days of Trades Unionism.

But we Socialists at least need not trouble ourselves about the legality of proceedings which are necessary acts of self-defence against mere greed and tyranny. And pray what suggestion of action less determined than the Plan of Campaign has the *Daily News*, for instance, to suggest to the tenants whom Lord Clanricarde and others have made up their minds to ruin? It is at least a plan, and has been successful, in some instances at least, in bringing the landlords to such reason as is implied by their taking all they can get and not trying for more. Once more see how very tender the conscience of constitutionalists is; it is the threat against such very doubtful property as the second skin of a cat which has frightened these useful allies of the Irish people. Where will the Liberal “Justice to Ireland” be when property is seriously threatened there?

Indeed it seems probable that the Irish question is drifting into a new phase, which will for a time throw the Irish on their own resources, until both they and the people of England, Scotland, and Wales have begun to learn the true lesson for the oppressed, PROPERTY IS ROBBERY. Surely the events now taking place in Ireland should teach them something in that direction. I have said that the Plan of Campaign may not turn out to be illegal; but I admit that that will only mean its finding a loophole whereby to evade the law. The law which allows rack-rent and backs it up with the full force of the executive, is quite blind to any ruin which may be the result of it. Lord Clanricarde and the other shabby tyrants have, according to law, full right to squeeze the uttermost farthing out of their luckless tenants; and we may be sure of one thing, namely, that if any check is put on that right by laws made by our bourgeois government it will mean just the same kind of kindness which is accorded to sufferers on the rack, who are recovered from their fainting in order that they may be racked again. Those tormented by the rack of usury have sometimes to receive the cup of cold water so that they may live to be squeezed once more for the benefit of the usurers. The latter years of the Irish question must have taught the Irish peasants that in the eyes of Eng-

lish law they are people whose function it is to pay landlords, and who must be helped to do so, sometimes by coercion, sometimes by Acts of Parliament made apparently in their favour, really in favour of the landlords.

When they have got rid of their last illusion, which would seem to be that an English Constitutional party can help them, the day of their redemption will be drawing near.

W. MORRIS.

## THE POSITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

### SOCIALISM THE ONLY POSSIBLE REMEDY.

THERE are some persons who assure us that we shall approach a Socialistic change very slowly; that there is no need for hurry; that Socialism is a kind of easy-chair philosophy, to be studied for pastime or kill-time for another generation or two, and to be reduced to practice in the dim and far distant future; that it is very beautiful in theory—too beautiful for our degenerate state; that mankind to-day is too ignorant (themselves especially) for anything so lofty in conception and so grand in principle. There are other credulous creatures who tell us that it is the name that is objectionable; that but for the name numbers would join the movement, or rather some other movement, if only the name were changed. As though it were only the name, and not the principle, to which the plundering classes object. The same cry was raised during the Chartist movement. Cuning, designing knaves assured the workers that a rose would smell as sweet by any other name, just as the principles of the Charter would be just as true under any other name. The enemies of the workers, with a number of half-hearted and misguided so-called friends, started the movement known as the Complete Suffrage movement. It was to contain all that the Charter contained, except the name. The new movement was a failure. The mass of the people refused to give up the name. And as far as the new party was concerned the principle soon followed the name. All disappeared. It was natural it should be so, and quite natural the people should distrust them in the beginning. Such tricks may be played again. But let us come to the position of the working classes.

We are told by many persons, some of whom wish to be called Socialists, as well as by the Manchester School, that the workers have, to a great extent, the power in their own hands to remove at least a great part of the evils that at present afflict society. That if the wage-earning classes would only limit their numbers to the requirements of society that their position would be greatly improved, which would give time for the consideration of Socialistic or other schemes for their permanent improvement. It is very kind of those creatures of good intentions but of very limited views. What a pity it is these kind-hearted creatures do not expand their sympathies and preach the same doctrine to our princes, priests, and peers, to the professional and commercial classes, to all who live on taxes, rents, and profits, who devour the wealth produced by others. How many of these does society really need?

What a change since the close of the last century! In 1751 a Bill was introduced into Parliament to confer certain privileges on all those who married, and thus increased his majesty’s subjects. The Bill was lost. In 1795 the subject was again before Parliament, when it was proposed to subsidise those among the working classes who had large families. During the debate Mr. Pitt argued in favour of a regular allowance to those with large families. He said: “This will make a large family a blessing, not a curse; and it will draw a proper distinction between those who are able to provide for themselves and those who, having enriched their country with a number of children, have a claim upon her assistance” (Wade, p. 597). Here the working-classes were valued as instruments of labour, necessary for the production of wealth, and on whose labour, skill, and perseverance, depended the greatness and glory of the nation. But soon a change took place, and in 1821 we had a different tale. By the latter date, consequent on the wars against the French Republic and afterwards against Napoleon, the nation’s burdens had increased to a fearful extent, while on the other hand inventions and improvements in machinery were multiplying with great rapidity. So in 1821 a Parliamentary Committee reported that in many districts there was a redundancy of the working classes, and it recommended emigration. Well, for two generations emigration has been tried, and still there is a redundancy.



But first let us look at the other classes, and see how the matter stands.

During the last half century we have had a large increase of the royal family, for which the country is heavily taxed. Our peers do not decrease in number; while our professional and commercial classes increase at a rapid rate. The following applies only to England and Wales. Taking the census returns 1871 and 1881, we find a decrease in Government employes, the numbers being in 1871 53,874, and in 1881 only 50,859. In local government officials there is an increase, the numbers being 51,438 and 53,493. In the clerical profession there is a large increase, from 44,562 in 1871 to 51,120 in 1881. In the legal profession the numbers were 37,327 and 43,641 respectively. In the medical profession the increase is even larger, being from 44,214 in 1871 to 64,548 in 1881. In the ten years artists increased from 16,562 to 58,517, surveyors from 6143 to 14,809, and teachers from 127,140 to 171,831. The total increase of the classes was from 381,260 to 508,818, or 34 per cent. Police increased over 17 per cent. The total number of the professional classes was 647,076.

The commercial classes numbered 980,128, from which the following items will suffice. Merchants numbered in 1881 15,936. Commercial travellers increased 100 per cent., and in 1881 numbered 35,474. Bankers, bank clerks, etc., increased 35 per cent., and numbered 16,055. Brokers, factors, reached 21,208, a very large increase over 1871. Agents numbered 15,068—increase 80 per cent. Accountants, 11,606, being an increase of 60 per cent. Musicians, etc., 43,896—increase 37 per cent. Grocers, 134,397—increase over 18 per cent. And tobacconists, 22,175—increase 34 per cent. Taking the above classes, the average increase is over 69 per cent. Here is work for the Malthusians. The increase of the population was only 14.5 in the ten years. Yet see the increase of the above classes, *while the working classes increased only 7.3 per cent.* The general increase being 14.5, and the working class increase only 7.3, of itself shows an enormous increase of the non-producing classes.

But let us turn to the industrial classes. And here we may observe we are only dealing with England and Wales. From 1871 to 1881, farmers decreased from 249,907 to 223,943; decrease, 25,964. Agricultural labourers from 962,348 to 870,798; decrease, 91,550; and market gardeners, from 98,069 to 65,882, showing a decrease of 32,185. In these three classes alone there was a decrease of 149,701. And agriculture ought to be the backbone of the country. In the gun trade there was a decrease from 11,579 to 7,741; in the lace trade, from 48,383 to 44,144; in the hosiery trade, from 44,203 to 38,823; in the glove trade, from 22,590 to 15,524; and in the silk trade from 80,132 to 60,595. Thus, in these five trades in ten years, there was a decrease of 40,327. Then, if we take the boot and shoe trade in the twenty years ending 1881, we find a falling off from 246,493 to 216,556; decrease, 29,937. *When and how is this monstrous state of things to end? For end it must!*

There is another matter to which it is necessary to call attention, namely, the rapid increase of female and the decrease of male labour. And this is a matter of the highest importance. In the silk trade for instance, the male workers are 17,655, to female workers 39,694. In the hosiery trade they are 18,862 to 21,510. In the glove trade, 2,263 males to 13,261 females. In the lace trade, 11,359 to 32,785. In the linen trade, 4,212 to 7,853. In the worsted trade, 35,436 to 63,801; and in the woollen trade, 57,307 to 58,501. In the cotton trade the number of males in 1861 was 202,540, and in 1881, 189,651; decrease, 12,889; while at the former period the females were 264,166, and at the latter, 310,374; increase, 46,208. And this is the natural and inevitable result of the enormous increase of our powers of production. In 1790, according to Carpenter's work on 'Machinery,' published 1841, our total powers of production were then equal to 10,000,000. In 1817, our powers of production increased equal to the labour of 200,000,000 of men, and in 1840 equal to that of 600,000,000 of men. And in 1878 they were estimated as equal to the labour of 1,200,000,000. In 1790, the number of workers were about 5,000,000, and our scientific powers of production were as 1 to each worker. But in 1878 they were as 173 to each worker. Here is the secret of the vast difference in the value of the worker of 1795 and 1886. What will be the value of the worker in another 90 years? Here, too, is the secret why the idlers increase and the workers decrease.

Let us look at the result of the enormous increase in our powers of production, and to this point I beg particular attention. Taking the wealth produced in different years and dividing it among the actual number of workers, we find the average value of the labour of each as follows:—

1823.	1841.	1870.	1878.	1882.
£48 6 8 ...	£80 6 4 ...	£131 10 0 ...	£171 9 0 ...	£178 3 3
The total wealth produced annually at those periods was:—				
£261,000,000...	£514,000,000...	£934,000,000...	£1,200,000,000...	£1,247,000,000
(Lowe)	(Alison)	(Hoyle)	(Derby)	(Mulhall).

Here is the secret why the idlers grow richer and the workers grow poorer. The following I give in tabular form for convenience:—

Year.	National Wealth.	Per Head of Population.	Authority.
	£	£ s. d.	
1823 ...	2,050,000,000	94 6 3	Lowe.
1840 ...	2,190,000,000	82 13 7	Mulhall.
1860 ...	4,030,000,000	140 0 8	"
1878 ...	7,960,000,000	235 10 1	"
1882 ...	8,720,000,000	249 0 0	"

Thus, in 1882 there was wealth equal to £1,245 for every family of five, and if divided among the working-class families, numbering,

according to Mr. Mulhall, 4,629,100, it would have given to each family no less than £1,885. Yet who possesses that mass of wealth? I turn again to Mulhall, who tells us that in 1878 the higher classes, who numbered 222,500 families, had £5,728,000,000; the middle-classes, who numbered 1,824,400 families, had £1,834,000,000; the working-classes, who numbered 4,629,100 families, had £398,000,000; total, £7,960,000,000.

Here we see all the machinery of the country used for the aggrandisement of the few; all the wealth produced going to the possession of the few. Here is a system of plunder, of every day confiscation, unequalled in any age or in any country. Is this system sacred? And the plunderers have the cool impudence to tell the workers to depart and seek a home in some distant land. Well did Proudhon say, "Property is Robbery!" By the side of this huge system of plunder, the natural result of the monopoly of the land and the instruments of labour, what are all the petty questions that agitate and divide the toiling but thoughtless millions of to-day? Nothing, comparatively speaking.

What can put an end to this system of robbery? No mere political changes, however desirable. No mere reform of the land laws. No mere trade combinations, however useful in the past. No mere palliatives, however fanciful. No mere expedients, however grand they may seem to knaves or interested parties, but a sweeping away of the whole rotten system. Nothing but the nationalisation of the land and of the instruments of labour; the actual sovereignty of the people, the supremacy of Labour, of equal liberty, of equal justice, of equal opportunities, to each and to all through all the ramifications of society. Socialism—Revolutionary Socialism—is the only possible remedy.

J. SKETCHLEY.

### SOCIALISM IN LEICESTER.

ON December 4 I set out on a mission to the Leicester Branch of the Socialist League. After a two hours' journey I met some of the members late on Saturday night, and talked over the arrangements for the next day. On Sunday morning a business meeting of the Branch was held, at which nearly all the members attended. I found that the Branch, though founded about a year ago, had in reality only begun to live and move a few weeks since. They had a score and a half of members, most of whom had been enrolled within a fortnight, and a great many more were expected soon. There was a strong Socialistic feeling in the town, due chiefly to the keen distress, but also in some measure to the clever and spirited lectures given there by a popular member of the Fabian Society. Curiously enough, a few days after the re-forming of the Branch the members found that a group of workmen in one of the factories had just begun preparations for starting one. They had got hold of the *Commonweal* and other literature, and made up their minds to start a Branch of the League on their own initiative. The outlook for the Branch now is very promising. Most of the members are young and very enthusiastic; all are fairly well read up in the subject; many of them are members of trades' unions, and will use their position and influence to broaden the ideas of their fellow unionists; while a few had met together and made a careful study of John Carruthers' 'Communal and Commercial Economy.' Their selection of this book showed a good deal of insight, as there is certainly none better for the purpose in the English tongue. After talking over various plans of propaganda, they agreed, among other things, to at once look out for premises for office and reading-room; to begin a regular series of meetings; to devote a good deal of energy to pushing the sale of the *Commonweal*; to extend their propaganda to the surrounding districts, especially where the miners are numerous; to push the discussion of social questions into the trades' union branches; and to watch all meetings held in the town at which they might get in their views. I explained to them also the object and means of working of the Strike Committee, and they agreed to appoint some one to look after matters concerning trade disputes and to do all they could to help the Committee in its work. The discussion of these matters lasted about two hours, and was carried on in an earnest and business-like fashion.

Before the afternoon lecture, I had a walk round and a look at Leicester Abbey, now in use as a farm-house, and further on a modern, mean-looking church was pointed out to me, and my attention directed to a stained-glass window, which was supposed to interest me not for its own sake but for its history. It was presented by a benevolent mill-owner close by, who had reduced his employes' wages 2s. a-week when he gave it, and won fame for his generosity into the bargain. Judicious man! How truly typical of his class!

At the afternoon lecture the little hall was well filled, and the audience very quick at grasping the points, and very sympathetic. I found, as I expected, that provincials are not behind Londoners in their liking for straightforward speaking on social matters. I did not mince matters nor choose smooth words in what I said, and found it good policy as well as good principle. There was one person who thought he was opposed to me, but I agreed with half of what he said, the other half being "facts" which were easily explained. There was a good sale of literature and a few members enrolled. We then adjourned to a jovial tea and further talk about the party and the propaganda. They all seemed in high spirits, and the Branch promises to become one of the best in the League before long. J. L. MAHON.

Thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not be stolen from. I know no better definition of the rights of man than this.—*Thomas Carlyle.*

## A DREAM OF JOHN BALL.

(Continued from p. 299.)

WE entered the church through the south porch under a round-arched door carved very richly, and with a sculpture over the doorway and under the arch, which as far as I could see by the moonlight, figured St. Michael and the dragon. As I came into the rich gloom of the nave I noticed for the first time that I had one of those white poppies in my hand; I must have taken it out of the pot by the window as I passed out of Will Green's house.

The nave was not very large, but it looked spacious too; it was somewhat old, but well built and handsome; the roof of curved wooden rafters with great tie-beams going from wall to wall. There was no light in it but that of the moon streaming through the windows, which were by no means large, and were glazed with white fretwork, with here and there a little figure in very deep rich colours. Two larger windows near the east end of each aisle had just been made, so that the church grew lighter toward the east, and I could see all the work on the great screen between the nave and chancel which glittered bright in new paint and gilding; a candle glimmered in the loft above it, before the huge rood that filled up the whole space between the loft and the chancel-arch. There was an altar at the east end of each aisle, the one on the south side against the outside wall, the one on the north against a traceried gaily-painted screen, for that aisle ran on along the chancel. There were a few benches near this second altar, seemingly just made, and well carved and moulded; otherwise the floor of the nave, which was paved with a quaint pavement of glazed tiles like the crocks I had seen outside as to ware, was quite clear, and the shafts of the arches rose out of it white and beautiful under the moon as though out of a sea, dark but with gleams struck over it. The priest let me linger and look round, when he had crossed himself and given me the holy water; and then I saw that the walls were figured all over with stories, a huge St. Christopher with his black beard looking like Will Green, being close to the porch by which we entered, and above the chancel arch the Doom of the Last Day, in which the painter had not spared either kings or bishops, and in which a lawyer with his blue coif was one of the chief figures in the group which the Devil was hauling off to hell.

"Yea," said John Ball, "'tis a goodly church and fair as you may see 'twixt Canterbury and London as for its kind; and yet do I misdoubt me where those who are dead are housed, and where those shall house them after they are dead, who built this house for God to dwell in. God grant they be cleansed at last; forsooth one of them who is now alive is a foul swine and a cruel wolf. Art thou all so sure, scholar, that all such have souls? and if it be so, was it well done of God to make them? I speak to thee thus for I think thou art no delator; and if thou be, why should I heed it, since I think not to come back from this journey."

I looked at him and, as it were, had some ado to answer him; but I said at last, "Friend, I never saw a soul, save in the body; I cannot tell."

He crossed himself and said, "Yet do I intend that ere many days are gone by my soul shall be in bliss among the fellowship of the saints, and merry shall it be, even before my body rises from the dead; for wisely I have wrought in the world, and I wot well of friends that are long ago gone from the world, as St. Martin and St. Francis and St. Thomas of Canterbury, who shall speak well of me to the heavenly fellowship, and I shall in no wise lose my reward."

I looked shyly at him as he spoke: his face looked sweet and calm and happy, and I would have said no word to grieve him; and yet belike my eyes looked wonder on him: he seemed to note it and his face grew puzzled. "How deemest thou of these things?" said he; "why do men die else if it be otherwise than this?"

I smiled: "Why then do they live?" said I.

Even in the white moonlight I saw his face flush, and he cried out in a great voice, "To do great deeds or to repent them that they ever were born."

"Yea," said I, "They live to live because the world liveth." He stretched out his hand to me and grasped mine, but said no more; and went on till we came to the door in the rood screen; then he turned to me with his hand on the ring-latch, and said, "Hast thou seen many dead men?"

"Nay, but few," said I.

"And I a many," said he; "but come now and look on these, our friends first and then our foes, so that ye may not look to see them while we sit and talk of the days that are to be on the earth before the Day of Doom cometh."

So he opened the door, and we went into the chancel; a light burned on the high altar before the host, and looked red and strange in the moonlight that came through the wide traceried windows unstained by the pictures and beflowerings of the glazing: there were new stalls for the priests and vicars where we entered, carved more abundantly and beautifully than any of the woodwork I had yet seen, and everywhere was rich and fair colour and delicate and dainty form. Our dead lay just before the high altar on low biers, their faces all covered with linen cloths, for some of them had been sore smitten and hacked in the fray. We went up to them and John Ball took the cloth from the face of one; he had been shot to the heart with a shaft and his face was calm and smooth. He had been a young man fair and comely, with hair flaxen almost to whiteness; he lay there in his clothes as he had fallen, the hands crossed over his breast and holding a rush cross. His bow lay on one side of him, his quiver of shafts and his sword on the other.

John Ball spake to me while he held the corner of the sheet: "What sayest thou, scholar? feelest thou sorrow of heart when thou lookest on this either for the man himself, or for thyself and the time when thou shalt be as he is?"

I said, "Nay, I feel no sorrow for this; for the man is not here: this is an empty house, and the master is gone from it. Forsooth, this to me is but as a waxen image of a man; nay, not even that, for if it were an image, it would be an image of the man as he was when he was alive. But here is no life nor semblance of life, and I am not moved by it; nay, I am more moved by the man's clothes and war-gear—there is more life in them than in him."

"Thou sayest sooth," said he; "but sorrowest thou not for thine own death when thou lookest on him?"

I said, "And how can I sorrow for that which I cannot so much as think of? Bethink thee that while I am alive I cannot think that I shall die, or believe in death at all, although I know well that I shall die—I can but think of myself as living in some new way."

Again he looked on me as if puzzled; then his face cleared as he said, "Yea, forsooth, and that is what the Church meaneth by death, and even that I look for; and that hereafter I shall see all the deeds that I have done in the body, and what they really were, and what shall come of them; and ever shall I be a member of the Church, and that is the fellowship, then even as now."

I sighed as he spoke; then I said, "Yea, somewhat in this fashion have most of men thought, since no man that is can conceive of not being; and I mind me that in those stories of the old Danes, their common word for a man dying is to say, 'He changed his life.'"

"And so deemest thou?" said he.

I shook my head and said nothing.

"What hast thou to say hereon?" said he, "for there seemeth something betwixt us twain as it were a wall that parteth us."

"This," said I, "that though I die and end, yet mankind liveth, therefore I end not, since I am a man; and even so thou deemest, good friend, or at the least even so thou doest, since now thou art ready to die in grief and torment rather than be unfaithful to the fellowship, yea rather than fail to work thine utmost for it; whereas, as thou thyself saidst at the cross, with a few words spoken and a little huddling-up of the truth, with a few pennies paid and a few masses sung, thou mightest have had a good place on this earth and in that heaven. And as thou doest, so now doth many a poor man unnamed and unknown, and shall do while the world lasteth; and they that do less well than this, fail because of fear, and are ashamed of their cowardice, and make many tales to themselves to deceive themselves, lest they should grow too much ashamed to live. And trust me if this were not so, the world would not live, but would die, smothered by its own stink. Is the wall betwixt us gone, friend?"

He smiled as he looked at me, kindly, but sadly and shamefaced, and shook his head.

Then in a while he said, "Now ye have seen the images of those who were our friends, come and see the images of those were once our foes." So he led the way through the side screen into the chancel aisle, and there on the pavement lay the bodies of the foemen, their weapons taken from them and they stripped of their armour, but not otherwise of their clothes, and their faces mostly, but not all, covered. At the east end of the aisle was another altar covered with a rich cloth beautifully figured, and on the wall over it was a deal of tabernacle work, in the midstmost niche of it an image painted and gilt of a gay knight on horseback cutting his own cloak in two with his sword to give to a half-naked beggar.

"Knowest thou any of these men?" said I.

He said, "Some I should know, could I see their faces: but let them be."

"Were they evil men?" said I.

"Yea," he said, "some two or three. But I will not tell thee of them; let St. Martin, whose house this is, tell their story if he will. As for the rest, they were hapless fools, or else men who must earn their bread somehow, and were driven to this bad way of earning it: God rest their souls! I will be no tale-bearer, not even to God."

So we stood musing a little while, I gazing not on the dead men but on the strange pictures on the wall, which were richer and deeper coloured than those in the nave; till at last John Ball turned to me and laid his hand on my shoulder. I started and said, "Yea, brother; now must I get me back to Will Green's house, as I promised to do so timely."

"Not yet, brother," said he; "I have still much to say to thee, and the night is yet young. Go we and sit in the stalls of the vicars, and let us ask and answer on matters concerning the fashion of this world of menfolk, and of this land wherein we dwell; for once more I deem of thee that thou hast seen things which I have not seen, and could not have seen." With that word he led me back into the chancel, and we sat down side by side in the stalls at the west end of it, facing the high altar and the great east window. By this time the chancel was getting dimmer as the moon wound round the heavens; but yet was there a twilight of the moon, so that I could still see the things about me for all the brightness of the window that faced us; and this moon twilight would last, I knew, until the short summer night should wane, and the twilight of the dawn begin to show us the colours of all things about us.

So we sat, and I gathered my thoughts to hear what he would say, and I myself was trying to think what I should ask of him; for I thought of him as he of me, that he had seen things which I could not have seen.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

**As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages.** None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

**Rejected MSS.** can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

**NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.**—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

**CLEMENTSHAW (Paris).**—Thanks for papers, which we are always glad to receive. We should be glad if readers in other places would follow your example and send us any paper containing items of interest.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 22.*

<b>ENGLAND</b>		<b>NEW HAVEN (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate</b>		<b>Turin—Il Muratore</b>	
<b>Norwich—Daylight</b>		<b>Paterson (N.J.) Labor Standard</b>		<b>Rome—L'Emancipazione</b>	
<b>Club and Institute Journal</b>		<b>Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor</b>		<b>SWITZERLAND</b>	
<b>Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung</b>		<b>Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote</b>		<b>Zurich—Sozial Demokrat</b>	
<b>Die Autonomie</b>		<b>Knights of Labor</b>		<b>SPAIN</b>	
<b>Freethinker</b>		<b>Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt</b>		<b>Madrid—El Socialista</b>	
<b>INDIA</b>		<b>FRANCE</b>		<b>Cadiz—El Socialismo</b>	
<b>Madras—People's Friend</b>		<b>Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)</b>		<b>PORTUGAL</b>	
<b>Allahabad—People's Budget</b>		<b>Le Socialiste</b>		<b>Lisbon—O Protesto Operario</b>	
<b>Bombay—Times of India</b>		<b>Le Revolte</b>		<b>Voz do Operario</b>	
<b>Voice of India</b>		<b>La Revue Socialiste</b>		<b>AUSTRIA</b>	
<b>Ahmedabad—Praja Mata</b>		<b>L'Action</b>		<b>Arbeiterstimme</b>	
<b>CANADA</b>		<b>La Lanterne</b>		<b>Brunn—Volksfreund</b>	
<b>Toronto—Labor Reformer</b>		<b>L'Intransigeant</b>		<b>HUNGARY</b>	
<b>Montreal—L'Union Ouvriere</b>		<b>Guise—Le Devoir</b>		<b>Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik</b>	
<b>UNITED STATES</b>		<b>Lille—Le Travailleur</b>		<b>ROUMANIA</b>	
<b>New York—Volkszeitung</b>		<b>HOLLAND</b>		<b>Bucharest—Pruncul Roman</b>	
<b>Freiheit</b>		<b>Hague—Recht voor Allen</b>		<b>Jassy—Lupta</b>	
<b>Truthseeker</b>		<b>BELGIUM</b>		<b>DENMARK</b>	
<b>Der Sozialist</b>		<b>Brussels—Le Chante-Clair</b>		<b>Social-Demokraten</b>	
<b>John Swinton's Paper</b>		<b>En Avant</b>		<b>SWEDEN</b>	
<b>Boston—Woman's Journal</b>		<b>Liege—L'Avenir</b>		<b>Stockholm—Social-Demokraten</b>	
<b>Liberty</b>		<b>Antwerp—De Werker</b>		<b>NORWAY</b>	
<b>Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer</b>		<b>ITALY</b>		<b>Kristiania—Social-Demokraten</b>	
<b>Cincinnati (O.) Unionist</b>		<b>Milan—Il Fascio Operaio</b>			

## COMMERCIAL COLONISATION.

### A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE "CIVILISATION" OF JAMAICA.

THE question most frequently put by working men when they begin to consider the cost in blood and treasure of our foreign policy and annexations, is "Of what use are the colonies to England?" To this question the different sets of politicians give answers as varied as the axes they have to grind, but nearly all, in their political "log-rolling," agree in saying the colonies are necessary to England's greatness, and England's mission is to extend civilisation to all ends of the earth. I purpose examining these high pretensions of "greatness" and "civilisation" in the case of Jamaica, to see whether they contain anything of that which endures; whether, in fact, they represent anything worth preserving or of profit to us as a people.

Whatever of profit our foreign policy and annexations may have had, and has, to the classes, they have been, and are, of little profit to the masses; they only serve to divert the attention of the latter from the undue privileges of the former, and to retard the growth of those forces which are destined to remove the causes that now make it wellnigh impossible for Honesty to earn its daily bread. The classes are interested in the maintenance of the colonies for manifold reasons. The military men find in them an outlet for their bloodthirsty propensities and a means of acquiring "glory" and pensions; the men of peace and commerce—our John Brights—find in them a counter whereon they can ring the changes of profit and plunder; the home aristocratic failures and mock politicians—our Whartons—find in them places and pensions; and those people who are "religious," for a consideration, find in them an outlet for that advertising philanthropy which, if confined to home, might in some way lead to the undermining of the undue privileges of the money-changers who now occupy the temple and warp all the best traits of humanity by misdirecting them for selfish purposes. There is a similarity in England's relationship to each and all of her colonies, and what is true of the one is generally true of all the others; the same principle runs through all their relationships and binds them

together like beads on a string; but the principle—or tie—is rotten, and unless it be speedily replaced by a better the consequences can be easily apprehended.

The similarity in barbaric behaviour which is characteristic of the pioneer colonisation of all civilised nations proves that moral principle forms no part of their basis of action, and that other forces, which have their roots in the competitive system of each for himself, are the "hangman's whip" which drives them to action. What the Spaniards did in Jamaica the English have done elsewhere. This fact shows that the mischief has its roots in other than strictly national traits. The English inherited the results of the Spaniards' doings in Jamaica with all the obligations it entailed. The aborigines of Jamaica had great cause to rue the advent of "civilisation" on their shores. They were the most gentle and benevolent of the human race, and when discovered by Columbus in 1494 they were living in that state which even to Socialists of to-day is but an aspiration. They were happy, healthy, and honest. They were not worried with the struggle for existence. Their island provided all the food they required, and their dress required no midnight devouring of human hearts. They wore a partial covering of cloth, and dressed their arms and heads with flowers and feathers. They emulated each other in deeds of kindness, and frequently danced in thousands from evening till dawn of day. Their whole life was a living demonstration that under certain conditions the selfish struggles of competitive civilisation can be dispensed with to advantage, and that in mutual trust and help we have that which can regulate and sustain, in peace and happiness, the peoples of the earth. Civilisation, it is evident, could not, at the time it came to them, have improved their social condition; neither could it have improved their religious beliefs. These gentle and benevolent people were subjected to unspeakable cruelties by the pioneers of civilisation, and because the former in consequence killed now and then one of the latter, the Spaniards made a law to massacre a hundred indians for every Spaniard they should kill. In this way 60,000 indians were exterminated in six years. Those who fled into the woods were hunted down with trained dogs. Did the world not lose something in the extermination of these people which the expansion of trade can never balance? Would it not in the end have been more profitable to civilisation if they had been allowed to develop those resources of nature for which they were specially adapted?

Jamaica remained under the Spaniards for 161 years, and was surrendered to England in 1655. From this time until emancipation, the slaves were sacrificed between two thieves—the planters and the Crown officials. The proceedings in the Assembly during this time are only interesting so far as they show the political discords of these two. The planters in the Assembly would limit the money-bills to three months "under a jealous apprehension of the Council's interference or the Governor's intemperance." The Council was mostly composed of office-holders, who were always protesting against reductions of their own salaries and the salaries of other officials of the island—"a fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind." An idea of the friction which prevailed may be got from the fact that during the eight years administration of Governor Handasyd, there were eight Assemblies and fifteen Sessions. Governor Handasyd, in proroguing the last of these Assemblies, declared their conduct reminded him of "a party of barbarous people who took off the head of Charles of ever blessed memory." These bickerings characterised all their proceedings until the slaves began to give trouble, and so the pot boiled, and soon boiled over, putting out the fire of the Assembly of "the old time." The democratic doctrines which had been manifesting themselves in France had extended to St. Domingo, and a revolution broke out there in 1789. Many of the proprietors with their slaves fled to Jamaica, and this emigration was perilous to the good order and contentment of the Jamaican slaves. In December, 1799, a conspiracy among the St. Domingo slaves in Jamaica was discovered, and upwards of 1000 were transported. There were 250,000 slaves in Jamaica, valued by the planters at twelve and a-half million pounds when Wilberforce's scheme for the suppression of the slave trade began to claim attention in 1789. These possessions were growing more and more hard to hold, and consequently were becoming less secure as private property. But, nevertheless, the planters managed to impress the British tax-payer with a fancy valuation of the sacrifices they were making in emancipating their slaves, and so in 1834 they received twenty million pounds for giving 300,000 slaves the privilege of calling themselves free-born citizens. Whether the slaves received any benefit from the large payment made for them by the British tax-payer, is yet to be seen. An approximate value of the worth of our colliers to their masters may be arrived at from the above, seeing that the collier gets no more returned to him as wages than what the slave's sustenance cost his master. In the above we also see that history is about to repeat itself. Now when the landlords find their land becoming of less value to them as rent robbers they seek to impress upon the ratepayers the need of peasant proprietorship, so that they may receive value for that which to them has become of no value. Let the workers take a lesson from the Jamaican slaves, and take care they do not accept a name for the substance, let them have more faith in action than words, for—

"It strikes me 'taint jest the time  
For stringin' words with settisfaction;  
What's wanted now's the silent rhyme,  
'Twixt upright Will and downright Action."

After the planters had pocketed twenty million pounds of other people's money, and the slaves were set free—free to starve or labour under the old conditions with a new name—the Assembly resumed its



discords over the money bills. The Treasury was always empty because the official parasites from England swallowed more than the revenue of the island was yielding at this time. For many years the Receiver-General was unable to pay in full all claims against the Treasury, and the cry for retrenchment prevailed. The officials were forced to make a virtue of necessity, and the judicial, clerical, and other establishments submitted to a reduction on "equitable terms." The advent of Governor Eyre did not help to smooth the troubled waters, for while he was but Lieut.-Governor the Assembly had "declined to proceed to any further business with his Excellency." He was subsequently promoted to the Governorship by the Duke of Newcastle (then Secretary for the Colonies), in testimony of the latter's approval of the course adopted by the former in his conflict with the Assembly. While these conflicts were going on in the Assembly, the democratic ideas which the slaves had imbibed from the French revolutionists were developing into action. A public meeting was held at Kingston under the presidency of George William Gordon, a coloured gentleman and member of the Assembly, who spent his life in the services of the workers of his own race. At this meeting a resolution was passed, calling upon all the descendants of Africa, in every parish throughout the island to form themselves into societies, and hold public meetings, and co-operate for the purpose of setting forth their grievances. These grievances were set forth in a proclamation to the people of St. Ann's. The slaves had discovered that although their old masters had been awarded twenty million pounds, their condition was in no way improved. The means of procuring the necessities of life were still held by their old masters, whose prejudices against them had not changed, and they were forced to starve or accept conditions of employment which were no improvement on those of "the old time." Many could find no work to do. Many did starve in this land where Nature is so bountiful. The clergy and custodes misdivided the charities under their control, much the same as in London, the larger portion finding its way to their own friends. The tribunals before which labour disputes came were corrupt, and under the influence of planters and prejudice, so that the workers could get no redress. To any one with the least lucidity it would be evident that things could not remain for long thus, but, when Mr. Gordon warned the Assembly that "Mr. Eyre lacked administrative capacity, and, unless he is speedily removed, the country will be thrown into a state of confusion by reason of his illegal conduct," the Assembly laughed, like the French loyalists, immediately before the Revolution. Mr. Gordon's prophecy, however, was fulfilled, and the tyrants in office hanged their prophet. The wolf sat in judgment on the lamb, for Mr. Brigadier General Neilson deemed it right that Mr. Gordon should not be tried by a court of persons who might be supposed to be influenced by local prejudices. Governor Eyre thought likewise, and so he was "tried" before Lieut. Brand, R.N., Lieut. Errington, R.N., and Ensign Kelly! We can easily guess the prejudices that would influence such a Court. Even an Englishman who was tainted with democratic aspirations would be unfairly tried before them, far worse must the chances of a man have been whose considerations with such persons were summed up in the saying "Damn the niggers!" The barbarous treatment the negroes received at the last rebellion from English soldiers could not be surpassed in cruelty. It proves how monstrous English officialdom can be when it has the power, and it has taught the negroes a lesson in cruelty which, to an imitative race like them, will not readily be forgotten.

GEORGE M'LEAN.

(To be concluded).

### The Blessings of Civilisation.

In the town of Cambuslang, near Glasgow, there is an itinerant vendor of vegetables, who does a thriving trade in onions by shouting lustily, "Buy fine onions! the top of the tree and the sunny side of the garden!"

The poor fellow has probably been reared in the city, and has a notion that onions and potatoes, like apples and pears, grow on the top of trees. How many people in our large cities are much wiser than the costermonger? How many are there whose ignorance of the produce of the fields is as great—though they may have more tact in concealing it—as that of the lively cockney in the story, who, addressing a farmer over a hedge remarked: "That's a fine field of oats you have there, farmer." "Yes," replied the farmer, "they be very good, but they be 'int oats, they be turnips!"

We are educating the people! Yes, informing them where Timbuctoo is, who the favourites of Charles II. were, how to multiply and divide sums of money which they are never likely to possess; we are even instructing them regarding the function of the grey matter of the brain. Very grand, isn't it; to have children's minds stored with such information, who don't know rushes from leeks, or crows from sea-gulls; to whom a hare or meadow is as rare a sight as a lion on a desert; a mountain or a waterfall as rare a sight as an iceberg or a geyser? We are shutting the doors of heaven upon thousands of these little ones, crowding them away from the sight of earth, sky, sea, and air, birds and flowers. But we are educating them nevertheless; educating them to become useful pieces of machinery, profitable tools to their masters; ay, and more cruel still, opening up vistas of knowledge and pleasure in the minds of those whom we know are destined to spend their lives slaving in factories and sleeping in cellars. What a noble thing civilisation is!

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

### OLD JAN'S DEATH.

(By GEORGE WEERTH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

Yes, that is the place where he lived, next door  
To the house with the sign of the Blackamoor.  
He is not so cold as he was last year,  
For they bore him away through the snow on his bier.

There Jan was frozen to death, next door  
To the house with the sign of the Blackamoor.  
With his poor pale face he turned on his side,  
And without knowing what he was doing, died.

He died.—The dawn, like a shy roe-deer,  
Skipped over the snow, and came anear.  
"Good morning, Jan! Good morning, Jan!"—  
No answer returns the poor dead man.

And then the merry church bells began,  
"Good morning, Jan! Good morning, Jan!"  
How loudly soe'er they may call and cry,  
Poor Jan can return them no reply.

And then came the children from out of the town;  
"For us the old man has had never a frown;  
Good morning, Jan! Good morning, Jan!"—  
No answer returns the poor dead man.

Nor the dawn's, nor the bells', nor the children's "Good-day,"  
Did he hear, and the time went slipping away;  
Till at mid-day his old wife came, "My Jan,  
Here is food and drink for my poor old man.

"See what I have brought for you out of the town;  
It will comfort your heart when you swallow it down"—  
The old wife looked for a while on her Jan,  
And bitterly then to weep she began.

For she saw he was frozen to death, next door  
To the house with the sign of the Blackamoor.  
And there she wept in her burning woe,  
And her hot tears fell on the frozen snow.

### THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE.

OUR English Alfred (saith the chronicler),  
With ills of mind and body to withstand,  
Waged war with foreign foes, and wisely planned  
The foes of his own household to deter;  
So that the land had peace, and none would stir  
To take another's goods into his hand.  
And though a woman wandered through the land  
From sea to sea, no harm should hap to her.

Well mayst thou wish for that old time again!  
Yet if by righteousness thou wilt be led  
Even yet thy heel shall bruise the serpent's head,  
And no harsh laws need men's glad hearts restrain;  
Nor shall the curse of covetousness remain  
To give us lust for love, and stones for bread.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

### LITERARY NOTICES.

Our comrade Kitz has a good letter on "The distress among the unemployed" in the last issue of the *Surrey Independent*. This mode of propaganda by means of letters in the local press is a most useful one and should be followed wherever possible.

"The Moloch of Paraffin," by Charles Marvin, the well-known Russophile (Anderson, Cockspur Street, 1s.) is a rather sensational treatise upon the dangers of the indiscriminate use of paraffin in cheap lamps. He calls for legislative interference, saying: "We insist on safety lamps for the mines, let us do something to provide safety lamps for the masses." Mingled with some rather too obvious puffing of one special patent lamp, there is a great deal that is instructive and much that is alarming. But even if legislative interference were secured, it could not remedy an evil the root of which lies deeper than "law" can touch, the compulsion, that is, which is upon the people to buy everything at the cheapest. Competition and exploitation, these it is that sacrifice the holocaust of victims immolated by cheap illuminants in bad lamps.

"Advance Australia," by Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton (Allen, Waterloo Place, 7s. 6d.), is a honestly-written and readable book, intensely amusing to all who are not quite orthodox in their views on people and property. Virulent abuse is freely lavished upon all who meddle with vested interests. The land-holding class, the "squatters," of course enlist the author's warmest sympathies, and the "selectors" are styled "an impecunious tribe of jackals armed with manhood suffrage." "In Victoria," he says, "the possession of a large estate is considered as a crime and the holder a fair mark for reprisals," and the legislation designed to curb the encroachments of the squatting aristocracy "can only be described as free plunder!" Speaking of a land bill passed a few years ago, which provided a progressive land-tax, he says, "As a matter of course the value of land all over the colony went down 30 per cent.," but he does not explain, what indeed needs no explanation, whether he means that the land so decreased in value to the community, or only to the exploiters who used it as a means of extracting wealth from the workers. The democratic tendencies of all kinds perceptible in the colonies irritate our author beyond endurance; even his discovery that "mining in Victoria is more mining in people's pockets than in the ground" does not arouse in him a tithe of the wrath engendered by the spectacle of manhood suffrage freely exercised by the masses for their own ends. It is rather to be regretted that progressive taxation and manhood suffrage can let loose such torrents of vituperation from the Hon. Finch-Hatton's lips; if he is not more sparing he will have naught left for those who preach expropriation and social freedom!

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### Strike Committee of the Socialist League.

The Committee will issue in a few days a leaflet especially addressed to strikers. A delegate has been sent to South Wales to inquire into and report upon the condition of the workers in that district. Another delegate will visit Manchester. On Monday, December 27, a great demonstration will be held at Norwich, at which delegates will attend and take part. The following resolutions will be moved: "That this mass meeting of Norwich workers hereby pledges itself to support the Socialists in every effort to overthrow the present landlord and capitalist system of Society which enables a few to live in luxury and idleness on the toil and poverty of the many, and under which all industrial progress instead of lightening the toil, and increasing the comfort of the workers, only increases the gulf between the idle rich and the toiling poor, and that we will never cease working until we have realised revolutionary Socialism, the complete change, that by emancipating Labour and securing equal opportunities for all, will abolish once and for ever poverty and crime with all their attendant evils from our midst." And further, "Believing that the first step towards this might be the starting of municipal workshops for the various trades, where the best machinery should be used, and all who apply should be employed, dividing as wages the total amount of wealth produced, we pledge ourselves to use every endeavour to secure their speedy establishment." The Secretary of the Leicester Branch sends particulars of the movement to protest against the extension of the hours of labour which has been rendered necessary in consequence of the action taken by the Leicester Chamber of Commerce and the Hosiery Manufacturers' Association, who are petitioning Government for the privilege of extending the hours of overtime for women and children. A great meeting was to be held last night (Tuesday, Dec. 21st) to protest against such extension, at which the following were announced to speak: Miss Ruth Wills, Leicester; a Lady Delegate (Womens' League), London; Messrs. D. Merrick, Secretary of Sock Union, and President of Leicester Co-operative Society; J. Holmes, Secretary of Amalgamated Hosiery Union; E. Kell, President of Rivetters and Finishers Union; W. Inskip, General Secretary of National Union of Rivetters and Finishers; T. Horobin, President of Leicester Trades' Council; and J. Sharp, Secretary of Leicester Trades' Council. Resolutions expressing sympathy and a desire for joint action with French and Belgian miners have been received and transmitted from the Secretary of a Branch of the Scottish (Lanarkshire) miners. Arrangements are being made to have regular correspondents in most of the chief towns in Scotland.

Wednesday, Dec. 22, 1886.

H. A. BARKER, Gen. Sec.

#### WHAT A REDUCTION OF 2½ PER CENT MEANS.

A paragraph in Strike Column of last week's *Commonweal* refers to the strike of colliers in New Tredegar against a reduction of 2½ per cent. What a reduction of 2½ per cent. means to the miner will be seen from the following facts sent us by a correspondent from Glamorganshire. The price for cutting one ton of coal is 1s. 3½d., and under favourable circumstances a man and boy by working hard can cut twenty tons in a week. Our correspondent states that the vein which he is working on is three feet four inches thick, and this necessitates what is called ripping top and cutting bottom in order to make an open way, for which the miner does not receive any pay. Deduct 10s. for boy's wages out of the twenty tons cut, and you will find that the miner would have the enormous sum of 15s. 10d. left for himself; but this would be far too much, so stoppages of various kinds have from time to time been forced on the workmen, until the average pay has been reduced to 15s. a-week. The royalty per ton is 1s., and this must always be paid in full, so that those who receive it are actually paid more for each man's work than the man receives himself. In order to make up for stoppages, etc., and the work for which no pay is given, the miners are compelled to work fifty-six hours per week, under the most unhealthy conditions; and yet their wages must be reduced, while the royalty is left untouched.

#### INTERNATIONAL UNION OF GLASS BOTTLE MAKERS.

We gladly publish the following letter which needs no comment:

(To Mr. Jas. Hunter, Gen. Secretary, etc.)

Dear Sir,—Some time ago Mr. Lyon, of St. Helen's, was here to engage glass-workers; he pretended that he was going to enlarge his factory by adding a new tank-house to it, and that he wanted to work this tank-house on the German system. Under these circumstances we opened negotiations with him, and named the wages and other conditions we required; he found them too high, and returned to England to communicate our terms to his brother and to get his sanction. Yesterday, Mr. Lyons came back to Düsseldorf, but as we have learnt in the meantime through a notice in our journal that the matter is different from what Mr. Lyons represents it to be, we beg to request you kindly to give us a correct version of the matter, and also to inform us what wages are paid there. We are prepared to accept work there, but only then if what Mr. Lyon says is true, viz., that he wants to enlarge his factory and to work his new tank-house on the German system. If, on the contrary, there should be wage disputes between Mr. Lyon and his workmen, and we should by accepting work there damage the English glass-makers, we are firmly resolved not to accept work even on the most favourable terms. Will you kindly give us a speedy answer, and also send us a list of the wages there.—With cordial greetings, H. BENDRICH, Delegate for the Glass-workers of Gerresheim.

Gerresheim, near Düsseldorf, Dec. 14, 1886.

The strike of the gassers employed at Carrington Bridge Mill, Stockport, has failed. This result affords one more illustration of the futility of operatives expecting to better their position unless they have previously organised and put themselves in a position to sustain a contest with the powerful hand of capital. The position of the men engaged in the trade is not an enviable one. They earn 19s. for a week of 56½ hours, overtime being paid for at the rate of 4d. per hour.

In a good many occupations employers of labour are making efforts to introduce low-paid female labour in competition with that of men. In some of our Lancashire towns hundreds of men are walking about the streets partially or wholly maintained by their sisters or their wives. This constant running after female labour has a tendency to intensify this, and to transfer the position of wage-earner for the household to the wrong sex. No one can rightly object to a woman earning her own living, but when their weakness is constantly held over men as a threat to keep down wages it becomes another matter. The cure for this is efficient organisation.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

#### AMERICA.

The dining room girls of Chicago refuse to wait on the Pinkerton detectives on duty there protecting the scabs.

The women on strike in a shirt factory at Washington, D. C., received but 4½ cents for making a shirt. And yet people wonder that labour is discontented.

John Donahue, the labour member of the New Jersey Legislature, who will hold the balance of power on joint ballot, is a typo.

The Knights of Labour at Richmond have started a co-operative underwear factory for the benefit of their female members.

On January 8, 1887, Henry George will publish the first number of the *Standard*, a weekly newspaper "for all who work with hand or brain."

THE GREAT TROY BOYCOTT.—At last the contract-breaking firm of Fuller, Warren, and Co., of Troy, have been made to feel the weight of organised labour. On Wednesday, Dec. 1, they closed their largest moulding shop, employing over 250 moulders, and they are now stacking their stoves as they do pig-iron. They are unable to sell the scab goods which they have on hand, and before the 25th of this month their entire works will be shut.

#### FRANCE.

ROUBAIX.—The Spinners' Syndicate of Roubaix have issued a warning to the workers of the *Nord*, apropos of the strike at Ghent, from which I quote a few passages: "For three months past the spinners of Ghent have been on strike. Like the bourgeois press of France when it is you who are struggling, the press there throws out calumny after calumny, insinuating that French workers are ready to take the place of their Belgian brothers. This is quite false, but knowing the dangers and temptations attendant on such a crisis, we feel bound to put all comrades on their guard against the same. . . . It is obvious that if the Belgian masters get French workers so as to lower the wages of their own 'hands,' the French masters at the least complaint from us, will look out for Belgians to work for them to avoid complying with our demands."

LE CREUSOT (SAONE ET LOIRE).—The situation here goes from bad to worse, and is truly deplorable. The Schneiders manage very skilfully the inevitable and constant lowering of wages. They begin by dismissing their hands ten and twenty at a time, and engaging fresh ones, of course at a lower rate, there being always men in so miserable a state as to accept anything, too hopeless to attempt to stand up for themselves and their fellow-workers in any way. With this dodge a man who formerly gained 5 fr. now gets 3 fr. 50 c. Crowds of men out of work wait daily at the office in the hopes of getting taken on.

MARSEILLES.—A strike of women is announced here at a military equipment maker's workshop. The strikers, to the number of 300, marched out in a body to "manifest" before the workshops of the Catalan quarter of the town, and thence proceeded to others to proclaim what they had done. Their example should encourage the others to do likewise.

MONISTROL (HTE. LOIRE).—The workers at a firm of locksmiths here are on strike. The actual number of strikers is 130; 200 of the rest remain at work while claiming higher wages. The masters have no intention at present of coming to terms.

VIERZON.—There is a new strike here, this time among the porcelain makers and labourers of the Michaud firm.

On the fulfilment of the different terms of imprisonment of those concerned in the disturbances here, and their arrival from Bourges, enthusiastic manifestations take place to welcome them and show sympathy with them, the meetings being invariably honoured by a military escort.

We know that many ludicrous observances are *de rigueur* in factories and workshops English and foreign, and are never surprised at the many vagaries and fantasies of masters and overseers and the like, encouraged as they are by the apparently inexhaustible powers of endurance manifested by those whom they hold submissive to their will; but it is almost impossible to hear with heart unmoved that *music is de rigueur* among the employés of certain tanneries in one of the Parisian suburbs. And such music! Shudder, oh shade of Orpheus at the thought. The entries and exits of the men is announced not by a bell or whistle, but by clarions and drums, cornets, trombones, and any other instruments they can get a shriek or groan out of. Scene: The interior of a workshop; flourish of trumpets, alarums, excursions, enter the *Jacquerie en blouse*. Chorus of the unemployed, "We don't want to fight, but by jingo—" Recitativo and Aria by the good young Socialist (light tenor) on Hamlet's remark, "The time is out of joint—oh cursed spite, that ever I was born to set it right!" Here are hints for a comic opera for Messrs. Gilbert and Sullivan, which we give to them gratis. Socialism is quite in the fashion this year, the artistic and æsthetic affectation being played out utterly. The providers of witty foolery had better "consider o' it."

#### BELGIUM.

VERVIERS.—I have been informed just lately of such crying abuses that I should consider myself failing in duty not to make them known. Here are some well-authenticated facts concerning the Xhawire coal-pit. Sunday work is in force there, and any worker who absents himself on that day has to pay a fine of 2 fr. 50 c., which, as he only gains 18 fr. a-week, is an amusement he can ill afford. There is a relief-fund established here, into which each worker has to put 3 per cent. of his weekly wage. At this rate it would be easy enough to give substantial relief in cases of sickness, but in reality the relief given consists of 3 fr. a-week. Naturally no workman is allowed to meddle with the administration of these funds. We are religious at Xhawire, too: last week 1 fr. was kept back out of each man's wages for the purpose of celebrating a mass on the fête of Ste. Barbe, the patron saint of miners.—*L'Avenir*.

LIEGE.—A strike is reported at the Esperance-Longdoz establishment, caused by a reduction of between 10 and 20 per cent. on the wages of the employés. A general meeting of the men was held, under the auspices of the Association des Metallurgistes, unanimously deciding on a strike. A delegation afterwards had an interview with the directors, who have promised a definite answer in a few days.

GOHYSSART.—Laurent Verrycken, a member of the Belgian Labour Party, has been preaching Socialism here successfully. Among other meetings he spoke to one composed entirely of the miners' wives. It is interesting to note that the women here are as determined about the strike as the men; one enthusiastic dame, who evidently ruled the roast at home, was heard to declare her determination to "break her broomstick about the ears of her man if he was such a coward as to take work again under the conditions imposed."

## REVOLUTIONARY RUMBLINGS.

**METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.**—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the first week of the current month was 96,078, of whom 56,938 were indoor and 39,140 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 3,832 over the corresponding week of last year, 2,588 over 1884, and 4,307 over 1883. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 706, of whom 530 were men, 151 women, and 25 children under sixteen.

At the quarterly general meeting of the London Branch of the Iron Founders' Society, held at the Sun Inn, Union Street, Borough, on Tuesday, December 14, the following resolution was passed unanimously:—"That this meeting deplores the action of our corresponding secretary, Mr. W. H. Hey, in attending the London Trades' Council Sandringham deputation without any authority to represent this society, and is of an opinion that such servile conduct is deserving of our most severe censure."

**GLASGOW.**—A correspondent in this city sends us particulars of a case of the kind that is always recurring and must recur under class-rule and the exploitation of labour. A poor old woman past the power of being profitable to an employer, destitute and deserted, died of hunger and cold. She had begged a cup of hot water from a neighbour nearly as poor herself, wherein to soak two dry mouldy crusts, and was found soon after dead. Either the crusts had choked her or the cold. How long will the people perish thus—wise unresistingly, while food and fuel are heaped around for the taking?

**IRELAND.**—The struggle intensifies day by day. On every hand are indications that it will be fought out determinedly. Over £100,000 has, it is estimated, by now been paid over to "Plan" trustees, and strong meetings continue to be held. On the other hand, the "landlords' land league," as *Reynolds* calls the Government, are going deeper and deeper into the mire of coercion, Mr. Dillon and five other M.P.'s having to appear on a charge of conspiracy as we go to press. All the old-time arts will be tried, of course—venal judges, corrupt advocates, packed juries—but the Irish people and their leaders seem to be determined, although there is a rumour of a strong desire on Mr. Parnell's part to "hedge" in time. His followers, should he do this, are certain to break away from him and go ahead; and from this point of view his defection would not be an unmixed evil. The Cork grand jury last Saturday, on breaking up, passed the following resolution and sent it to prominent politicians and the press: "That we, the grand jury of the Munster Winter Assizes assembled, having, in the discharge of our duties, heard evidence bearing on nearly all the agrarian offences sent forward for trial, deem it our duty to state that we consider such evidence points clearly to an amount of social disorganisation traceable almost wholly to the past and present deplorable condition of the land question." A cartoon issued with the *Weekly Freeman's* last issue cannot fail of doing good propagandist work in the country, it so well puts the contrast between the producer and the plunderer. In a really admirable letter in Monday's *Daily News*, Allanson Picton made a strong appeal to Liberals and Radicals, and sought to arouse them to a sense of their duty, but no sign is as yet apparent of any return of courage to these sneaking fainthearts. Their time is over; other men are needed to secure the confidence of even that part of the people that still believes in parliamentary measures. Meanwhile, both in Ireland and Great Britain, the bitter death struggle of landlordism in Ireland is educating the masses in the true meaning of it all.—S.

### AMERICA.

#### UNITED LABOUR IN PHILADELPHIA.

At the second convention of the United Labour Party, a declaration was adopted which says: "In the vote polled in many parts of the country, amounting to a moral victory, we hail the opening of a new era in American politics, the beginning of a struggle to purify our political methods, to establish the American Republic on the firm rock of equal rights, and to apply principles enunciated by our fathers to the social difficulties of our time. We assert the brotherhood of man, and by aiming at the abolition of the wrongs which permit thieving and compel begging, we desire to do away with all class distinctions by securing to all equal access to all natural opportunities, and by such equitable distribution of the products of labour that all men shall be working men, and each shall be free to enjoy that pleasure which is necessary for the full development of his whole nature. We adopt the name of the United Labour Party because we recognise the existence of an oppressed mass of toilers, composing a large majority of our people, as a fundamental fact, and the emancipation of this large class as its first object."

### FRANCE.

The details of an ugly family butchery are filling French journals just now for the excitement of the public. Of the actors the *Cri* says, this cheerful couple, man and wife, come from a long line of murderers inhabiting the wild village of Barnas, which hangs among the heights of the Cevennes in desolate stretches of basaltic rocks. Sensational stories of evil inn-keepers with human ingenuity and brute ferocity, and of ill-starred travellers falling in their hands, are, unfortunately, by no means the invention of cheap novelists; here, for instance, we have among the wild romance and dreary beauty of these volcanic districts, a family of inn-keepers yielding to their long-inherited, long-indulged instincts and blood-madness, and one may add, following their traditions, just as respectable families follow theirs amid the plaudits and approbation of historians. Hold them up to execration by all means, kill them by all means out of the way, but in the name of common-sense don't wonder at them as strange monsters in nature having no *raison d'être*. The reason of their existing has to be looked for in the past and in the present times. In a reasonable state of Society, such monstrosities would in truth be unnatural; to-day they are of natural growth.

### BELGIUM.

The "Sainte-Barbe" is a fête-day of some importance here, that saint guarding and watching over miners in especial. But the Belgian workers of late have preferred to celebrate the "Sainte Barbe rouge," which I may render "Saint Barbe the Red," a sort of hybrid revolutionary saint of their own coining, who is not at all Catholic and certainly would find no place of honour in the Saints' Calendar; for Ste. Barbe the Red presides over Socialist meetings and countenances hot speeches of sedition and revolt, and words of hope for a new state of things, in which the Holy Catholic Church will be very much in the shade, or non-existent. Altogether Sainte Barbe must have opened her eyes the other day at the different spirit in which she was fêted by the different "believers" of the Belgian land!

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### "EVOLUTION VERSUS REVOLUTION."

I always read with interest articles in the *Commonweal* by J. Sketchley. But in his last article his just wrath against the iniquity of the present system blinds his judgment. His heading should have been reversed—*Revolution v. Evolution*. At the outset of this reply I declare myself an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary Socialist. It is only the difference of an "R," but it is all the difference between practical and unpractical Socialism. Evolutionary Socialism rests on a sound basis and is certain to develop. Revolutionary Socialism is a contradiction in terms. But grant it possible to maintain itself for a certain time, by excluding the idea of evolution it will have no scientific basis and must end either in confusion or an evil reaction.

It is one of the beauties of language that words can be used in metaphorical senses. This is all very well in poetry or poetical prose. When we have to deal with scientific questions, words must be used carefully. Socialism is essentially a science—the science of human life. Now the word "revolution" used metaphorically means a violent overturning; but in its primary sense it is a turning again—that is, a coming back to the same point; as, for example, a wheel on its axis or the planets in their courses. Does Socialism aim at always returning to the same point without any advance? Now what is evolution? It is a turning outwards, or, to use an older expression, development—one condition giving rise to other conditions, and these in their turn to others. This is just what will be the case with Socialism. True we may have an evolution of evil conditions, as indeed it is in the present system, which is a bad evolution of Individualism. So may Socialism become, if care be not taken to secure good conditions and to make the best of those conditions. Socialism cannot come all at once; but the conditions to which it will give rise will breed other conditions, tending, we believe, to advance human beings towards perfection. In view of this, revolution—the violent overturning in order to start fresh—will accomplish after all but a poor result. Past revolutions have shown this.

Now to put matters in another light, let us, instead of using the nouns *Evolution* and *Revolution*, employ the corresponding verbs and say, Socialism must evolve; Socialism must revolve. Look at the two expressions. The first states a pregnant truth; the second is absolutely meaningless. The first is simply this, Socialism must grow.

I think that so far from the words *revolution*, *revolutionary*, *revolutionist* advancing Socialism in this country, their use seriously retards its progress. It is very different in such a country as Russia. Violent overturning is there absolutely necessary, and the sooner it comes about the better for human progress. But here in this old home of liberty—not perfect liberty by a very long way, I admit, yet with a constitution all the better for not being a written one, for it is not stereotyped, and is the outcome of evolution—surely, more satisfactory development of Socialism will be secured by persuasion and education than by threats or exercise of physical force.

Let me not be understood to say that physical force must not be resorted to even in this country under any circumstances. On the contrary, it would be the sacred duty of Socialists as brave citizens to fight with such "resources of civilisation" as they could obtain should the enemies of liberty be the first to attempt to crush out Socialism here by force of arms. In this country even the enemies of Socialism know that the temper of reasonable non-Socialists is opposed to violent repression of opinion, or action within constitutional lines. Let not Socialists damage their just cause by listening to or acting out bloodthirsty counsels. The aim should be to make Socialists—to win converts. When the great majority are converted to Socialism, the measures necessary for the benefit of all will be carried out in a peaceable—that is, in a legal and constitutional manner. No doubt it would be good if the true Social State were established to-morrow. But that being impossible, let us, to some extent at least, curb our "divine impatience"; not to sit down "waiting for something to turn up," but "girding up our loins" help forward the emancipation of the workers by establishing the Social Commonwealth on the sound basis of Reason.

Mr. Sketchley correlates evolution and revolution as thought and action. This is to misapprehend evolution. Evolution is action—very much action indeed. Beside it the most violent revolution is child's play.

D. C. DALLAS.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

A *Children's Party* will take place in the Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, on Monday December 27, at 3.30 in the afternoon.

*General Meeting.*—The next General Meeting of London Members will be held on Tuesday January 4, 1887, at 8 p.m.

### Executive.

At their usual weekly meeting on Monday 20th the Council voted the following resolution: "That the Executive Council of the Socialist League, though believing that the Irish people can never be free until they hold and possess in common the land and the means of production, indignantly protest against the brutal action of the English Government in trying to suppress a movement initiated for the purpose of securing to the Irish soil-tiller a larger share of the product of his labour. They further consider that every step taken by the Irish people—legal or illegal—to free themselves from so infamous a yoke as that imposed by England and the landlord class would be perfectly justified." H. A. Barker was unanimously elected Secretary, *vice* Sparling resigned. H. H. Sparling was appointed sub-editor *vice* Bax resigned. Leaflet on Strikes, read by Lane, was adopted and ordered to be printed. Next meeting of Council to take place Tuesday 28th inst. at 8 p.m.

### STRIKE COMMITTEE.

H. B., 6d.; S. M., 6d.; M. M., 1s.; W. M., 2s. 6d.; R. M., 6s.

T. BINNING, Treasurer.

### FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Deficit, £2, 8s. 6d.

Ph. W., Treasurer, Dec. 21.

### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

E. B. B. (weekly), 1s.; M. M. (weekly), 1s.; Bloomsbury Branch (weekly) H. C. (weekly), 1s.; W. B. (five weeks), 2s. 6d.; Collected by Ph. W., 16s.

Ph. W., Treasurer, Dec. 21



